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TORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA

VOLUME III

(Second Revised Edition)

By

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DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE
WHO LIVED AND DIED
FOR
THE FREEDOM OF INDIA

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the Preface to the first edition of this volume I discussed great length, and questioned the validity of, the generally epted view which gave Mahatma Gandhi the "sole credit for freedom of India", and described as "sheer nonsense to look on Satyagraha (or Charka according to some) as the unique ıpon by which it was achieved." (p. xxiii). This naturally ınded the feelings of, and was very vehemently opposed by, devotees of Gandhiji and I became a **persona nongrata**—to it mildly—with the Congress Government. I am happy to able to say that the truth of my views has been proved ond doubt by the statement of no less a person than Mr. ment Attlee who, as the Prime Minister of Great Britain and leader of the Party in power, decided, not without opposition n eminent leaders of the party in Opposition, to grant free- ı to India. Attlee's statement quoted on pp. 609-10 fully ports my conclusions referred to above.

Some important new facts have been added in this edition.

1. The two concluding volumes (VI and VII) of the Report he Hunter Committee, hitherto unknown, have recently been lished and throw new light on the causes and nature of the ırbances in the Punjab in 1919. These have been discussed Appendix I.

2. Correct account of the arrival of Netaji Subhas Bose in ın has been given in Appendix II.

3. A Radio transmitter was set up in Calcutta for commu- ion with Subhas Bose in Japan during the I.N.A. Cam- n (p. 594).

4. A new section has been added (pp. 421-22) quoting some nces of the "inhuman treatment of the revolutionaries, both rison and during internment, by the British Government.

5. A serious error about the date and occasion of the mar- om of Matangini Hazra (pp. 346 and 654 of the First Edi- has been corrected.

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Owing to my serious and prolonged illness I could not the proofs of many portions of the book. I crave the indulge of the readers for printing mistakes in this edition.

4 Bepin Pal Road
Calcutta 26
7.3.77

R. C. Majum

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This, the concluding volume of the *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, begins with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the movement in 1919 and traces its history up to the achievement of freedom on 15 August, 1947. During the first fifteen years of this period Gandhi was the most dominant figure in Indian politics and was the sole guide of the whole movement. Even after that period he was a force to reckon with and, though not always directly at the helm of affairs, was not unoften the power behind the throne. It is inevitable, therefore, that a review of Gandhi's career would form the principal subject in this volume. In performing this task the historian is confronted with a difficulty which is almost unique in character.

This is due to the fact that Gandhi combined in himself the dual role of a saint and an active politician. He has been called by some 'the most saintly among politicians', and by others, 'the most political saint'. This shows the paradoxical nature of his personality. Whether such combination is good or bad need to be discussed here, but it poses a serious problem to the historian. One's attitude towards a saint or view of his personal conduct and career is a matter of devotion and personal opinion. But one's judgment on the public career of a political leader rests upon certain assumptions and expectations of a norm of conduct to be followed by him. The former is based upon faith, pure and simple, while the letter requires logical reasoning untrammelled by any personal sentiment or belief. The historian has nothing to do with the first, and is concerned only with the second aspect. Unfortunately, Gandhi's followers did not make this distinction and gave unto the political leader what was really due to the saint. This confusion, pervading all ranks of Congressmen from the highest to the lowest, has so much distorted public view of Indian politics since 1920 that it has now become wellnigh impossible to make a rational historical survey of the course of political events, without first clearly exposing

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the curious mentality which made Gandhi a sort of indissoluble composite of spiritual and political leadership.

This is best illustrated by the implicit faith in, and unquestioning obedience to, Gandhi, the leader of the Congress Party, shown by even very highly eminent persons. They mostly belonged to two categories. The first comprised those who willingly surrendered their conscience and judgment to the safe-keeping of the political *Guru*. These have been described by Abul Kalam Azad with reference to some members of the Working Committee of the Congress in the following words: They "would not oppose Gandhiji even when they were not fully convinced,... were generally content to follow Gandhiji's lead....They rarely tried to judge things on their own, and in any case they were accustomed to subordinate their judgment to Gandhiji. As such discussion with them was almost useless. After all our discussions, the only thing they could say was that we must have faith in Gandhiji. They held that if we trusted him he would find some way out." Azad has included in this category, specifically by name, three eminent leaders of the Congress, including Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and has added that his (Azad's) view was based on "long experience."*

The second category consisted of those who fell a victim to the magic charm of Gandhi even though they fumed and fretted at his obsolete views and inexplicable or irrational dogmas repulsive to their own independent judgment. Such strange influence of Gandhi over his followers has been very frankly and lucidly explained by the most distinguished among them, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Some of these utterances of Nehru have been quoted in this volume (pp. 54, 391, 400, 461).

Strangely enough, Gandhi himself was fully aware of this mentality of his followers and publicly condemned it in the statement he issued on 17 September, 1934, a part of which has been quoted in p. 445 of this volume.

This kind of absolute devotion and self-surrender has been highly extolled by certain religious sects and nobody need quarrel with them. But when it forms the basis of political action

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* Azad, *India Wins Freedom*, p. 75.

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and is cited as justification for doing things not approved on rational principles, it becomes difficult for a historian to appreciate the laudable sentiments of the disciples. The inevitable effect of such sentiments was that the great political leaders of the Congress came to look upon Gandhi as a superman, who was infallible and acted by instinct, not logic or reason, and therefore should not be judged by the ordinary standards which we apply to other political leaders. This has been very frankly stated by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, one of the most devoted followers of Gandhi (p. 55), as well as Jawaharlal Nehru, who wrote that "Gandhi was a unique personality and it was impossible to judge him by the usual standards, or even to apply the ordinary canons of logic to him" (p. 400). No wonder that lesser men looked upon Gandhi almost as a divine being, the truth of whose words and views must not be questioned on any account.

As I have explained (p. 400), a true historian cannot uphold such a doctrine or proceed on this basis when judging of Gandhi as a political leader.: A mystic or saint—such as Gandhi undoubtedly was—is beyond the purview of political history, but in dealing with Gandhi as the great leader of the Indian National Congress, a purely political organization fighting for freedom from British yoke, history must apply to him the same standards of judgment and criticism as have been applied to all other personalities, great or small, who have played any role in political affairs. Sober history must subject the public life of Gandhi to a critical and rational review without passion or prejudice, uninfluenced in the least by personal feelings of admiration or devotion, and, above all, by a disposition or proneness to believe as right and proper whatever he might have chosen to do or say. Such history must begin by discounting the halo of semi-divinity—and therefore also of infallibility—which was cast round Gandhi during his life and continues to a large extent even now, thanks to the propaganda to exploit his name for political purposes.

I yield to none in my profound respect for Gandhi, the saint and the humanitarian. But as the author of this volume, I am only concerned with the part he played in the struggle for India's freedom from the British yoke. I have necessarily

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to view his life and activities, thoughts, and feelings primarily from a narrow angle, namely as a politician and statesman leading a great political organization which was not intended to be a humanitarian association or World Peace Society, but had been formed for a definite political object, namely, to achieve India's freedom from political bondage. It has been my painful duty to show that, looked at strictly from this point of view, the popular image of Gandhi cannot be reconciled with what he actually was. A historian must uphold the great ideal of truth which was so dear to Gandhi himself, and if we delineate the political life of Gandhi with srtict adherence to truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, it will, I believe, be patent to all that Gandhi was lacking in both political wisdom and political strategy—as we commonly understand these terms—and far from being infallible, committed serious blunders, one after another, in pursuit of some Utopian ideals and methods which had no basis in reality. It will also be seen that the current estimate of the degree or extent of his success bears no relation to actual facts.

I am not unaware of the rude shock that such treatment would give to a large section of Indians and the great probability that they would curse or at least denounce the author without perhaps even going through the book itself. But I am sustained by two considerations. In the first place, I have sincerely tried to uphold the dignity of history by telling the truth as it has appeared to me in the light of such judgment or intellect as God has vouchsafed to me. I have done no less—I could do no more. Secondly, the adverse criticisms I have made against Gandhi—and the most serious ones at that—have almost all been upheld by one or more of his most admiring devotees, perhaps in some unguarded moments of their lives or when they were free from the magic influence of their political *Guru*. It has been my endeavour to keep this fact constantly before the readers by extensive quotations, so that I may not be accused of any deliberate ill-will or malice against Gandhi. I have thus quoted, in support of my criticisms, those of even such devotees as Pandit Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, C. R. Das, Rajagopalachari, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, among others, not to speak of hostile critics like Subhas Bose, Sir Sankaran Nair,

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K. F. Nariman, and Ambedkar. The adverse criticisms by the devotees were, of course, merely occasional lapses which did not affect in the least their unflinching faith in the leadership of Gandhi. Nevertheless, the quotations of their views would prove that I cannot—and I certainly do not—claim any credit and do not deserve discredit for originality in the views condemning Gandhi, however unpalatable they might appear to be when taken together in the mass.

In order to enable the reader to appreciate or assess properly the views on Gandhi expressed in this volume, I would like to explain here my general estimate of Gandhi as a political leader which is naturally obscured in the text by the narration of events in a chronological order.

Since 1919 the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, had developed into a fighting machine and revolutionary organization, non-violent in character but of tremendous strength and potentiality, on account of the mass support behind it. The ground for popular upsurge was prepared beforehand as described in the preceding volume, but Gandhi's magic personality and saintly character, which has always a great appeal to Indian masses, transformed the latent energy of the people into strenuous political activity in an astonishingly short period of time. The two new weapons with which Gandhi decided to fight were Non-violent Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience—the two outward manifestations of the great principle which Gandhi described as *Satyagraha*. It was an old principle which, according to Gandhi, was preached by the Indian sages of yore, but he was the first to use it in politics. The nature and object of *Satyagraha*, as expounded by Gandhi, has been indicated in pp. 5 ff. It would be obvious to anybody who understands its real significance that none but a saintly person can really observe it in actual life, and it was beyond the power of ordinary men, including even those who played a prominent role in Indian politics under Gandhi's leadership. They made no secret of the fact that they adopted Non-violent Non-co-operation as a political expedient but not, like Gandhi, as a creed. Gandhi himself admitted, even late in life, that none of his followers believed in *Satyagraha* as a creed, though some accepted it as a political expediency in the absence

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of any more suitable way to fight the battle of India's freedom—implying thereby that they would change it the moment they felt that some other course of action would be more helpful in achieving freedom. This was the reason why, as Gandhi himself admitted, "even 14 years of trial have failed to yield the anticipated result."

There is a popular notion, sustained by catching slogans, that Gandhi achieved India's freedom by the method of *Satyagraha* and thus laid down for the subject peoples all over the world a unique method for gaining independence without bloodshed. Of course, Gandhi's own statement leaves no doubt that *Satyagraha* had never any fair trial in India's struggle for freedom, and, as such, cannot claim any credit for it.

But there were other deep-seated differences between Gandhi and his followers. He placed the cult of non-violence above everything else—even above the independence of India. During the Second World War he grew uneasy at the possibility that the British might grant independence to India, for that would mean India's participation in violent warfare (p. 497). To him the Congress was a humanitarian association or an organization for the moral and spiritual regeneration of the world, and its aims and activities were to be regulated accordingly. But his followers looked upon the Congress as a purely political body whose sole object—and *raison d'etre*—was the achievement of the freedom of India. To Gandhi, not only was independence of India a minor issue as compared with the principle of non-violence, but, it is painful and strange to relate, he was even prepared to postpone *Swaraj* activity if thereby he could advance the interest of the Khilafat (p. 81). It is on a par with his statement that he would, "in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he wage war against the British Government" (p. 55 and f.n.), meaning thereby that India should not oppose the Amir if he invaded British India. Gandhi's conception of nationalism was also very peculiar. He fully approved of Muhammad Ali's standpoint that one must be a Muslim (or Hindu) first, and an Indian afterwards (Book IV Chapter II, f.n., 16). As a matter of fact Gandhi realised, late in life, that a wide gulf had always separated him from his followers though they all submitted to

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his authority. This has been clearly explained by Pyarelal* and need not be discussed here. This fact would have been apparent to Gandhi long before if the Congress were guided by him on democratic principles. But Gandhi was Dictator who could not tolerate opposition. In 1930 he deliberately excluded from the Working Committee of the Congress those who differed from his views (p. 271). In his lengthy statement issued on 17 September, 1934, Gandhi said that if the Socialist Group gained ascendancy in the Congress he could not remain in it (p. 445). Later, when one of his momentous decisions was opposed by Azad and Nehru he demanded that both should leave the Working Committee, and even formally wrote to Azad asking him to resign the Presidentship of the Congress (p. 528). The scene that he created after the meeting of the A.I.C.C. at Ahmadabad on 27 June, 1924 (pp. 202-3), hardly befits a democratic leader. It is difficult to improve upon the following words with which Pyarelal, a close associate of Gandhi, has described the resulting state of things: "Gandhiji came to the conclusion that his personality was acting as an incubus and smothering free self-expression in the Congress and thereby arresting its natural growth, so that from being 'the most representative and democratic organisation' it stood in danger of degenerating into an organisation 'dominated by one personality' in which 'there was no play of reason.' They could never realise the full potency of truth or non-violence that way. For that they had to learn 'to think and act naturally.'"** This fully supports what has been said above of blind faith in Gandhi. One of his admiring devotees referred to him as "beloved slave-driver" (p. 461). Gandhi realized at long last that slave-driving may be an agreeable pastime and a great source of strength to a leader, but it does not pay in the long run. For, like ordinary slaves, the slave-followers of Gandhi gradually turned against his leadership and revolted against his authority.

It is not often realized by many that since the failure of the 'Quit India' movement Gandhi's political influence waned more and more as the achievement of freedom approached nearer and nearer. He had very little share in the Congress negotia-

* *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, Chapter II.
** Ibid, p. 18.

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tions with Cripps and practically none in those vital and momentous decisions which finally led to the freedom of India.

That Gandhi played a very great role in rousing the political consciousness of the masses nobody can possibly deny. But it would be a travesty of truth to give him the sole credit for the freedom of India, and sheer nonsense to look upon *Satyagraha* (or *Charka*, according to some) as the unique weapon by which it was achieved. As mentioned above, Gandhi's followers could not wield this weapon forged by him and therefore it never came into play. A successful *Satyagraha*, as conceived by Gandhi, would necessarily mean that the British had given up their hold on India in a mood of repentance or penitence for their past sinful acts in India. But of this we have no evidence whatsoever.

The two great ends of Gandhi's life, to which even the freedom of India was a subordinate one, were to inculcate in the masses the spirit of non-violence and bring about unity between the Hindus and Muslims by a change of heart. He failed miserably in both and realized it only too well at the fag end of his life. The cult of non-violence never took root in the hearts of the people. Even during the lifetime of Gandhi it was definitely abandoned by new leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan in 1942, and it has not played any role in Indian politics ever since even under the stewardship of the devoted followers of Gandhi. As regards communal relations Gandhi began his political career by forging the closest bond of amity and co-operation between the Hindus and the Muslims such as had never been witnessed before. But it suffered a complete metamorphosis within a few years, and before Gandhi passed away he had the mortification to witness bitter hatred and hostility between the two communities growing from bad to worse every day—unprecedented in the annals of Indian history after the end of Muslim rule. The failure of his life's task was emphasized by a series of contests between the two communities, accompanied by the most horrible deeds of cruelty of a brutal nature, as if there was a fight between two savage races capable of no thought but that, regardless of all considerations of justice or mercy, their enemies should be exterminated.

The failure of Gandhi to achieve his two great ideals was

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almost inevitable. In the first case he did not make due allowance for human nature, as it is and always has been. As regards the second, he accepted, as fact, a purely imaginary fraternity, and completely ignored the fundamental differences between the Hindus and Muslims based on history, culture and tradition to which frequent reference has been made in these volumes. But though he failed, his earnest and life-long devotion to these two noble causes evokes our highest admiration, and his precept and example will always be stored as priceless treasures in India. He should not be judged merely by the result of his actions, but the high motive that inspired him should also be taken into account.

The failure to achieve the two great ideals of non-violence and Hindu-Muslim unity led to the failure of Gandhi's third ideal, namely, to maintain the political unity of India. For the cult of violence and communal strife were mainly responsible for the creation of Pakistan. As usual, Gandhi held fast to his ideal almost till the last, when his dream of a united India was rudely shattered by the action of his own followers. The tragedy of Gandhi's life was that these members of his inner council, who followed him for more than twenty years with unquestioned obedience, took the fatal steus leading to the partition of India without his konwledge, not to speak of his consent. Pyarelal mournfully observes: "Such a thing would have been inconceivable in olden days. Even when he was ranging over the length and breadth of India they did not fail to consult him before taking any vital decision"* Whether Gandhi was right and his followers wrong, does not concern us here. But it certainly shows that reason ultimately took the place of blind faith and devotion to Gandhi.

We may also refer to a few other cherished ideals of Gandhi. One of them was the universal adoption of **Charka** or spinning wheel and *Khaddar* or home-spun cloth. These might be economically helpful to certain classes, but the whole thing was carried to a ridiculous excess when, failing voluntary acceptance, at Gandhi's insistence, regular spinning was endowed with a mystic power and made an essential qualification for the mem-

* Ibid, p. 35.

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bership of the Indian National Congress, and habitual wearing of *Khaddar* a necessary qualification for holding any office in the Congress organization. This was indeed a unique feature in a political organization, to which posterity will look back with amazement, not unmingled with a certain amount of amusement, as the idiosyncrasy of a great political leader. No wonder, that in popular view the semi-religious cult of *Charka*** shortly came to be regarded as a panacea for all evils—political, economic and social—from which India was suffering. That myth has been exploded and the *Charka* is now mostly heard of only in connection with the ceremonial function on the death or birth anniversary of Gandhi. But the *Charka* was really a symbol of Gandhi's undisguised contempt for, and open hostility towards, mechanised industry of all kinds, and a yearning to return to the primitive life which India led two thousand years ago. He elaborated these and his other socio-economic ideals in the *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, written by him as far back as 1908 or 1909. When G. K. Gokhale, whom Gandhi looked upon as his political *Guru*, read it, he expressed the hope that ere long Gandhi himself would think fit to destroy the book (p. 9). But far from doing so, Gandhi published a reprint of it more than twenty-five years later with the remark that the still upheld the views expressed therein. No doubt some of his concrete suggestions are likely to yield good results, provided they are kept within proper limits. But, as in the case of *Charka*, excessive zeal and undue emphasis on their importance would make some of them useless and sometimes even ridiculous.

The same remark applies to Gandhi's noble efforts for the uplift of the *Harijans*, i.e., the untouchables and the degraded classes in Hindu society. Following the great ideal of *Daridra-Narayana* preached by Swami Vivekananda, Gandhi organized a crusade against this great social iniquity with all his energy. Though the actual success attained by him may not be very great—for the evils are of long standing and of wide extent—there is no doubt that he quickened the social consciousness of the entire Hindu community, gave a concrete shape to the

** Known as Sutra-Yajna.

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great movement, and securely laid the foundations on which others would be able to build in future. But here, again, his unduly excessive zeal for this side-issue led him to sacrifice the larger interests of the country (p. 390). He also overdid the part of the friend of the poor and the untouchables by travelling in the third class in the railway and occasionally living in the Bhangy colony in Delhi, causing heavy expenditure to the Government for making his journey and residence comfortable. Sarojini Naidu is said to have once exclaimed : 'if Bapu (Gandhi) had only known what it cost the State to keep him in a state of poverty"! It would be strange indeed if he had not known it and regarded the amenities which he enjoyed in the third class Railway compartment and in the Bhangi colony as quite normal. We have to remember all these in order to form a proper estimate of Gandhi's personality and in that light, to judge of his views and activities narrated in this volume.

Next to Gandhi, the most dominant figure in the struggle for India's freedom was undoubtedly Subhas Chandra Bose. His unique personality shone forth when he, alone of all the leading figures in the inner circle of the Congress, kept himself unaffected by the magic charm of Mahatma Gandhi. Hugh Toye, an English biographer of Bose, reckons among the 'undeniable faults' of the latter his assertion "not only that the British were wrong but that Gandhi was wrong, that the Indian struggle had no place for mystics and vague philosophers." Perhaps not a few, and some day many, would regard these very assertions as forming one of Bose's many titles to fame. Few would relish even today Toye's taunting remark that Bose regarded himself "so right that he must escape from poor, enslaved misguided India, in order to save her not only from the British, but from herself." It seems that outraged British sentiments, fuming and fretting over the loss of Indian Empire, have not yet forgiven Bose. Their instinctive recognition of Gandhi as friend and Bose as the worst enemy would one day constitute the greatest tribute to Subhas as the fighter for India's freedom.

The fundamental difference between Gandhi and Subhas Bose is quite obvious. Gandhi's ideal in life was the establishment of *Satyagraha*, and everything else was secondary : even the freedom of India had no meaning or value to him in

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case it involved a sacrifice of this ideal (pp. 497-8, 506-7). To Subhas Bose, on the other hand, freedom of India was the only aim and object in life and no means was too mean for that purpose. Agreement between the two was, therefore, impossible. It is a sad commentary on contemporary politics that most of the Congress leaders *at heart* agreed with Bose in this respect, but sided with Gandhi, even though, as Nehru put it, "they did not agree with his (Gandhi's) philosophy of life or even with many of his ideas, and often did not even understand him" (p. 461). But, as stated above, late in life they revolted against Gandhi and discarded his ideal. Their belated wisdom is a measure of the greatness of Bose who was never tired of pointing out the right way long before the others would recognize it as such.

The third great figure in the political field during the period under review was Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In order to correctly assess the value of his work, we should not judge him merely from the point of view of the freedom movement in India, as has been done in this volume for obvious reasons. Jinnah, at least in his later life, put up a brave fight. It was, however, a fight not for the freedom of India, except in a very qualified sense, but for the freedom of the Muslims from the tyrannical yoke of the Hindus, as he put it. He won the fight; the cult of violence decided the issue. To what extent Gandhi's cult of non-violence may claim credit for the freedom of India is a matter of opinion. But there is no doubt that the creation of Pakistan was the triumph of violence—in its naked and most brutal form—and of the leadership of Jinnah. Nobody can reasonably doubt that India would have surely attened independence, sooner or later, even without Gandhi, but it is extremely doubtful whether there would have been a Pakistan without Jinnah. So, if we are to judge by the result alone, the events of 1946-47 testify to the superiority of violence to non-violence in practical politics, and of Jinnah to the leaders of the Congress. But this affords an illustration of the blunder that is often committed by hasty inference drawn from the immediate result, apparently flowing from a certain course of action, without weighing the force of other circumstances. It ought to serve as a corrective to those who look upon Gandhi

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as having wrested independence from the British by waving his magic wand of *Satyagraha*. In any case Jinnah stands out as the most successful political leader of the period. Whatever the Hindus might think of Jinnah, he has secured a high place in the history of the Muslim nation, a term at which we can hardly cavil after the foundation of Pakistan. He carried to its logical consummation the work that was begun by Sir Syed Ahmad.

Either by habit or by convention the name of Gandhi alone is in popular view associated with the freedom of India. The truth or justice of this view has been briefly discussed above and in detail in this volume. But incidental reference should be made here to other agencies at work towards the same end. Among these, which are often ignored, I have laid special stress on the revolutionary movements in India and the formation of I.N.A. by Subhas Bose. But it is necessary to remember that the battle for India's freedom was also being fought against Britain, though indirectly, by Hitler in Europe and Japan in Asia. None of these different factors scored direct or complete success, but it is hard to deny that it was the cumulative effect of all these that gained freedom for India.

I have not said much about the Moderate Party after its leaders left the Congress in 1918. The great stalwarts of the Party had mostly passed away, but there still remained some eminent persons who had made valuable contribution to the freedom movement in India. Surendra Nath Banerji, for example, should always live in history as the father of Indian nationalism, whatever one might think of his views and activities after 1918. But the fact remains that the Moderate leaders did not play any significant role in the movement or struggle for freedom as it shaped itself after 1918. The moderate leaders, however, contend that their policy of co-operation under the new Reform scheme considerably helped the cause of freedom, and, if sincerely and earnestly followed by the country as a whole, would not have been less fruitful than the policy that was actually pursued.

This raises a controversial issue, namely, whether the achievement of freedom would not have been equally facilitated by following some method other than that pursued by the Con-

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gress under the leadership of Gandhi. Such hypothetical questions are always difficult to answer. But it is possible to argue that equal, if not greater, success could have been attained by following the policy of Responsive Co-operation initiated by Tilak and accepted by Gandhi till the end of 1919. Its essence was to accept and work the reforms that were offered, and carry on mass agitation for more and more till the goal was attained. In the circumstances created by the Second World War this procedure would have gained enormous strength and could scarcely have failed in the long run. Whether this process would have involved greater delay nobody can definitely say. But, according to a school of thought, it is very likely that the transfer of power under this process would have been far more smooth and the partition of India, with all its attendant horrors, might, *perhaps*, have been avoided. In any case, they say, it would have saved India from the troubles and evils which necessarily resulted from the sudden transfer of power to the hands of a Party organization without any experience of administration. Such a danger, it may be pointed out, was fully anticipated by the Congress leaders themselves. Jawaharlal Nehru, for example, had categorically declared that the "Congress as such would automatically cease to exist" after independence.* Gandhi expressed the same view and held that 'the Congress should continue for national welfare from social, moral and economic point of view only, but no member should accept a pay on job under the state.'** A gradual transfer of power, i.e., transformation of the Executive and the Legislature by systematic grant of more and more power to the elected representatives of the people, was neither theoretically absurd nor an impracticable proposition. But these speculations are at present of little practical value and may be safely left to the verdict of history in future.

It is a great relief to me to have been able to complete the *History of Freedom Movement in India*. Nobody is more conscious than I myself of the many shortcomings in this work which I had to undertake, single-handed, at an advanced age, when my long-cherished project of a co-operative work under the patro-

* *Nehru on Gandhi*, p. 60.

**Ibid., Also cf the 'Last Will and Testament' of Gandhi.

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nage of the Government of India fell through under circumstances, narrated in the Appendix to Vol. I. I can only crave the indulgence of my readers for the many errors of omission and commission in this pioneer work which is only intended to be a basis for a better and more thorough treatment of the subject in future.

I have nothing to add to what I have said in the Prefaces to the first two volumes regarding the scope and nature of this work. So far as the present volume is concerned a word of explanation is necessary in regard to the somewhat disproportionate space allotted to the description of the atrocities committed by the Government during the Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1932. It is always difficult to secure an authentic account of these nefarious deeds, for the people affected are prone to exaggerate, and the Government to minimise, the gravity of the crimes perpetrated in the name of law and order. Fortunately, so far as the atrocities of 1932 are concerned, we have the report of a small Delegation, consisting of three Britishers and one Indian, sent by India League, London. They made a prolonged tour, examined the victims of Government oppression, and submitted a lengthy report, describing the outrages of which they could secure positive evidence. It is difficult to conceive of a more authoritative, independent and impartial body than this Delegation to investigate the allegations against the British rulers in India. As the repressive measures taken by the Government of India against Indian fighters for freedom have been more or less of a uniform pattern, being directed by agencies following the same tradition, the report of this Delegation may be taken as an album of fairly representative pictures depicting the sufferings the Indian patriots had to bear for the sake of their motherland. Curiously enough, though the report of the Delegation was printed, not a single copy, so far as I know, is available in India, though I found one in the Library of the University of Chicago, U.S.A. Evidently, the Government of India took good care to prevent this very damaging report from reaching India. As the Indian readers are not likely to have access to this very important report, I thought it expedient to give copious extracts from it in order to convey some idea of the barbarities practised by the British Government which

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Bertrand Russell, in his Preface to the printed Report, pronounced to be as abominable as the misdeeds of the Nazis in Germany.

In conclusion, I may draw the attention of my readers to what I have said in the Prefaces to the first two volumes (Vol. I, pp. xiv-xv, xviii-xx ; Vol. II, pp. xvii-xxii) regarding the difficulty of writing on events which are still in the memory of us all. Those observations apply with greater force to the present volume which deals with some leading figures who are still alive or have died during the lifetime of most of my readers. Passions and prejudices die hard and personal opinions, once formed, are not likely to be altered soon. It is, thereofre, not unlikely that the views I have expressed may not commend themselves to any, and perhaps a large section of my countrymen would bitterly resent some of them. But I find consolation in the wise saying of one of the greatest Sanskrit poets so the effect, that "there may be somewhere, at some time, somebody who would agree with my views and appreciate them ; for time is eternal and the world is wide and large'. I may assure my readers that it has been a very painful task to have to comment adversely on the views and actions of some of our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who are held in the highest veneration. I shall not be surprised if what I have said about them hurts the feelings of many. My only excuse is that it is impossible to avoid all such comments in writing on a subject such as is treated in this book. I may, however, assure my readers that I have always tried to tell the truth, and in doing so followed no other guide than the light of my own judgment, sincerely formed, with malice to none and goodwill to all, and without any personal or ulterior motive of any kind.

I take this opportunity to express my obligations to my daughter Sumitra Chaudhuri, B.A., for preparing the Index, to the Natun Press for the expeditious printing—more than two thousand pages in less than twenty months—and to the staff of the National Library, Calcutta, for the uniform kindness, courtesy and help I have received from them.

4 Bepin Pal Road
Calcutta-26, October, 1963. R. C. Majumdar

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BOOK IV

NON-CO-OPERATION AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

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CHAPTER I.

THE YEAR 1919

The year 1919 may be looked upon as *annus mirabilis* which marked a definite stage in the history of India's struggle for freedom. It was memorable for four outstanding events which shaped India's future relations with Britain. These are:

1. The Rowlatt Bills and their consequence—the reign of terror in the Panjab, culminating in Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and barbarous enforcement of martial law in the Panjab.
2. The emergence of M. K. Gandhi of Satyagraha fame in South Africa as the political leader in India.
3. The passing of the Government of India Act on the basis of the Montford Report.
4. Revival of Pan-Islamism as a force in Indian politics.

Although these factors were inter-connected to a certain extent, it will be convenient to deal with them separately even at the risk of some repetition.

I. ROWLATT BILLS

In pursuance of the policy of reform cum repression or vice versa, followed by Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge, Lord Chelmsford, as mentioned above,[1] appointed a committee to investigate into the revolutionary movement and recommend legislation that may be deemed necessary to suppress it. The Committee was presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt of U. K., and consisted of four other members, two of whom were Indians and two British officials in India. The Committee prepared a detailed account of the revolutionary movement in India on the basis of the materials supplied by the Government of India, and the legislation recommended by it was based on the draft prepared by the same Government to replace the Defence of India Act which would automatically cease to be operative after the end of the World War. Montagu had warned Justice Rowlatt that the plan already hatched by the Government of India was a plan

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of "Government by means of internment and police",[1a] but in vain. After making a detailed survey of the revolutionary movement in different parts of India, which has been described above,[2] the Committee recommended special legislation which sought to curtail the liberty of the people in a drastic manner.[3] Two Bills were prepared on the basis of these recommendations.[4] The one that was actually passed into law, namely the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919, provided for speedy trial of offences by a Special Court, consisting of three High Court Judges. There was no appeal from the decision of this Court, which could meet *in camera* and take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian Evidence Act. The Provincial Government could order any person, *on suspicion,* "to furnish security or to notify his residence, or to reside in a particular area or to abstain from any specified act, or finally to report himself to the police". The Provincial Government was also given powers to search a place and arrest a suspected person without warrant and keep him in confinement, "in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify." The *Bill* was strenuously opposed thoughout the country by Indians of all shades of political opinion. They argued that apart from serious objections to such legislation in time of peace, when the revolutionary crimes were already on the decline, it was the height of unwisdom to undertake it at a time when the constitutional reforms were in the offing,—for it was sure to destroy even the slender chance, if any, that these reforms might offer to improve the political situation in India. On the other hand it was urged by the Government that India might be well described as almost in a state of unarmed revolt, and the underground revolutionary movement, spreading over a wide region in India, was far from being rooted out altogether. This view of the Government cannot be brushed aside altogether. Subsequent events have shown that the revolutionary crimes always increased after the withdrawal of coercive legislation, and it can hardly be gainsaid that there was no peace but an undeclared war in India against the British rule. From the point of view of the security of British rule in India—the main consideration which determined the policy of the Government of India—their action cannot be summarily pronounced to be either unjust or unwise. The

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real point of criticism is that they never realized the true import or significance of the situation from the point of view of nationalist India. But no autocratic Government has ever realized it in time, though wise men pointed out the real nature and solution of the problem. Lord Morley declared with truth that "the best way to get rid of Sinn Fein was to grant self-government to Ireland." But he never thought of his own remedy while he was responsible for putting down Sinn Feinism in India. The Home (British) Government took nearly a century to realize this truth in respect of Ireland, and not until the situation was well out of hand. One could hardly blame the Government of India for not realizing it in course of a decade.

As could be easily anticipated, numerous public meetings were held to protest against this lawless law. All the non-official Indian members of the Indian Legislative Council were united in opposing the measure, and four of them resigned by way of protest. Indeed such a unique opposition of Indians to a Govenmernt measure was never witnessed since the Partition of Bengal. But the Government of India, like the Bourbons in France, never benefited from past experience and remained adamant. The Bill was passed on 18th March—the officials alone voting in its favour—and placed on the Statute Book on March 21, 1919. The most curious part of the whole episode is that while the new Act practically remained a dead letter—thus falsifying the anticipations and arguments of both its frames and opponents—it brought into lime-light a political leader who was destined to achieve worldwide fame and distinction such as has seldom been the lot of any non-official political leader in any country. This was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who has shed lustre on India's struggle for freedom.

II. THE EMERGENCE OF GANDHI AS POLITICAL LEADER OF INDIA

1. Early Career in South Africa

M. K. Gandhi was born on 2 October, 1869, in a well-to-do family at Porbandar, in Kathiawar Peninsula (Gujarat). In 1888 he proceeded to England and qualified himself for the Bar. In 1891 he began to practise in the Courts, but was a complete

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failure as a lawyer both in Rajkot and Bombay. In Bombay he was insulted by the English Political Agent of the Kathiawar States. "This shock", says Gandhi in his autobiography, "changed the course of my life."[5] Anxious to escape, he accepted the offer of a firm of Porbandar Muslims to act as their lawyer in South Africa for a year. Gandhi arrived in Natal in May, 1893. Once while going to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, he entered a First Class compartment in the train. He was asked by the Railway officials to go to the Van compartment. As he refused, he was forcibly thrown out with his luggage and had to sit the whole night in the waiting room. Years later, when asked about "the most creative experiences in his life", Gandhi referred to this incident.

There was nothing unusual in the humiliating treatment meted out to Gandhi. For, the two lakhs of Indians who lived in South Africa in 1893 were subjected to all kinds of insults and indignities, and were described in the Statute books as "Semi-barbarous Asiatics". When the South African Government introduced a Bill to deprive the Indians of their right to elect members to the Natal Legislative Assembly, Gandhi organized a campaign against it. Though the Bill was passed, a new life was infused into the Indians under the leadership of Gandhi.

An incident occurred in 1896 which gave a foretaste of the mettle that the new leader was made of. During his stay in India in that year Gandhi had issued a pamphlet describing the humiliations imposed upon the Indians in South Africa, which enraged the Whites in that country. On his return to Natal (December, 1896) Gandhi was informed, even before he and his family left the steamer, that his life was in danger. He was advised to land at dusk when the Port Superintendent would escort them home. Gandhi sent his wife and children in a carriage, but refusing to enter the city like a thief at dusk walked on foot. As soon as he landed, a crowd gathered round him and pelted him with stones, brickbats and rotten eggs. Then they began to batter and kick him, and even when he fainted they continued boxing and battering him. The wife of the Police Superintendent, who was passing by, came to his rescue, and saved his life.

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In spite of all this Gandhi formed an Ambulance Corps to aid the British during the Boer War and rendered great service which was highly applauded. He hoped that this voluntary service would appeal to the South Africans' sense of fair play and moderate the hostility of the Whites to coloured Asiatics. But he was soon undeceived. For, instead of decreasing, the tension waxed. Yet Gandhi joined the British army with a platoon of 24 Indian stretcher bearers during the Zulu rebellion of 1906. He volunteered, he said, because "the British empire existed for the welfare of the world", and he had a "genuine sense of loyalty" to it.

But ere long Gandhi's loyalty was shaken by a new Act which required all Indians in Transvaal to get themselves registered with finger prints like criminals, on pain of severe penalties. Gandhi again took the lead in opposing it. After exhausting all peaceful means of redress such as petitions, deputations, interviews and correspondence, he decided to defy the law, by refusing to register, give finger-prints, and receive permits. On September 11, 1906, Gandhi addressed a mass meeting at Johannesburg and called upon the assembled people—about thousand in number—to resist the insulting ordinance, called by them 'Black Act', and go to jail, or, if need be, die. The people took an oath to resist the law at all costs.

This was the beginning of that movement, technically known as *Satyagraha,* which is similar to Passive Resistance with the difference that it eschewed violence of any kind in thought, words, and deed at any stage.

The scope of *Satyagraha* campaign was extended to fight against two other disabilities newly imposed—one prohibiting the entry of the Indians into Transvaal and another declaring all Indian marriages to be illegal. Women joined *Satyagraha* and a large number, including both Gandhi and his wife, was sent to prison. About 6,000 Indian miners in New Castle went on sympathetic strike, and would not yield even though they were driven from their lodgings and had to live in the open with their women and children. Gandhi put himself at their head, and on October 28, 1913, marched with more than two thousand men, 127 women, and 57 children to the border of Transvaal to offer *Satyagraha.* Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to nine months'

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imprisonment. The strikers were also arrested and taken back to New Castle. "The labourers were brave men, and they flatly declined to work on the mines with the result that they were brutally whipped.....(and) kicked.....But the poor labourers patiently put up with all their tribulations." There were strikes and *Satyagrahas* by women in other places in sympathy with New Castle miners. The Government resorted to firing which resulted in a number of casualties. The whole Indian community rose as one man against the tyranny of the Whites.

The grim struggle was being watched with sympathy and admiration in India, and even the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge entered a vigorous protest on behalf of the Indians. Ultimately the South African Government realized that they could not "put twenty thousand Indians in jail", and arrived at a settlement with Gandhi by removing some of the glaring indignities and iniquities suffered by the Indians in South Africa. The *Satyagraha* campaign, which had commenced in September, 1906, came to an end with the passing of the Indian Relief Act of 1914.[6]

2. Satyagraha

As the new principle and technique of *Satyagraha*, which Gandhi initiated with success in South Africa, formed the dominant element in India's struggle for freedom since 1919, it is necessary to explain briefly its nature and significance. This is by no means an easy task. For, in the first place, *Satyagraha* is a blend of philosophical, ethical and mystic elements which it is not easy to comprehend for those who are uninitiated in the principle and its practice. Secondly, *Satyagraha*, in its final form, was the result of a gradual evolution, even in the mind of Gandhi, during a period extending over more than thirty years. Gandhi himself has expounded it on different occasions in many different ways in his writings, speeches and actions.

Thirdly, a voluminous literature has grown up on the philosophy of *Satyagraha* treating it from a mystic, psychological or religious point of view, which is not material to our present purpose. I shall therefore confine myself to the general features of *Satyagraha* as a guiding principle or moving force in political actions of masses or individuals.

The aim of *Satyagraha* is the conversion of the opponent

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to one's own view by self-suffering, and not by violence. How it triumphs over the opponents is thus described: "It inovlves self-chosen suffering and humiliation for the resisters. If it is effective, it is so by working on the conscience of those against whom it is being used, sapping their confidence in the exclusive rightness of their case, making their physical strength impotent, and weakening their resolution by insinuating a sense of guilt for the sufferings they have a part in causing."[7]

Gandhi originally described his movement in South Africa as 'Passive Resistance'. The word *Satyagraha* was deliberately substituted for it later, both because Gandhi felt ashamed to use an English word and also because he wanted to emphasize that there was an essential difference between his movement and the Passive Resistance. As Gandhi himself put it: *"Satyagraha* differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end; whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest, and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form."[8]

This is further elucidated by a staunch follower of Gandhi in the following words: "Passive Resistance is a weapon of the weak. It does not eschew violence as a matter of principle, but only because of the lack of the means of violence or out of sheer expediency. It would use arms if and when they are available, or when there is a reasonable chance of success. Love has no place in it. Satyagraha, on the other hand, is the law of love, the way of love for all."[9]

Non-violence, which forms the very basis of *Satyagraha,* is thus expounded by Gandhi: "When a person claims to be non-violent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrong-doer. Thus non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives. It therefore embraces even sub-human life, not excluding noxious insects or beasts....

"In contradistinction to passive resistance, *Satyagraha* is the

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law of love, the way of love for all. It eschews violence absolutely as a matter of principle, at all stages and in all forms. It can never go hand in hand with any kind of violent activity involving injury to person or property. The idea behind it is not to destroy or harass the opponent, but to convert him or win him over by sympathy, patience, and self-suffering. Whilst *Satyagraha* hates all evil and would never compromise with it, it approaches the evil-doer through love. The *Satyagrahi* has infinite trust in human nature and in its inherent goodness."[10]

Thus the basic assumption of *'Satyagraha* is the essential goodness of human nature which is bound to triumph over temporary aberration if faced with love and self-suffering on the part of his opponent or rather the victim of that temporary aberration. In a more philosophic phraseology it is the triumph of the soul-force over the brute-force. Gandhi emphasized the fact that the very high ideal of *Satyagraha* could be practised by even the common people for achieving their political ends. Thus he said: "I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute".

Gandhi himself has referred to non-co-operation and civil resistance (meaning probably the same thing as Civil Disobedience) as the two offshoots of *Satyagraha*. In addition to these two the *hartal* (temporary strike), purificatory fast, picketing, non-violent raids or marches (as on salt depots in 1930), and fasting, either for a short and fixed period or unto death, are also reckoned by some to be forms of *Satyagraha*. Examples of all of these will occur in course of the narrative of events and need not be described here in detail.

3. Satyagraha in India

Gandhi left South Africa for good and returned to India in January, 1915. He seems to have been almost completely out of touch with the currents of political life in India and the *Swadeshi* movement. His views on it have been quoted above,[11] but it is somewhat strange that he was unacquainted with the ideology of Arabinda, specially the Passive Resistance. Accord-

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ing to his own confession he imbibed the idea of Passive Resistance from the writings of Tolstoy and Thoreau, but he never refers to Arabinda Ghose who propounded in detail the idea of passive resistance and non-co-operation at the very moment when he (Gandhi) was carrying on the campaign of *Satyagraha* in South Africa.[12] Even when thousands of Indian youths were carrying on a life and death struggle to get rid of the British yoke, and the Government of Lord Minto was passing measures of repression one after another, Gandhi felt "a genuine sense of loyalty to the British Government" and accordingly volunteeered his services during the Zulu rebellion of 1906. "I bore no grudge against the Zulus, they had harmed no Indians. I had doubts about the rebellion itself". So wrote Gandhi, but yet he offered to form an Indian Ambulance Corps to aid the Natal Government, which had passed the most humiliating laws against the Indian settlers. Gandhi justified his action by saying, "I then believed that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world. A genuine sense of loyalty prevented me from even wishing ill to the Empire."[13]

While a crusade for *Swaraj* or political emancipation was convulsing India, Gandhi was preoccupied with the social and ethical future of the Indians. His idea of *Swaraj* was very different. In his book *Hind Swaraj,* written in 1908 in Gujrati, he cared little whether India achieved her political goal and became a self-governing colony like Canada, and also decried the attempt to set up in India the parliamentary form of democratic government such as obtained in Great Britain.[14] Indeed the *Hind Swaraj* depicts an idea of *Swaraj* and civilisation to which it would be difficult for most Indians of this century to subscribe. When Gokhale saw the English translation of this book in 1912 "he thought it so crude and hastily conceived that he prophesied that Gandhi himself would destroy the book after spending a year in India."[15] But his prophecy did not prove true. For even in 1938 Gandhi wrote: "I might change the language here and there, if I had to rewrite the booklet. But after the stormy thirty years through which I have since passed, I have seen nothing to make me alter the views expounded in it."[16]

Gandhi's loyalty to the British—a loyalty impervious to the

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wave of nationalism that was sweeping over India—would have struck dumb even the most moderate of the Moderates in Indian politics. On 9 October, 1908, he wrote to the Governor of Madras: "I should be uninterested in the fact as to who rules (India), the important consideration being how he ruled." At that very moment Indians of all shades of public opinion looked upon self-government as their immediate or ultimate goal, and repeated the dictum of a British Prime Minister, uttered only a few years before, that "good government was never a substitute for self-government." During the First World War, while in England, he was opposed to those Indians who wanted to take advantage of Britain's need to serve the interests of their country. He formed an Ambulance Corps whose members suffered all kinds of insult and humiliation at the hands of the British.

On his arrival in India in January, 1915, Gandhi himself realized that he was a misfit in politics, and accepted Gokhale as his political *guru*. Gokhale was deeply impressed by his wide and liberal humanism (though not by his political ideas) and was keen on admitting him to the 'Servants of India Society'. But the other members of the Society did not like the idea on account of the great difference between their methods and ideals and those of Gandhi, who thereupon set up an *Ashram* at 'Ahmadabad' on the banks of the Sabarmati (1915).

The main object of this *Ashram* was to acquaint India with the method of *Satyagraha*. The first opportunity came when in 1917 the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford refused permission to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to introduce a Bill for the immediate abolition of the Indenture system by which Indian labourers had practically to work as slaves in British plantations. Gandhi took up the challenge and started a campaign for abolition of the system before 31 July, 1917. Before that date the Government announced that further recruitment would be stopped as a special war measure under the Defence of India Act. No occasion therefore arose to put *Stayagraha* to test.

Gandhi next came into conflict with the Government by taking up the cause of the peasants of Champaran, in Bihar, who were being ruthlessly oppressed by the Indigo-planters. Joined by some local leaders, Gandhi proceeded to make an inquiry on the spot. He was served with a notice to quit the

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place, but he defied the order. He was tried in the Court on 18 April, 1917, but the case was withdrawn by the Government. Gandhi thereupon proceeded with his inquiry which revealed such staggering facts about the oppression practised by the indigo-planters on the cultivators that the Government abolished the iniquitous system by legislation. This was the first triumph of Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement in India. It may be pointed out that more than fifty years before, the indigo-cultivators obtained a similar victory in Bengal against the planters.[17]

The next scene of Gandhi's activity was Ahmadabad. The mill-hands there had been agitating for a long time for an increase of pay, and Gandhi advised them to go on strike. They agreed to eschew violence and took a pledge not to resume work until their terms were accepted or the mill-owners agreed to refer the matter to arbitration. For two weeks everything went on well, but then the strikers lost their zeal and began 'to totter'. Thereupon Gandhi told the mill-hands assembled in a meeting, that unless they rally and continue the strike till a settlement is reached, or till they leave the mills altogether, he will not touch any food. This fast, the precursor of many that were to follow, had the desired effect, both upon the labourers as well as upon the mill-owners, and a settlement was reached after 21 days' strike.[18]

Immediately after the strike was over Gandhi plunged himself heart and soul into a *Satyagraha* campaign at Kheda (or Kaira) District. Under the Land Revenue Rules, the cultivators were entitled to suspension of the revenue assessment if the yield of the crops fell below 25 per cent. The cultivators claimed that this was the case, but the Government officials denied and refused the popular demand for arbitration. When all attempts to settle the matter failed Gandhi advised the cultivators to resort to *Satyagraha*. They took pledge not to pay the revenue and suffer all the consequences, including attachment of movables and forefeiture of lands. Gandhi was joined by a number of public men including Vallabhbhai Patel. In spite of occasional lapses the cultivators stood firm. Their fear of officials passed away; they stood up against threats, coercion and intimidation by them and even faced with equanimity attachments of their property and notices for forfeiture of land. The

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Government was ultimately forced to offer terms which were acceptable to the cultivators.[19]

4. Agitation against Rowlatt Bills

In spite of his loyalty to the British and a strong dislike to embarrass the Government by pressing the demands for Home Rule during the War, Gandhi made it clear to the Viceroy, as indeed his activities at Kheda and Champaran clearly showed, that he would not tolerate "the tyranny and wrong-doing of the officials." True to his principle Gandhi had no hesitation in deciding to offer *Satyagraha* if the Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee were passed into law. In spite of his earnest pleading with the Viceroy, one of the two Bills was passed on 18 March, 1919. In the meantime Gandhi had called a small conference attended by about twenty persons, including Vallabhbhai Patel and Sarojini Naidu. The *Satyagraha* pledge was drafted and signed by all present on 24 February, 1919.

The pledge read as follows:—

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee, to be hereafter appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle, we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."[20]

A separate body called *Satyagraha Sabha* was established with Gandhi as its President, and its headquaters were fixed at Bombay. Bulletins were issued, public meetings were held and more people signed the *Satyagraha* pledge. Gandhi also proposed that the country should observe a general *hartal*—all the people should suspend business for a day, and observe it as one of fasting and prayer as a fitting preliminary to *Satyagraha* which is a process of self-purification.[21] The idea was welcomed

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by Rajagopalachari and others, and Gandhi drafted a brief appeal. The date of the *hartal* was fixed on 30th March, 1919, but was subsequently changed to 6th April. Gandhi's appeal for *hartal* met with a wonderful response all over India. It began at Delhi on March 30, the date originally fixed, as the notice of change reached too late. It was a unique success, but the Police checked the procession by opening fire which caused many casualties. Similar was the case in other localities such as Lahore and Amritsar and urgent invitations by wire came to Gandhi to visit those localities. Thus the *hartal* of 6th April, 1919, marked out Gandhi as the all-India leader. The blood of the martyrs soon consecrated him as the uncrowned King of India.

5. The Jallianwalla Bagh and Martial Law in the Panjab

Gandhi's leadership was severely put to the test during the great upheaval that followed his call to observe *hartal* all over India on April 6. Report of successful *hartal* came from all quarters. It is not possible to refer to them all, but a few may be described as typical. Gandhi was himself present in Bombay and the *hartal* in that city was a complete success. In the morning thousands, after a bath in the sea at Chaupatty, marched in a procession to Thakurdvar. The Muslim citizens also joined the procession in large numbers and they took some of the Hindu leaders to a neighbouring mosque where Mrs. Naidu and Gandhi delivered speeches. It was suggested that the people should take the pledges of Swadeshi and Hindu-Muslim unity then and there. Gandhi rejected the proposal on the ground that such pledges should be taken only after due deliberation, and suggested that those who wanted to take them should assemble on the following morning. His wisdom and insight were proved when only a few persons turned up next day to take the pledges. It indicated a great drawback in the popular movements in India, namely, enthusiasm for exciting work but indifference, if not positive dislike, for sustained and constructive efforts. Another characteristic feature of the Bombay *hartal* was the beginning of Civil Disobedience by the sale of two proscribed books written by Gandhi which sold like hot cakes.

But the hartal did not pass off so smoothly in Delhi, where,

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as mentioned above, it was prematurely held on March 30. There were clashes between the police and the people, the military fired upon the crowd killing a few and wounding a large number. This also happened in other localities

Swami Shraddhananda, a man of irreproachable character, and held in the highest esteem all over India, submitted a written statement about the happenings at Delhi which may be summed up as follows:—

'A notice to the following effect was posted and circulated at Delhi: "The 30th of March should be observed as a day of mourning, all business and shops should be closed, and one should spend the day in wishing well for the country, in reforming his own mind and in philanthropic work. Every woman, and child should attend the meeting at 5 O'clock." At about 2 O'clock the people who were asking the shops at the Railway station to be closed were threatened by a European Railway official. When he was told that it was no business of his to interfere, he whistled to the police who arrested two men. The people said that if their men were given up they would go away. Then the police began to belabour them with sticks, and soldiers with a machine gun were arriving. As soon as this report was conveyed to me by some gentlemen who had come running from the Railway station, I proceeded there and heard that the machine gun had fired indiscriminately and about a dozen had either been killed or wounded, the bodies being dragged into the Station yard.

'I addressed a public meeting which was attended by about 50,000 people, and asked the huge audience to follow me and disperse quietly to their homes. When we approached the Clock Tower we found the Gurkhas in the middle of the road, in double file, facing both ways. On seeing us they moved to the right foot-board, but soon as we came near them a rifle was fired into the crowd. There was a great commotion but I pacified the men and went alone to the Gurkhas and asked them why they were firing on innocent people. They pointed two rifles at me and said *"tom ko ched denge"* (we will pierce you). I was clad in my *sanyasi* dress and, standing quietly before them, said, *"main khada hum, goli maro"* (I am standing, fire). At once eight or ten more rifles were aimed at my breast and insolent

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threats continued to be made. The crowd was about to rush, saying: "Let us die, and not you", when I stopped them by waving my hand and reminding them of their vow. After I had stood there for three minutes with the rifles pointed at my breast, a European officer came and asked the solitary policeman present there whether he had ordered firing. I then left with the people following me.

'The dead bodies and the wounded were removed to the Police Hospital. The English nurses refused to attend them, saying: "They have been well served. They are rebels and we wont attend on them", or words to that effect. It was only after a deputation had waited on the Chief Commissioner that the dead bodies were delivered to their relations and the wounded were taken to the civil hospital and properly dressed'.[22]

Delhi observed also the *hartal* on April 6. More than 10,000 people assembled that day and there were more than eight overflow meetings. Popular excitement ran very high, both at Delhi and Amritsar; so the local leaders invited Gandhi to visit these places as they expected his presence to have a pacifying effect on the people. The Government, however, thought otherwise.

On the night of April 7 Gandhi started for Delhi and Amritsar. Before the train had reached Palwal Station, about forty miles from Delhi, he was served with a written order prohibiting him from entering the boundary of the Panjab as his presence was likely to disturb the peace of the Province. Gandhi was asked to get down, but refused to do so. At Palwal he was taken out by the police and put in a train for Bombay under police escort, on 10 April.

As soon as Gandhi reached Bombay he was set free, but was told that the news of his arrest had roused the people to a pitch of mad frenzy and an outbreak was apprehended every minute at Pydhuni. So Gandhi proceeded there and the huge crowd, mad with joy, formed a procession. There was a body of mounted Police, and brickbats were raining down from above, but nothing untoward happened until the procession was stopped by a body of mounted Police who had arrived there to prevent it from proceeding further towards the Fort area. The crowd had almost broken through the Police cordon, when the Officer-

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in-charge gave the order to disperse the crowd. At once the mounted party charged upon the densely packed crowd brandishing their lances as they went. The lances just grazed the car of Gandhi, when the lancers swiftly passed by blindly cutting their way through that seething mass of humanity. Some got trampled under foot, others were badly mauled and crushed.

Disturbances had also broken out at Ahmadabad as the rumour spread that not only Gandhi but Anasuya Ben had also been put under arrest. The mill-hands were infuriated at her rumoured arrest, struck work and committed acts of incendiarism and violence, and a sergeant had been done to death. The officer fired on the crowd several times and placed Ahmadabad under martial law. Gandhi proceeded to Ahmadabad and learnt that an attempt had been made to pull up the rails near the Nadiad railway station, and that a Government officer had been murdered in Viramgam. With the permission of the Government Gandhi held a public meeting on April 13, and tried to bring home to the people the sense of their wrong. He declared a penitential fast of three days for himself, and appealed to the people to go on a similar fast for a day. He also asked those who had committed acts of violence to confess their guilt and the Government to condone their crimes. But there was no response from either side. Peace was, however, restored.

According to Hunter Committee's Report, "two officials were killed, among the rioters 28 are known to have been killed and 123 wounded. It is probable there were other casualties. Telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmadabad and at fourteen places outside. The value of the property destroyed by the rioters at Ahmadabad was approximately nine and a half lakhs of Rupees."

Gandhi did not mince matters. He recounted the misdeeds of the people in a speech at Ahmadabad on 14 April, 1919, in the following words: "I have said times without number that *Satyagraha* admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism, and still in the name of *Satyagraha* we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold, I should not like to be saved."

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From Ahmadabad Gandhi proceeded to Nadiad. As he saw the actual state of things there and received reports, it suddenly dawned upon him that he had committed a grave error in calling upon the people to launch a campaign of Civil Disobedience. He felt that a *Satyagrahi* must scrupulously obey all laws; for only then does the right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances. No one had a right to adopt *Satyagraha* before he had thoroughly qualified himself for it, and Gandhi realized that his error lay in his failure to observe this necessary limitation. It was in this connection that Gandhi said that he was guilty of a 'Himalayan miscalculation'.[24]

As a result of these reflections, reproduced as far as possible in his own words, Gandhi suspended the Civil Disobedience and decided not to re-start it on a mass scale without creating a band of well-tried, pure-hearted volunteers who thoroughly understood the strict conditions of *Satyagraha*, could explain them to the people, and by sleepless vigilance keep them on the right path. Accordingly, he went to Bombay and raised a corps of *Satyagrahi* volunteers through the *Satyagraha Sabha*. But Gandhi found that people took little interest in the peaceful side of *Satyagraha*. The number of volunteers dwindled and even those who remained did not take a regular training.

There were many who were unhappy over Gandhi's decision to suspend *Satyagraha*. They felt that if all-round peace was regarded as a condition precedent to *Satyagraha*, mass-*Satyagraha* would be an impossibility. Gandhi however, held the view that those who wanted to lead the people to *Satyagraha* ought to be able to keep them within the limited non-violence expected of them.

In the meantime events were moving fast in the Panjab. In order to properly assess the situation it is necessary to remember the part played by the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who had exasperated the whole Province by his cruel recruiting campaigns, his ruthless suppression of the people, and insults heaped upon the educated classes. He interned hundreds of local men with little or no cause. He gagged the vernacular press and prevented the nationalist papers published outside the Panjab from entering the Province. As already mentioned above, he

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was hated by the people for his arbitrary methods of collecting funds and forcible recruiting of men for the army. One of the devices adopted by him was to force "Lambardars (land-owners) to furnish recruits on the penalty of forfeiting their rights to the land."[25] All this caused so much popular resentment that during the special session of the Congress at Bombay (1918) delegates from the Panjab told their fellow-delegates how "they were living over a volcano, which any act of exceptional tyranny might cause to burst out"[26]

This proved to be a prophetic utterance and the volcano burst out soon after the *hartal* of April 6. Within a week a considerable part of the Panjab was aflame and the authorities put down the "rebellion" with such measures as no civilized Government in modern times has ever been known to take against its own subjects.

Fortunately for history, a thorough inquiry was made into the whole affair by two Committees, one official (Presided by Lord Hunter), and another appointed by the Congress, within a year of its occurrence. A perusal of these two Reports together with statements of reliable persons made at the time enable one to form a fairly accurate idea of the main trends of events. It is neither possible nor necessary to give a detailed account of even the most important incidents that took place in various localities. It will suffice to give a short account of the incidents at Lahore, Kasur and Gujranwala to serve as typical examples. and make a somewhat detailed reference to the events of Amritsar.

i. Lahore

The news of Gandhi's arrest created great excitement on Apil 10. All the shops and business places were immediately closed. About 200 or 300 students, while proceeding towards the Mall, were stopped by the Police near the High Court. They neither moved forward nor turned back. Thereupon Mr. Foyson, the District Magistrate ordered firing, and two volleys were fired. Two or three were killed and a few wounded. In the meanwhile another crowd was collected near the Lahari Gate. Pandit Rambhuj Datta requested the Magistrate to give him some time so that he might induce the men to disperse peacefully. Ten

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minutes' time was allowed and at the end of this period, people were about to disperse. Mr. Datta, reminded by the Magistrate that the time-limit had passed, asked him to wait for a few minutes as a vast crowd of ten to fifteen thousand would naturally take some time to disperse. Only two minutes were allowed, and after the expiry of this, even while the crowd, sitting on the road, stood up to disperse, fire was opened upon them, bullets beside buckshots being used. A few died and many were injured.

On Friday, the 11th April, a meeting was held in the Badshahi mosque, and the *hartal* was continued. Next day, the 12th, another meeting was held in the same place. An Inspector of the C. I. D. remarked before the commencement of the meeting: "Is this mosque of God's house or Satan's?" This provoked the people who beat him. Otherwise the meeting, attended by about 30,000 people, passed off smoothly. But when the meeting was over the people found that the mosque and its approaches were surrounded by the Military and the Police. It is said that a brickbat thrown by the crowd struck the horse of the Officer Commanding. Immediately nine shots were successively fired at Lala Khusiram, a student in the Sastri class and he fell dead. His dead body was taken to the cremation ground in procession of 50,000. The exact number of the dead could not be ascertained.[27]

ii. Gujranwala.

The trouble started over the killing of a calf and hanging it on a railway bridge. It was alleged that the Police did it by way of insulting the Hindus. On April 14 a big crowd surrounded a train, stoned it, and burnt two railway bridges including the one mentioned above. The crowd then set fire to the telegraph office, post-office, railway station, Dak Bungalow, the office of the Collector, a railway shed, a church and a school.[28]

iii. Kasur.

In Kasur the violence of the crowd took a more serious turn. It is alleged that the people got excited by the conduct of the police and were highly provoked. In any case the crowd got entirely out of control on April 12, burnt the main post-office, Munsiff's office and a small oil shed, did considerable damage

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to the Railway station signal and telegraph wires, and did other acts of rowdyism. They also attacked a train and beat two European soldiers to death.[29]

iv. Amritsar

The *hartals* on March 30 and April 6 passed off smoothly even though the people were highly provoked by the order served upon the two popular leaders, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, not to address public meetings. The huge procession of the *Ramnavami* festival also passed off smoothly on the 9th. The Deputy Commissioner said in his evidence: "As a rule they were very civil, every car in the procession stopped in front of me and the band played, God save the King."[30] The Congress Committee remarked: "We felt tempted to say that O'Dwyer invited violence from the people so that he could crush them." This seems to be justified by facts. On that very day, 9th April, O'Dwyer's Government issued orders for the deportation of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, and they were quietly taken from their homes on the 10th morning. At about midday the news spread in the city. *Hartal* was declared and a not very large corwd of demonstrators marched through the prinncipal streets of the city, towards the Bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to plead for the release of the prisoners. There being a cattle and horse show at Amritsar in connection with the Vaisakhi fair, many people of the agriculturist class from outside the city attended it and they also joined the demonstration. On their way the crowd came to know of the forcible repatriation of Gandhi from the borders of the Panjab by the order of the Government. This created great commotion, but nevertheless the crowd macrhed peacefully, and did not molest or take any notice of the Europeans whom it met on the way. But the crowd was checked at the Railway level-crossing, called the Hall Gate Bridge, and though the crowd was quite unarmed, no having even 'sticks, or *lathis,*' firing was resorted to. "Several people were killed and wounded. The crowd then rushed back to the city, infuriated by the sight of their dead and wounded comrades on the ground and the action of the authorities, who had dealt in this manner with a demonstration which set out with peaceful intentions.

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"Thereafter followed a series of brutal acts of violence on the part of the coarser elements in the mob, which had got entirely out of hand. Five Europeans were murdered and several buildings, including the telephone exchange, two banks, the Town Hall, and the Indian Christian Church, were attacked and fired, and, in some instances, destroyed. Three of those killed were officials of the National Bank and the Chartered Bank. A lady missionary doctor, Miss Sherwood, was set upon by the mob, struck with sticks and fists, and left unconscious in the street. She was subsequently rescued by some Indians, who took her into a house and cared for her until she was restored to her the crowd again attempted to pass the Hall Gate friends. Later, Bridge, and were fired upon, with twenty to thirty casualties. The telegraph wires were cut and two railway stations outside the city were attacked....

"The sequence of events is important because it shows, as admitted in the official Report, that all the acts of mob violence ...followed the unnecessary and unreasonable firing on the crowd at the Hall Bridge, and the killing and wounding of peaceful demonstrators."[31]

This considerably weakens, if not altogether demolishes, the Government theory that the mob violence of 10th April was the designed outcome of a conspiracy to subvert the Government.

Things seemed to have settled down on the 11th. A big funeral procession carrying the dead bodies of the victims of police firing passed off smoothly and no untoward incident happened in course of the day. But things took a bad turn with the arrival of Bridgadier General Dyer on the evening of the same day (11 April). He immediately took command of the troops in the city and behaved as if the city was under Martial Law, though it was not formally declared before 15th April. The official report admits that *de facto* Martial Law prevailed in Lahore since the arrival of Dyer.

Dyer began his regime on the 12th by indiscriminate arrests and the issue of a proclamation prohibiting all meetings and gatherings. But, as the Hunter Committee reports, the proclamation was not read in many parts of the city. This omission, deliberate or accidental, was very unfortunate as it was announced on the 12th evening that a public meeting would be held at

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Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th at 4-30 P.M. Although Dyer was fully aware of it, he took no step to warn the people about its illegality, or prevent it being held by stationing troops at the entrance of the Bagh. But soon after the meeting had begun Dyer arrived on the spot with armoured cars and troops. He stationed himself and his troops on a rising ground at the entrance of the Bagh, and, then, without issuing any warning ordered the troops to fire. The troops fired into the dense crowd for ten consecutive minutes till their ammunition was exhausted or nearly so.

The following vivid account given by Valentine Chirol, by no means a friend of India, is based on official evidence: "One cannot possibly realise the frightfulness of it until one has actually looked upon on the Jallianwala Bagh—once a garden, but in modern times a waste space frequently used for fairs and public meetings, about the size perhaps of Trafalagar Square, and closed in almost entirely by walls above which rise the backs of native houses facing into the congested streets of the city. I entered by the same narrow lane by which General Dyer.....entered with about fifty rifles, I stood on the same rising ground on which he stood, when without a word of warning, he opened fire at about 100 yards' range upon a dense crowd, collected mainly in the lower and more distant part of the enclosure around a platform from which speeches were being delivered. The crowd was estimated by him at 6,000, by others at 10,000 and more, but practically unarmed, and all quite defenceless. The panic-stricken multitude broke at once, but for ten consecutive minutes he kept up a merciless fussilade, in all 1500 rounds, on that seething mass of humanity, caught like rats in a trap, vainly rushing for the few narrow exits or lying flat on the ground to escape the rain of bullets, which he personally directed to the points where the crowd was thickest. The 'targets,' to use his own word, were good, and then at the end of those ten minutes, having almost exhausted his ammunition, he marched his men off by the way they came. He had killed, according to the official figures, only wrung out of Government months later, 379, and he left about 1200 wounded on the ground, for whom, again to use his own word, he did not consider it his 'job' to take the slightest thought."

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Sir Valentine comments: "But for General Dyer's own statement before the Hunter Commission, one might have pleaded that, left to his own unbalanced judgement by the precipitate abdication of the civil authority, he simply 'saw red'..... But, on his own showing, he deliberately made up his mind while marching his men to Jallianwala, and would not have flinched from still greater slaughter if the narrowness of the approaches had not compelled him to leave his machine-guns behind. His purpose, he declared, was to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab".[32]

We also possess the account of Lala Girdhari Lal, the Deputy Chairman of the Panjab Chamber of Commerce who personally witnessed the whole incident from a house overlooking the Jallianwala Bagh, and was the first to go into the Bagh after the firing had ceased. He says: "I saw hundreds of persons killed on the spot. The worst part of the whole thing was that firing was directed towards the gates through which the people were running out. There were small outlets, 4 or 5 in all, and bullets actually rained over the people at all these gates, and..... many got trampled under the feet of the rushing crowds and thus lost their lives. Blood was pouring in profusion. Even those who lay flat on the ground were shot. No arrangements were made by the authorities to look after the dead or wounded ..... I think there must have been over 1,000 dead bodies in the garden then."[33]

As will be seen, there is a serious discrepancy between the above two accounts regarding the number of the dead. On this subject the Congress Inquiry Committee observes: "In the matter of the death roll, it is interesting to note that according to the Government's own showing, they did not commence investigating the figure before the 20th August, i.e., four months after the tragedy. Mr. Thompson then announced that not more than 290 had died. Now they have practically accepted the Seva Samiti's figures, viz., 500, which are based on actual tracing and represent the minimum. The exact figure will never be known, but after careful investigation, we consider that Lala Girdhrai Lal's computation of 1,000 is by no means an exaggerated calculation."[34]

The most significant aspect of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy

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was the very frank statement of Dyer. He not only admitted all the gruesome facts but almost boasted of his achievement and sought to justify it. "To him it was a 'merciful act' to fire without warning on an inoffensive crowd because it might have made fun of him if he had refrained from doing so. He admits that he could have dispersed it without firing but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to 'fire and fire well' till his ammunition was exhausted and 2,000 persons lay dead or wounded. There ended his duty. It was none of his business, he tells us, to look after the dead and wounded. It was no one's business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion. What more was needed?"[35]

But Dyer does not stand alone. The Government of India and a section of the British people—men and women, women more than men,—both in India and Britain, endorsed his action and rewarded him for it. But there was at least one Britisher, C. F. Andrews, who described Dyer's act as "a cold and calculated massacre", and "an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable."[35a]

The cold-blooded massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of any civilized Govermnent, took place before Martial Law was declared and the administration was still, at least nominally, in the hands of the Civil authority. Martial Law was proclaimed at Amritsar on the 15th April, 1919, and in five districts of the Panjab between 15th and 24th April. It was withdrawn on 11 June except on railway lands.

The facts elicited by the Hunter Committee from the officials concerned leave no doubt that there was hardly any justification for the introduction of Martial Law to control the situation.

As regards the continuance of the Martial Law even the Majority Report of the Hunter Committee contained the observation: "The wisdom of continuing Martial Law for the whole length of time it remained effective in the Panjab is more open to objection than the original declaration."[36]

The regime of Martial Law was a veritable reign of terror characterized by acts of brutality and deliberate rascality un-

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worthy of any civilized government or of officers claiming to belong to a civilized nation. Fortunately for history, even the facts which are not in dispute are sufficient to sustain this severe indictment.

Dyer, as mentioned above, did not take any step to look after the wounded at Jallianwala Bagh. For, he said, 'it was not his job, they might go to the hospital if they liked.' But on that very day (13th April) "he had issued a Curfew Order, that all persons must be indoors after 8 p.m. and would go abroad in the streets at the risk of being shot at sight. It is surprising that the wounded lay in their agony, that the dead lay putrefying in the hot atmosphere of an Amritsar April night, that the vultures and jackals came to tear the flesh from the bodies of the innocent victims of this dreadful holocaust, while the anxious relatives of innocent victims remained terrified in their houses..... The Curfew Order in Amritsar was maintained for weeks, and was administered with the utmost rigour."

"Among General Dyer's inspirations was the cutting off of the water supply and the electric supply of the city." One of the most astounding inventions of Dyer's fertile brain was the "crawling order". "By his orders, for several days, everyone passing through the street in which Miss Sherwood, the lady doctor, was assualted was ordered to crawl with belly to the ground."

"Floggings were a common feature of the administration of Martial Law in Amritsar as in other areas.....A public platform for whippings was erected near the fort, and a number of triangles for floggings were erected in various parts of the city."

"Finally, here are the figures of the cases dealt with by the Courts at Amritsar. On major charges 298 people were put before the Martial Law Commissions, who tried cases unfettered by the ordinary recognized rules of procedure or laws of evidence. Of these 218 were convicted; 51 were sentenced to death, 46 to transportation for life, 2 to imprisonment for ten years, 79 for seven years, 10 for five years, 13 for three years, and 11 for lesser periods." This does not take account of 50 persons convicted summarily by military officers, and 105 persons convicted under Martial Law by civil magistrates.[37]

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But Amritsar did not stand alone and Dyer had a worthy colleague in Capt. Doveton at Kasur.[38]

Capt. Doveton confessed that some people were made to touch the ground with their foreheads by way of making them acknowledge authority. He heard of *Sadhus* (ascetics) being whitewashed. Ahmad Khan said that one or two persons were made to get down on all fours and draw lines with their noses. This was done by Doveton's orders. Some persons were lime-washed and made to stand in the sun. As many as 107 persons were kept in a public cage without any overhead covering, specially built for the purpose. These 107 suspects—not yet criminals in the eye of law—were exposed to the burning sun and were obliged to answer calls of nature just where they were. Prostitutes of the town were called to witness flogging. Students had done nothing but were excited. So six were selected at random and whipped. In some cases Doveton gave considerable number of lashes to schoolboys. Men were sentenced to skip twenty times without stopping. Many villages were raided and arrests made between midnight and four in the morning. "Flogging took place in public, and photographic records of these disgusting incidents are in existence, showing that the victims were stripped naked to the knees, and tied to telegraph poles or triangles."[39]

A few specimens of the orders under Martial Law may be noted:

1. All shops must be opened by 2 A.M. tomorrow.
2. It shall be unlawful for more than two persons to walk abreast and no male persons shall carry a *lathi*.
3. Any officer may be authorised to enter any building and remove such number of electric lights and fans as may be necessary for the use of the military.

It is a tedious task to narrate at length the whimsical orders passed under Martial Law inflicting severe physical pains and mental anguish upon the people. A few examples may be given. At Lyallpur "whenever the inhabitants meet any Gazetted European Civil or Military officer, persons riding on animals or on wheeled conveyances will alight, persons carrying open and raised umbrellas shall lower them, and all persons shall salute or *salaam* with the hand. In Lahore, students had

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to walk about 19 miles a day in the hottest time of the year, and some of them fainted by the wayside. Col. Johnson thought it did them good, it kept them out of mischief."

The order of *dismounting* and *salaaming* (as at Lyallpur) was intended to "bring home to the people that they had new masters". People were whipped and fined for disobeying this order.

Colonel O' Brien, who was responsible for the above order, gave many other evidences of his malignant mentality. "He was responsible for the arrest of number of people, who were kept in gaol for as long as six weeks without being brought to trial. In one case a number of leading citizens were summarily arrested, put in a goods truck, where they were hunddled together after being marched several miles in the burning sun, some of them half-clad, and sent by train to Lahore. They were refused permission to answer the calls of nature, and were kept in the truck in these conditions for about forty-four hours. Hindus and Muslims were chained together. This was regarded by the populace as a jibe at Hindu-Muslim unity. Two hundred persons were convicted by Summary Courts, and received sentences of whipping, or from one month to two years' imprisonment. The Commission convicted 149 people, of whom 22 were sentenced to death, 108 to transportation for life, and others to sentences varying from ten years downwards. Colonel O' Brien's final achievement was to rush a large batch of cases through in about twenty-four hours, when he heard that Martial Law was to terminate the next day. The people concerned were given little opportunity of defending themselves and cases fixed for some days ahead were rushed into the Court post-haste, so anxious was Colonel O'Brien that none should escape his justice by reason of the lapse of Martial Law."[40]

The Panjab was treated by the military as even worse than an enemy territory. The Lieutenant-Governor himself conceived the idea of sending aeroplanes to throw bombs upon the rioters even when a section of responsible Englishmen believed that the danger from the mob was at an end. Bombs were freely used even where there was no gathering of armed men. At Gujranwala there were promiscuous dropping of bombs and firing of altogether 255 rounds of machine guns, apparently at close

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quarters. O' Brien admitted that 'the crowd was fired on (from aeroplanes) wherever found'. Lt. Dodkins, R. A. F., machine-gunned twenty peaceful peasants working in the field. He dropped a bomb on another party in front of a house, simply because a man was addressing them. The mentality of these officers, who can only be regarded as degraded specimens of humanity of brutish nature, may be construed from the following report of Carberry's evidence: "Major Carberry, R. A. F., bombed a party of people because he *thought* they were rioters. The crowd was running away and he fired to disperse them. As the crowd dispersed, he fired machine gun into the village itself. He could make no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. He was at a height of 200 feet and could see perfectly what he was doing. His object was not accomplished by the dropping of bombs alone..... The firing was not intended to do damage alone. It was in the interests of the villagers themselves! By killing a few, he thought, he would prevent the people from collecting again. This had a moral effect....." After that he went over the city, dropping bombs, and fired at the people who were trying to get away. The official report speaks of 150 rounds. But Carberry says in his evidence that he followed up the bombs with "several hundred rounds of machine-gun fire on the town itself." The official estimate of the casualties by bombing and machine-gunning from aeroplane, is nine killed and sixteen wounded. Horniman observes:

"The public are asked to believe that this promiscuous dropping of bombs and the firing of altogether 255 rounds of a machine-gun, apparently at close quarters, into crowds of people, resulted in the killing of nine and wounding of only about sixteen people ! Can anyone, who remembers the work of the German aeroplanes in England during the war, doubt that the popular assertion of many more casualties is well founded? The Report is transparently dishonest."[41]

As regards the student community, the following statistics about punishments to students at Lahore, apart from the indignities, harassments and indiscriminate floggings mentioned above, will convey some idea.

Expulsion—34

Rustication for one year—18

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Detention for one year—47
Forfeiture of scholarship—27
Temporary forfeiture of scholarship—16
Forfeiture of half-fee concession—5
Refused re-admission—12

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Sir Edward Maclagan, who succeeded O' Dwyer, substantially reduced the penalties imposed by various commissions. "Out of 108 death sentences only 23 were maintained..... out of 265 sentences for transportation only 2 were maintained", when they were later revised by the Government. The figures of original punishments give some idea of the administration by martial law courts.[42] The gruesome tale of atrocities committed in the Panjab were summed up by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in his presidential speech at the All India Moderate Conference, 1919.

Lala Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential Address at the Indian National Congress in Calcutta held on 4th September, 1920, has also given a vivid account of the outrages that were actually committed in the name of law and order. A few passages are quoted below.

"Raliyaram and Abdulla have said that they were forced not only to crawl on their bellies but while crawling were kicked by the soldiers with their boots and struck with the butt ends of their rifles. L. Kahan Chand, a blind man, told how even he was made to crawl and was kicked. Six boys were flogged in public, one of them, Sunder Singh, 'became senseless after the fourth stripe, but after some water poured into his mouth by soldiers, he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost his consciousness for the second time, but the flogging never ceased till he was given 20 stripes."

'The invalid wife of Manohar Lal, Bar at-Law, who was for some time Minto Professor at the University of Calcutta, and their children were dragged from their rooms, forced to take shelter in the servants' quarters and the kitchen. He was kept under arrest for 28 days and then let off without a charge and without trial.'

"Lala Beli Ram Kapur of Hafizabad was arrested and locked up with 23 others in a room measuring 12 by 25, the

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same room having to be used by all of them for natural purposes also. They were kept under-trial prisoners up to the 6th June."

"Mr. Bosworth Smith went towards the women. He removed their veils and used abusive language. He called them 'flies bitches, she-asses' and worse things. He said to them 'your skirts will be examined by the Police constables. When you were sleeping with your husbands why did you allow them to get up and go'. He also spat on them." Even worse treatments to women are referred to by him.[43]

For eight months the Government of India tried to draw a veil over the horrible atrocities perpetrated in the Panjab. But the news of the terrible events slowly percolated to other parts of India and a wave of horror and indignation swept the country from one end to the other. The great poet Rabindranath relinquished his Knighthood as a measure of protest and wrote a strong but dignified letter to the Viceroy, "giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, with indefatigable energy brought to light the most ugly facts about the reign of terror in the Panjab and framed 92 questions alleging specific instances of brutality for the Imperial Legislative Council. But these were disallowed by the Viceroy, evidently for the very good reason, that the almost incredible picture of monstrous cruelties which they unfolded faithfully reflected the reality. This is proved by the fact that the Government immediately introduced a Bill of Indemnity for protecting the civil and military officials in the Panjab from consequences of their action. The questions asked by Pandit Malaviya, however, sent such a thrill of horror over the whole country, that the Viceroy announced the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry in his opening speech. The non-official members suggested the postponment of the Indemnity Bill in view of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry—for it would be nothing short of a travesty to absolve from punishment, in advance, those very persons whose conduct was the subject of inquiry. But the Government of India proceeded with the Bill, and it was passed.

A Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Com-

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mittee appointed a Sub-Committee of nine members 'to conduct an inquiry into the recent occurrences in the Panjab.'

Just before this Sub-Committee came into existence, the Viceroy announced that a Commission of Inquidy would be appointed to investigate the disturbances in the Panjab.

The Commission of Inquiry consisted of Lord Hunter (Chairman), Mr. Justice Rankin, Mr. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sultan Ahmad. Pandit Jagat Narain and Mr. Thomas Smith were later added and the Committee began its work on 31 October, 1919.

Not only in India but even in England fair-minded critics condemned the composition of the Hunter Committee, which contained representatives of the Indian military and civil services, but no nominee of the Indian representative bodies.[44]

In the meantime the Congress Committee had started its investigation. They thought it advantageous to co-operate with the Hunter Committee and accordingly requesed them to :

1. Release the leaders, who were undergoing imprisonment, on parole or bail, for the period of inquiry only, in order to make a proper and fair investigation of the Panjab events.

2. Permit the Committee to lead evidence throughout and to cross-examine the witnesses of the other side.

3. Supply a list of official witnesses and their printed statements which will enable their counsel to cross-examine the witnesses properly.

Popular opinion throughought India backed these requests as very proper and reasonable in order to elicit the truth, but the Hunter Committee and the Panjab Government refused to accede to the requests. The Congress Sub-Committee thereupon refused to co-operate with the Hunter Committee.

Thus the Hunter Committee had mainly to rely on the official documents, sanctioning or conniving at the atrocities which formed the subject-matter of investigation.

The Congress Sub-Committee of Inquiry finally consisted of Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Fazl-ul-Huq and Abbas Tyabji; M. R. Jayakar replacing Motilal Nehru when the latter was elected President of the Congress. The members of this Committee visited the disturbed areas and took evidence of 1700 persons, the statements of about 600 of whom were incorporated

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in their Report. These witnesses were duly warned of the consequences of allegations they might make against the Government, but they voluntarily made the statements without being afraid of the oppressions they were likely to suffer at the hand of the Government.

The Congress Sub-Committee submitted a unanimous report on 26 March 1920. The main findings of the Congress Inquiry Committee are summarised below, as far as possible, in their own words:—

'We believe that mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere were wrong and deserving of condemnation. Evidence shows that Sir Michael O' Dwyer subjected the Panjab to the gravest provocation under which the people momentarily lost their self-control.

'The theory of rebellion or war or conspiracy to overthrow the Government completely broke down before the Hunter Committee; there is no proof of any organisation outside the Panjab behind the so-called conspiracy. Martial Law was therefore unjustified, much more so was its prolongation for nearly two months. The measures taken under it were such as to disgrace any Government calling itself civilised. Nearly twelve hundred lives were lost, at least three thousand six hundred men were wounded, and some permanently disabled. The vengeance taken was out of all proportion to the wrong done by the people. The slow torture administered to survivors during the Martial Law period, we have sufficiently described ..... Jallianwala Bagh massacre was a calculated piece of inhumanity and unparrallel for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

'It is impossible to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not active participation, of the Central Government. The Viceroy never examined the peoples' case and ignored the telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Panjab Government without any inquiry. He kept back from the public and the Imperial Government the horrible tales of massacres and other atrocities, even those which have been admitted by official witnesses and must have been known to him.

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'O'Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson, O'Brien, Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached. But future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by dismissing them.'

The Report of the Hunter Committee was issued on May 26, 1920.[45] It was not unanimous, the five European members signing the Majority Report and the three Indian Members, the Minority Report. The two Reports agreed upon the following points:

(a) The *Satyagraha* movement was mainly responsible for the outbreak.

(b) The police and the military were justified in firing upon the mob. As regards Jallianwala Bagh, the Majority held that Dyer's conduct was open to criticism in two respects, first, that he fired without warning; and second, in that he continued firing too long. They thought Dyer committed a grave error of judgment, but could not be blamed for not attending the wounded, for no one was exposed to unnecessary suffering for want of medical attention. The Minority differed on this point and took a graver view of the whole incident, stigmatising Dyer's conduct as inhuman and un-British.

(c) Both commented strongly upon exclusion of lawyers from outside the Panjab, considered the sentences of flogging to be too numerous, and condemned the crawling order and the penalties imposed upon the students.

(d) Both exonerated the Government of India from all blame.

The main differences between the two were on the following points.

(a) The Majority regarded the outbreak as a rebellion. The Minority did not agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion or might have rapidly developed into one. The two consequently differed about the necessity or justification of Martial Law. The Minority stated that Martial Law came into existence when the crisis was past, at a time when the situation afforded no justification for it, and declared that its imposition for punitive purposes was constitutionally unjustifiable, and that its continuance was wholly unnecessary. They took a more serious view of the orders and punishments under the Martial

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Law and strongly denounced the actions taken as unjustifiable and calculated to humiliate and to foment racial bitterness.

(b) The Majority held that the outbreak at Amritsar was anti-Government at every stage, hostility to Government quickly merging into antipathy for Europeans as such. The Minority held that the anti-European sentiments developed subsequent to the military firing of April 10.

(c) While generally agreeing upon the justification of the methods adopted in dealing with riots in other places, the Minority objected to certain specific incidents and regarded as unjustifiable some of the unnecessary firing done at Chuharkhana and Sheikhupura.

(d) The Minority regarded the working of the Courts and methods of arrest highly objectionable while the Majority regarded the trials as lengthy, detailed and careful.

A few Englishmen condemned the action of the Government of India in the strongest terms. Mr. Hyndman wrote: "Our own atrocities stand almost on a level with the outrages committed by Germany in Belgium, France and Poland. Worst of all, we bombed unarmed crowds from aeroplanes." This sentiment was echoed by Mrs. Annie Besant and undoubtedly represents the voice of humanity. England had sunk to the level of belligerent Germany before the bar of World opinion. The Government of Britain pronounced only a mild censure on Dyer and removed him from active service, but absolved O' Dwyer and Chelmsford from all guilt. But even this was carried in the House of Commons only by 232 to 131 votes. On the other hand, the House of Lords passed a resolution by 129 votes to 89, deploring the removal of Dyer from the army as unjust and establishing a dangerous precedent. What was worse still, Dyer was acclaimed a hero and public subscriptions were raised to present a purse to him.

In India, the Englishmen regarded Dyer as the saviour of the British Empire. The European Association strongly resented the decision of the House of Commons and "received hundreds of letters through their branches and from European men and women all over India protesting against failure to reinstate General Dyer." They issued an appeal to support the fund for General Dyer opened by the *Morning Post* in London

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and organize a memorial of General Dyer. A collection was made by the English ladies in India, who started a Dyer Appreciation Fund at Mussooree. Dyer was presented with a sword and a purse of £.20,000. The Europeans of Lahore entertained Col. Johnson at a farewell dinner and lauded him as the "protector of the poor". He had no difficulty in securing a good commercial appointment in India.[45] O' Dwyer had telegraphed approval of Dyer's conduct at Jallianwala Bagh as soon as he came to know of it, and Lord Chelmsford did not take any action against him even when the deplorable massacre and outrages came to be fully known As soon as the Hunter Committee was appointed, the Government of India protected the guilty officials by passing an Act of Indemnity.

The lesson of Jallianwala Bagh was nothing short of this that while some English officers had descended to a level far below that of humanity, the English people, by their active or passive support to this outrage on humanity had lost all moral claim and prestige to rule over India. It thus became the paramount duty of the Indians to avenge at any cost the wrongs and insults inflicted by those who were shorn of all human instincts, and animated by nothing better or higher than a naked brutal force. This lesson was deeply implanted in the heart of every Indian, particularly that of Gandhi, the greatest Indian of the day, and inspired him to launch a campaign against the British which ultimately led to their final expulsion from India.

For the time being, however, Gandhi's action appeared to be mysterious. He suspended the *Satyagraha* movement on April 18 in view of the mob-violence. On July 21, 1919, he issued a statement in which he said that on account of indications of goodwill on the part of the Government and advice from many of his friends, he would not resume civil disobedience, as it was not his purpose to embarrass the Government. He called on the *Satyagrahis* to work for the constructive programme, viz. use of indigenous goods and unity between Hindus and Muslims.

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III. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

1. The Reform Bill

Although the Montford Report was published on 8 July 1918, the text of the Reform Bill was not issued till 18 June 1919. The Bill had a very unfavourable reception in India from all shades of public opinion. In several important respects the scheme of reforms embodied in the Bill fell far short of what was recommended in the Report. It did not leave a vestige of fiscal autonomy with the Provincial Legislatures. The position of the ministers was made much worse, almost intolerable. Secondary and Higher Education as well as Industry—subjects to which all Indians attached the greatest importance—were made Reserved instead of Transferred subjects, as recommended in the original Report. The *Leader* of Allahabad, an organ of the Moderates, characterized the final scheme as sham and observed, "that in the present form and with all its safe-guards and limitations, especially with regard to Government of India the bill was not calculated to cause satisfaction, much less was it likely to arouse enthusiasm." The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, an organ of the centre party, remarked "that the people in general were now utterly indifferent about the Bill. The two most essential things were protection of the liberty of subjects and industrial development, but the Bill made no provision for them."

One of the reasons for this sad state of things was the action of the Government of India, which whittled down the scheme in their final despatch to such an extent that the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Sankaran Nair felt compelled to record a strongly worded minute of dissent. The Indian National Congress sent a deputation to England in a last effort to improve the Bill. But it returned disappointed.

A few liberal minded Englishmen also decried the Bill. In an article contributed to the *Justice* (London) H. M. Hyndman after condemning in scathing language the barbarities in the Panjab—India's reward for war-service—, observes: "The Bill remedies no wrong, it stanches not a drop of the ruinous drain it gives Indians no real power in their own country, it leaves the Central despotism, which is guilty of the crimes recited above

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wholly untouched. It is a sham and a fraud, worthy of the men who have botched it up."

Reference should be made in this connection to the great change in the political views of Mrs. Annie Besant, recently the idol of the nationalists in India. In a public lecture under the joint auspices of the Home Rule Leagues, on June 10, 1918, she maintained that nothing short of the Congress-League system would satisfy India. Even as late as August 3, 1918, she said that the Montford Report "established the continuance of the 'machinery of Autocracy' in India, with shreds and patches of local freedom." But in course of a few months her views were radically changed. She had a good following and abundant influence at the Special Congress of Bombay (September, 1918), but she became a back number at the Delhi Congress (December, 1918). She incurred great unpopularity by supporting the Rowlatt Bill, and she sank very low in popular estimation when she wrote on April 18, 1919, that "when the mob begins to pelt them (soldiers) with brick-bats, it is more merciful to order the soldiers to fire a few volleys of buck shot."[47] When the scheme of Reforms was being examined by the Joint Committee of the Parliament she not only fell in with the views of the Moderates but even went to the length of opposing the attempts of the Congress Deputation in England to get the scheme improved by amendments in the House of Commons to the Government proposals.

In 1922 she hailed the reforms of 1919 as ushering freedom in India. Yet, curiously enough, two years later she was instrumental in introducing the 'Commonwealth of India Bill' in the House of Commons through the help of some Labour Members. What is more strange, she expressed a sanguine hope that the Bill would be passed and remove the few limitations that still curtailed the freedom and liberty of India. It is difficult to offer a rational explanation of all these, and no wonder that political India did not take the Bill seriously. As a matter of fact Mrs. Besant passed out of Indian politics after 1920. Even the Home Rule League, founded by her, refused to elect her President and chose Gandhi in her place. In spite of all these it should never be forgotten that Mrs. Besant was a dynamic force in Indian politics at a very critical juncture and rendered

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yeoman's service for the cause of national regeneration in India, both from political and cultural points of view. India can never forget the energy with which she worked to make the idea of Home Rule popular in a large part of India. She was the first President of the Indian National Congress to show by action that the Presidentship "was not a passing show or a three-day festivity," but its responsibility continued throughout the succeeding year. This is proved by her restless activity for the first five months of 1918.[48] Her contribution to the growth of Indian nationalism by ardent advocacy of the greatness of ancient Indian culture has already been noted above.

2. The New Constitution[49]

A. Home Government

A few minor changes were made in the Home Government. The salary of the Secretary of State, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, was to be provided by the British Government. Some changes were made in the power of the Secretary of State and the composition of his Council.

B. The Government of India.

The Act set up a bicameral legislature, the two houses being called, respectively, the "Legislative Assembly" and the "Council of State." The Council of State consisted of 60 members, of whom 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The minimum number of members in the Legislative Assembly was fixed at 140, and it actually consisted of 145 members, of whom 103 were elected and the rest were nominated. Of the nominated members, 25 were officials and the rest non-officials. Of the 103 elected members, 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by communal constituencies (30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs), and 20 by special constituencies (7 by land-holders, 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce).

The life of the Central Legislative Assembly was 3 years and of the Council of State, 5 years (the periods could be extended by the Governor General). The first Speaker of the Assembly was to be nominated by the Government, the subsequent Speakers being elected by the members of the Assembly.

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The franchise of both the houses was restricted and differed in different Provinces. In the case of the Council of State the voters must have either an annual income of not less than Rs. 10,000, or paid land revenue of Rs. 750. As regards the qualifications of the voters for the Central Assembly, these were either the payment of municipal taxes amounting to not less than Rs. 15 per annum, or occupation or ownership of a house of the rental value Rs. 180, or an annual income of not less than Rs. 2,000, or land revenue of Rs. 50 per annum. The total number of voters for the Council of State was about 17,364 and for the Central Legislative Assembly, about 909,874 in 1920.

The Central Legislature was, in theory, given very wide powers to make laws, but they were effectively limited by the discretionary powers vested in the Governor-General. The previous sanction of the Governor-General was required to introduce Bills concerning certain subjects. The Governor-General had also the power to prevent the consideration, at any stage, of a bill or a part of a bill in either chamber of the Central Legislature, if, in his opinion, it "affects the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof." The Governor-General was empowered to enact laws which he considered essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, if either chamber refused or failed to pass them. Every Act so passed required the assent of His Majesty. The Governor-General could make and promulgate Ordinances in cases of emergency,—these having the same forces of law as a law passed by the Indian Legislature, but remained in force only for six months. The assent of the Governor-General was essential for the enactment of a law by the Legislature. He had the power to return a Bill for reconsideration, give his assent, or reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure on the same. The Crown had the power of disallowing any Act made by the Indian Legislature or the Governor-General.

The Budget was voted by the Legislative Assembly. But certain items were not subject to vote or discussion, and any demand refused by the Assembly could be restored by the Governor-General, if he found it necessary for the discharge of his responsibilities. He could also authorize necessary expenditure in case of emergency.

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C. Provincial Government

The Act introduced a form of Government which is usually referred to as Dyarchy. As the changes in the Provincial Government were of a far-reaching character, and deliberately designed to train Indians to the working of responsible Government these may be considered in some detail.

The following main principles were laid down in the Act:

1. All the major Provinces such as Bengal, Madras, Bombay, U.P., Panjab, Bihar and Orissa, C.P. and Assam shall be ruled by a Governor. The administrative departments, were divided into two categories,—Reserved and Transferred. The list of Transferred Subjects (given in detail in Schedule II to the Act) includes the following:—

(1) Local self-government; 2) Medical administration, Public Health and Sanitation; 3) Education (other than European and Anglo-Indian Education, and Central Universities like Benaras Hindu University); 4) Agriculture; 5) Veterinary Department; 6) Co-operative Societies; 7) Excise; 8) Registration; 9) Religious and Charitable Endowment; 10) Development of Industries.

The Governor acting with Minister shall administer the Transferred subjects, while the other departments shall be administered by the Governor in Council as before, though the minimum number of officials in the Executive Council was reduced from two to one.

2. There shall be a Legislative Council in every Governor's Province, which shall include (a) members of the Executive Council, (b) members nominated by the Governor, and (c) members elected in accordance with the Act.

The number of members varied in different provinces, and was specified in the First Schedule. Of the members of each Council not more than twenty per cent, shall be official members and at least seventy per cent, shall be elected members. Each Council shall normally continue for three years.

3. The entire budget shall be presented to the Council for sanction, but if the Council withholds its assent to any demand relating to a Reserved Subject the Governor shall have power to sanction the expenditure. The Governor shall also have

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power to sanction necessary expenditure, in case of emergency without the sanction of the Council.

4. The Governor may assent to any Bill passed by the Legislative Council, withhold his assent, return the Bill or reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General. If the Legislative Council refuse to pass a Bill relating to a Reserved Subject, in a form recommended by the Governor, it shall be deemed to have been passed if the Governor certifies that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility. All Bills passed by the Legislative Council required the assent of the Governor and Governor-General.

5. The Ministers appointed by the Governor to administer Transferred Subjects shall hold office during his pleasure, provided that no Minister shall hold office for a longer period than six months unless he is or becomes an elected member of the Council.

The Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers in relation to Transferred Subjects, but may, for sufficient cause, act otherwise than in accordance with that advice.

6. Separate constituencies for election to the Legislative Council were provided by the Rules for Muhammadans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, non-Brahmins (in Madras), Sikhs (in the Panjab), Landholders, Commerce and Industry, Planting, Mining, Labour, and University.

It would thus appear that the Legislative Council had no control over the Reserved Subjects and the funds allotted for them, and its power over the Transferred Subjects was more nominal than real, as the Governor could always override its decision.

IV. THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND INDIAN POLITICS

The reaction of the Government of India Act on Indian politics followed more or less the same lines as noted above in connection with the publication of the Montford Report. The Moderates, though not wholly satisfied, stood for ungrudging and whole-hearted co-operation for working it as successfully as possible within the limited sphere. A strong section was inclined to reject it altogether. But Tilak, who dominated the

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Nationalist Party and the Congress, stuck to the middle way a along advocated by him. When the King Emperor issued a appeal to the Indian people for co-operation in working th Reforms, Tilak, then on his way to attend the Amrits Congress, sent a telegram from the railway train assuring "Re ponsive Co-operation" on behalf of the people of India.

The Moderates held a Conference in Calcutta on 30 Decem ber, 1919. They welcomed the Reforms Act as 'a definite an substantial step towards the progressive realisation of Respon sible Government, and appealed to all sections of the community European and Indian, officials and non-officials, wholeheartedl to co-operate for the successful working of the Act.'

Within a few days of the passing of the Act The India National Congress held its annual session at Amritsar. C. R Das moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last yea that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiate all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

"That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed a the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and i of opinion that the Reform Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory an disappointing.

"That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

Then followed a battle royal regarding two crucial points, namely, co-operation with the Government in wokring out the reforms and offering thanks to Montagu. It was on this occa sion that Gandhi for the first time took a leading part in the discussions of the Congress. C. R. Das was in favour of rejecting the reforms, while Gandhi took the opposite view. Tilak was in favour of responsive co-operation. Gandhi's attitude is explained by the following passage in the *Young India* of 31st December, 1919: "The Reforms Act coupled with the (Royal) proclamation is an earnest intention of the British people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score..... Our duty therefore is not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work

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so as to make them a success." Even a die-hard Moderate could hardly improve upon these words to suit his views. The Congress had pronounced adverse judgments on the Reforms both at Bombay and Delhi in 1918, in no uncertain terms, and was prepared to repeat in Amritsar that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappionting. The fact that notwithstanding all this Gandhi's view was not only patiently heard, but got a fair degree of support, even under the shadow of the inhuman atrocities perpetrated upon that city only a few months ago, speaks a volume on the great hold that Gandhi had already effected, not only upon the masses but also upon the educated politically-minded classes in India, by his personality and saintly life, and the introduction of the new weapon of *Satyagraha* in Indian politics. In that assembly of veteran nationalist leaders who had distinguished themselves in various fields of life and had a long record of public service in India behind them, Gandhi, a comparatively new figure in the Congress, easily established his position as a leader of the first rank. The contest was a prolonged one and there was an apprehension of another split in the Congress. But fortunately a compromise was arrived at. It was to the effect that the following addition should be made to the resolution moved by C. R. Das:

"This Congress trusts, that so far as may be possible they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with Reforms."

C. R. Das, while accepting the compromise, made his attitude quite clear. He was not opposed to co-operation if it helped the early establishment of full Responsible Government; but 'he was not opposed to obstruction, plain downright obstruction, when that helps to attain our political goal.' While commending the additional clause he reminded the members that his original three propositions 'remain just as they are with the word disappointing'.[50]

Thus ended the memorable discussion on the Reforms in the Congress at Amritsar. On the whole the final outcome was a triumph, neither of C. R. Das nor of Gandhi, but of the

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'Responsive Co-operation' formulated by the great and shrewd statesman, B. G. Tilak.

V. THE PAN-ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Reference has been made above[51] to the influence of Pan-Islamic sentiments upon the minds of Indian Musilms and how it reacted on Indian politics by bringing about an *entente* between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League by way of a Muslim protest against the hostile attitude of Britain towards Turkey and other Islamic States.

Shortly after the outbreak of War, when the Allies were loudly proclaiming their sympathy for smaller and weaker nations, Muhammad Ali published an article under the caption "Evacuate Egypt." In another article, "The Choice of the Turks," he begged the Allies to win over Turkey by making good the losses which had been inflicted upon her, and was very outspoken about the record of British relations with Turkey. As a result, both the brothers were interned and their papers were suppressed.[52]

The Pan-Islamic movement gathered force at the end of the First World War. Turkey's entry into that war as an ally of Germany against Britain put the Indian Muslims into an awkward situation. Their natural sympathy with the Sultan of Turkey, as their Caliph or religious head, was in conflict with their loyalty to the British throne as Indian subjects. The British Government fully realized the difficulty of the Indian Muslims, and in order to win their sympathy and support during the war, gave assurances of sympathetic treatment of Turkey at the end of the War. The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, publicly declared on January 5, 1918, that the Allies were "not fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race", and this view was endorsed by Woodrow Wilson, the President of the U. S. A., in his message to the Congress on January 8, 1918. These specific assurances and the generous policy and sentiments expressed by President Wilson and other leading statesmen of the Allied countries led the Indian Muslims to believe that whatever happened, the independence of Turkey

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and her territorial integrity, so far at least as her Asiatic dominions were concerned, would be maintained. But all these hopes were doomed to disappointment by the terms of the Armistice which concluded the War. Thrace was presented to Greece, and the Asiatic portions of the Turkish Empire passed under the control of England and France under the guise of Mandates. While Turkey was thus dispossessed of her homelands, her ruler, the Sultan, was deprived of all real authority even in the remaining dominions, as he was placed completely under the control of a High Commission appointed by the Allied powers, who really ruled the country in his name.

The Muslims of India regarded the treatment of Turkey as a great betrayal on the part of the British and other Allies, and a storm of indignation broke out among them. They decided to force Britain to change her Turkish policy, and Gandhi held out before them the sovereign remedy of *Satyagraha*. This led to the Khilafat Agitation in 1920.

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CHAPTER II.

THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

Early in 1920 the Indian Muslims started a vigorous agitation to bring pressure upon Britain to change her policy towards Turkey. The success of this movement, known as Khilafat movement, was assured by the large measure of sympathy and support which the Muslims received from Gandhi. As the active participation of Gandhi gave an altogether new turn to the movement, it is necessary to explain his view-point which has always remained an enigma to many. Even while Gandhi was in South Africa, he had come to realize that there was no genuine friendship or good feeling between the Hindus and the Muslims. He was deeply aggrieved and strongly felt the need of establishing cordial relations between the two communities. Immediately after his return to India he established contact with the two Ali Brothers, and carried on correspondnece with Muhammad Ali who was then in jail. Gandhi felt that the Muslim demand about the Khilafat was just and he was bound to render all possible help to secure the due fulfilment of the pledge that the British Prime Minister had given to the Indian Muslims during the War. In the letter which Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy immediately after the War Conference at Delhi, he particularly stressed the Khilafat question. Henceforth Gandhi missed no opportunity of pressing upon the Government of India the need of a just settlement of the Khilafat question and the release of Ali Brothers. He even went to the length of placing the Khilafat problem on the same level of political importance as the Home Rule for India. In the concluding para. of this letter to the Viceroy referred to above, he wrote as follows: "In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of those (Mohammedan) States and for the Muslim sentiment as to their places of worship, and your just and timely treatment of India's claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the Empire." It need hardly cause any surprise, therefore, that when the All-India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on November 23, 1919, Gandhi was

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elected its President. The Conference asked the Mussalmans not to join the public celebrations for victory, and held out threats of boycott and non-co-operation if the British did not solve the problem of Turkey in a manner satisfactory to the Muslims. This decision was reaffirmed by the Muslim League in Calcutta.

The release of Ali Brothers from internment. after four years, on the eve of the session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar towards the end of December, 1919, gave a great fillip to the Khilafat agitation. Gandhi had a soft corner in his heart for the Ali-Brothers who were the most vigorous champions of the Khilafat cause, and they must have taken full advantage of it. The leading Congressmen and Khilafatists, assembled at Amritsar, discussed the whole question, and it was decided to organize the Khilafat work under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. In other words, the Congress lent the full support of its power, prestige and organization to the cause of the Khilafat.

It was decided in an All-India Khilafat Conference, held at Amritsar immediately after the Congress session, to send a deputation to the Viceroy. This deputation of the Khilafat Conference was fairly representative of Hindus and Muslims and the Address which it presented to the Viceroy on January 19, 1920, was signed by many leading Hindu political leaders, including Gandhi, Swami Shraddhananda, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. This Address pointed out that the Hindus and Muslims "now happily reunited and standing shoulder to shoulder will be equally aggrieved if the just demands of the Muslims were not accepted". The Viceroy expressed sympathy and added that both he and the Secretary of State were equally convinced that "Muslim feeling in India must be taken into the most serious account in coming to a final decision". He frankly told the deputation: "The contention which you urge in your address that Turkey should preserve in full integrity the sovereignty and dominions which she possessed before the War is one which I fear we cannot reasonably hope will be recognised by the Allied Powers in Conference.....She cannot expect any more than any other power which drew the sword in the cause of Germany wholly to escape the consequences of her action".[2]

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The reply was regarded as disappointing, and the Khilafat League arranged to send deputations to England as well as to Hedjaj, Nezd, Syria, Yemen, Palestine and Mesopotamia. The Indian deputation was received by Mr. Fisher on behalf of the Secretary of State, on 2 March, 1920, and met the Prime Minister Lloyd George, on 17 March, but without much success. The final decisions on Turkey were announced by a communique to the Government of India published on 15 May, 1920. Although Turkey retained Constantinople, there was almost a complete dismemberment of the Turkish empire.

Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat deputation on March 17 deeply stirred the Khilafat sentiment in India, and 19th March was fixed as a day of national mourning—a day of fasting and prayer and *hartal*. In the meantime Gandhi had issued a Manifesto on March 10, embodying his ideas on the future course of action to be pursued by the Khilafatists if their demands were not granted. This Manifesto is historically important as it contains the first definite elaboration of Gandhi's doctrine of Non-violent Non-co-operation which was shortly to play a dominant role in Indian politics. He ruled out the violent methods of warfare, open or secret, "if only because it is impracticable". He then proceeds: "The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence can generate, is a power that is irresistible .....Non-co-operation is, therefore, the only remedy left open to us. It is the clearest remedy, as it is the most effective, when it is free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humilitation, or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot expect a meek submission by *us* to an unjust usurpation of rights which to *Muslims* means a matter of life and death".[3] It is no doubt a lofty sentiment, but it is pertinent to ask whether England's treatment of Turkey, even assuming that she was solely responsible for it, was a greater degradation and humiliation to India than England's treatment of the Indians during a century and a half, or even the recent atrocities in the Panjab. As to regarding the fate of Khilafat as a matter of life and death to the Muslims, events were soon to prove that it was a rhetoric or hyperbole and can hardly be regarded as a serious fact; for in less than five years the Muslims of Turkey usurped the rights of the

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Caliph to a far greater degree than the British ever did, and not a leaf stirred in the whole Muslim world outside India. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to believe that the Muslims of India were the only true followers of the Prophet or the most genuine champions of the cause of Islam, it is difficult to understand or explain the weight they attached to the Khilafat question, save on the theory that it was a phase of that Pan-Islamic movement to which the Indian Muslims looked forward as the only guarantee against the influence of a Hindu majority with whom fate had linked them in India. But this aspect of the question certainly could not appeal to Gandhi, and it is therefore not easy to explain why Gandhi should have thought of treating the Khilafat question as more important than the larger issues of Indian politics.

But whatever might have been the impelling motive of Gandhi he chose this as the occasion for hurling the most effective weapon in his armoury against the British. He therefore sketched in his Manifesto a rough outline of the course of the Non-co-operation movement, in the following words: "We may therefore begin at the top as well as the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emoluments ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of Non-co-operation. It is a voluntary withdrawal alone that is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover, every step withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat'.[4]

Thus Gandhi was fully prepared to fight the British with his newly forged weapon to the bitterest end over the Khilafat issue. But ere long other issues were joined to the Khilafat, and the Non-co-operation movement, originally intended for undoing the wrongs inflicted upon the Khilafat, merged itself

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into a general political struggle, far outstripping its original limitations. That story will be told in another chapter.

Gandhi's attitude towards the Khilafat question was criticized even by his friends; he justified himself in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity, and on grounds of expediency, as would be clear from his following utterance:

"The test of friendship is true assistance in adversity, and whatever we are, Hindus, Parsees, Christians or Jews, if we wish to live as one nation, surely, the interest of any of us must be the interest of all.....We talk of the Hindu-Mahomedan unity. It would be an empty phrase if the Hindus hold aloof from the Mahomedans when their vital interests are at stake."[5]

It is an admirable sentiment, and does honour to the heart of a saint like Gandhi. But its practical wisdom may justly be questioned. Gandhi failed to realize that the Pan-Islamic idea which inspired the Khilafat question cut at the very root of Indian nationality. If the real sympathy and "vital interest" of a large section of Indians were bound up with a State and society which lay far outside the boundaries of India and had no political connection with it, they could never form a true unit of the Indian nation. Howsoever opinions might differ on the basic requirements of nationality it is generally agreed that different groups of people cannot constitute a nation unless they have common sympathy, agreement, and interest to such an extent as does not subsist between any of them and any external group. If a hundred million of Muslims are more vitally interested in the fate of Turkey and other Muslim States outside India than they are in the fate of India, they can hardly be regarded as a unit of Indian nation. By his own admission that the Khilafat question was a vital one for Indian Muslims, Gandhi himself admitted in a way that they formed a separate nation; they were *in* India, but not *of* India.

That 'expediency' had also a share in the formulation of Gandhi's views is fully proved by his oft-quoted statement that such an opportunity of winning over the Muslims and forging the unity of Indian people to fight the British would not come in a hundred years. It is really this feeling that was uppermost in the minds of the Hindu leaders. But they did not realize the

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true significance of the Khilafat movement and the danger to Indian nationality lurking behind it.

The view taken above of the real nature of the Khilafat movement and the motives lying behind it may appear strange to many. It is necessary, therefore, to quote the views of some eminent Muslims in support of it. The historian I. H. Qureshi admits that the claim of the Sultan of Turkey as the supreme religious authority of the Muslim world had no practical significance outside the Ottoman Empire. Then he adds: "But now that the Indian Muslims had lost their own liberty, they had reason to feel a strong emotional attachment to a Caliph whom they could claim as their own sovereign, even though only in a nominal and religious sense. Indeed, before the first World War, prayers for the Turkish Sultan had already come to be included in the Friday *Khutbah* (sermon) in the mosques of India".[6]

But the leader of the Khilafat movement, Muhammad Ali himself, furnishes more valuable testimony. In his unregenerate days, while he was still a nationalist and a broad-minded politician, he openly scoffed at the idea that Indian Muslims should be affected by events in the Muslim world outside India or form pact with the Hindus as a means of bringing pressure against the British—exactly the two features which marked the Khilafat movement. In a very thoughtful article entitled "The Communal Patriot" which he wrote in his paper, the *Comrade*, he observes:

"People talk sometimes of the need of the Muslims joining hands with the Hindus, because some incidents in contemporary history have not been exactly to their liking..... Soft-headed and some self-advertising folk have gone about proclaiming that the Muslims should join the Congress because the Government had revoked the Partition of Bengal, because Persia and Turkey are in trouble. We were simply amused at this irresponsible fatuity. But when a responsible body like the Sonodn Branch of the All-India Muslim League talks of closer co-operation between the Hindus and Muslims because the Muslims of Tripoli and Persia have been the victims of European aggressions, we realize for the first time that even sane and level-headed men can run off at a tangent and confuse the issues. What has the Muslim situation abroad to do with the

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conditions of the Indian Muslims ?.....Have the questions really divide the two communities lost their force and meaning If not, then the problem remains exactly where it was at time in recent Indian history. Board of arbitration, peace syn cates and solemn pacts about cows cannot solve it any m than we can by a spell of occult words control the winds the tides. The communal sentiment and temper must cha and interest must grow identical before the Hindus and Muslims can be welded into a united nationality".[7] These wo are significant in more than one way. It shows that Muhamm Ali was convinced that there were questions that divided two communities, and so long as they were not solved, a p such as was made during the Khilafat agitation could not so the Hindu-Muslim problem. Further, it shows how easily could change his views deliberately formed on the basis of fa which remained unaltered. For his pact with the Hindu lead during the Khilafat movement is a direct negation of all that wrote in his article in the *Comrade*. As a matter of fact th are good grounds to believe that the respect and reverence of Muslim masses in India for their Caliph, the Sultan of Tur were deliberately utilized by their leaders to rally them to cause of the Pan-Islamic movement, and by forging unity am themselves on this basis, to make the Muslims a great politi power in India. As noted above, the Khilafat Conference Bombay arranged to send delegations of Indian Muslims to the Muslim countries outside India.

The Pan-Islamic sentiment behind the Khilafat movem was also indicated by the mass migration of Muslims from In to .Afghanistan. This planned movement, known as *Hijr* started in Sindh and gradually spread to N.W.F.P. It was e mated that in the month of August, 1920, nearly 18,000 pe were on their way to Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Afgh Government was inspired more by national than by Pan-Isla sentiment, and forbade the admission of the Indian *Muhajir* to Afghanistan. Thus the *Hijrat* had to be given up afte great deal of loss and sufferings, including a clash between emigrants and the military at Kacha Garhi.[8]

The Hindu leaders failed to realize that the Khilafat tation was really inspired by the Pan-Islamic movement,

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the policy of Hindu-Muslim *entente* as merely an ingenious device on the part of the Muslim leaders to secure help against British imperialism, then regarded at the greatest enemy of Islam. There was no reason to suppose, as subsequent events clearly proved, that the Muslim leaders were inspired by a genuine desire to make up their differences with the Hindus in order to form an Indian nation.

The Hindu leaders fell into the trap. Too eager to arrive at a political settlement with the Muslims at any cost, they jumped at what they conceived to be a unique opportunity for achieving that end,—an opportunity which, as Gandhi put it, might not occur in a hundred years' time. Wish being the father of thought, they interpreted the Muslim attitude in their own way, without looking back at the antecedents of the Muslim community in general, and of the Ali Brothers in particular, so far as Pan-Islamism was concerned.

The Ali Brothers "were active members of the Muslim League advocating Muhammadan interests in opposition to the Hindus in the old days of the Bengal Partition agitation. In their public speeches they emphasized the identity of the interests of the Indian Muhammadans with the interests of the Muhammadans elsewhere in Tripoli and Algeria in preference to those of the Hindus."[9] They openly said that they were Msulims first and Indians afterwards. As a corollary to this, reference may be made to their attitude towards a Muslim invader of India. Wild rumours were afloat at the time that the Amir of Afghanistan was going to invade India—according to some, at the invitation of the Indian Muslims.[9a] Whatever might be the value of the report its reaction on Muhammad Ali is most revealing. He said that 'if the Afghans invaded India to wage a holy war, the Indian Muhammadans are not only bound to join them but also to fight the Hindus if they refuse to co-operate with them.'[10]

It is a sad commentary on the wisdom of the Congress leaders that they allowed even such statements of the acknowledged leaders of the Khilafat movement to go unchallenged, nay ignored, and Gandhi's 'dear brother' Muhammad Ali was allowed to be a determining factor in Indian politics for a long period. The repeated manifestations of Pan-Islamic and anti-national sentiment, even clear assertions that they were Muslims first

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and everything else afterwards, both in domestic and fore policy, left the Hindu leaders unmoved, and did not disturb th dream of founding Indian nationality on the basis of Hin Muslim unity.[11]

But the attitude of Gandhi in this respect was much wo as he lent the whole weight of his magnetic personality towa making a common cause with the Khilafat movement and car ing the Hindu leaders with him. His statements in justificat of his conduct[12] are often of a mystic character. Thus he wr in the *Young India* on 20 October, 1921:

"I claim that with us both the Khilafat is the central fa with Maulana Muhammad Ali because it is his religion, with because, in laying down my life for the Khilafat, I ensure safety of the cow, that is my religion, from the Mussalm knife."[13]

Every Indian, not blinded by devotion to Gandhi, must r his eyes with wonder at this statement. There were leaders w fully understood that the repercussion of the Khilafat moven on Indian politics would be just the opposite of what Gan believed. Thus C. R. Das wrote to Lala Lajpat Rai: "I am afraid of seven crores (of Muslims) in Hindustan, but I think seven crores of Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanist Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irres tible."[14] But though Das fully realized that 'the Khilafat mo ment brought this menace into staggering prominence,' he d not raise his voice against it. It seems as Jawaharlal Neh admitted.[15] that Gandhi had the power to cast a spell over th around him and make them acquiesce in his policy without be convinced of its wisdom, and sometimes even though they garded it as against the best interests of the country. In s case, Gandhi must bear the chief share of the blame for Hindu support to the Khilafat movement, for it was he led the way and it was his magnetic influence which drew o Hindu leaders towards it. Howsoever Gandhi might justify h self there can be no question that the Pan-Islamic movem based on the extra-territorial allegiance of the Indian Musli cut at the very root of the nascent Indian nationalism. A support, direct or indirect, to the Khilafat movement, no speak of active participation as its leader, must therefore

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regarded as anti-national. The conduct of Gandhi, a great political leader, in assuming the leadership of the Khilafat movement, was certainly very reprehensible, and judged in this context, the epithet 'Father of the Indian nation,' given him by his devotees, seems to be singularly inappropriate. How far Gandhi had forsaken the ideal of Indian nationalism may be judged from his observation on the report of Afghan invasion of India mentioned above. While his 'dear brother' Muhammad Ali declared that he would join the Afghans and force the Hindus to do the same, Gandhi was prepared to help his ignoble cause of making India a *Dar-ul-Islam* (country of the Muslims) in an indirect manner. He wrote: "I would, in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he wages war against the British Government. That is to say, I would openly tell my countrymen that it would be a crime to help a Government, which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power."[16] It would be an insult to the intelligence of man to take notice of the sophistry by which the blind followers or devotees of Gandhi have sought to defend him. An ordinary layman, whose eyes are not blurred by the dazzling mystic halo of Gandhi, can only deduce from these lines that Gandhi was ready to cast aside his patriotism and nationalism, and even sacrifice India, in order to placate the Muslims. It is gratifying to note that there were at least two Indians who had the courage to denounce in public, in the most unequivocal manner, the abject surrender of Gandhi to the Muslims. One was Sir Sankaran Nair,[17] and the other was Dr. Ambedkar.[18] The devotees of Gandhi also indirectly admit that his conduct cannot be approved, nor his action justified, in every case, if judged by normal process of reasoning such as one applies to any other person. Thus Pattabhi Sitaramayya who was once Gandhi's chosen candidate for the Presidentship of the Congress, and was later, a Governor in free India, claims that "Gandhi's plans have all along been revealed to him by his own instinct, not evolved by the cold, calculating logic of the mind. His inner voice is his mentor and monitor, his friend, philosopher and guide...He saw things as if by a flash and framed his conduct by impulse. To the righteous man, these two are the supreme guides of life, not reason or intellect."[19] All this may be true. But history, as the term is generally

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understood, cannot dispense with logic and reasoning and accept instead, mystic instinct or impulse as the sole criterion of a political leader's conduct and action.

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CHAPTER III

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

1. INAUGURATION OF THE MOVEMENT BY THE KHILAFATISTS

Reference has been made above[1] to the issue of a manifesto on March 10, 1920, by Gandhi, recommending Non-co-operation (NCO) as the only course to be pursued by the Khilafatists if their demands were not granted. In the Delhi Khilafat meeting held on 15 March, 1923, a committee consisting of Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, Ajmal Khan, Azad and Shaukat Ali was formed to examine Gandhi's scheme of NCO. Gandhi's ideas were adopted by the Khilafat Conference which met at Madras on April 17, 1920. It laid down the following four stages in the progressive scheme of Non-co-operation; (1) Renunciation of honorary posts, titles and membership of Councils, (2) giving up of posts under Government, (3) giving up of appointments in the police and military forces, (4) refusal to pay taxes.[2]

On 12th May an urgent meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee was hastily called at Bombay to deliberate upon the NCO movement. Gandhi attended the meeting and again emphasized that the only course now left open to the Muslims was to adopt NCO. Its success, he said, depended on their firmness and courage. He assured Hindu support but said that the Muslims must take the lead. As for himself, he was willing to sacrifice himself, his wife and children, for the sacred cause. It is said that he was able to persuade Shaukat Ali and his followers to give non-violent NCO a full and fair trial. As a result of this meeting a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Chotani, Gandhi, Azad, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, and Ahmad Siddiq Khatre was appointed to organize the NCO movement.

On May 15, 1920, the Government of India published a communique announcing the peace terms offered to Turkey, as has already been mentioned above. Two days later, Gandhi issued a statement declaring that the terms offered were a stag-

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gering blow to Indian Muslims and urged them never to lose se control nor give way to despair. "There is no sacred charac about the peace terms," said he, "they are capable of being r vised.....I am convinced that the non-co-operation is the o effective remedy both for avoiding violence and healing t wound inflicted on Muhammadans of India."

The publication of the peace terms to be offered to Turk (May 15, 1920) created a feeling of dismay and gave a rude sho to the Muslims. The Central Khilafat Committee organized huge public meeting at Bombay on 28 May which adopted No co-operation as the only practical line of action. Many notab Muslims accordingly renounced and returned their titles a abjured all co-operation with the Government.

On the same day[2] was published the Report of the Hunt Committee together with the decision of the Government India, which caused a profound and painful impression throug out India. Thus both the communities were stirred to actio

Events now marched at railway speed, and it is not easy follow their exact course. A meeting of the All-India Congr Committee (AICC) was held at Banaras on 30 May, 1920. passed a large number of resolutions of which the more impo ant are summarised below:

1. The AICC records its indignant protest against t general policy and attitude of the Secretary of State for Ind on the Panjab affairs.

2. The AICC records profound disappointment and di satisfaction in the Hunter Committee Majority's Report, co pletely dissents from the principal findings and recommend tions of the Report, and regards its inquiry as incomplete, on sided, and unsatisfactory, by reason of shutting out the eviden of the very Panjab leaders whose acts the Committee was call upon to investigate.

"The AICC deplores that the Hunter Committee Majority report should be tainted with racial bias and a desire to ov look and justify the manifest, proved and grave acts of comm sion and omission of the Indian and Panjab Governments a many acts of inhumanity perpetrated by the officers during t Martial Law regime, and that the report should thus accentu the tendency to count Indian life and honour as of little con

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quence. The AICC unhesitaingly rejects the Majority's conclusion that the Panjab was in a state of open rebellion and accepts the conclusion of the Minority and the Government of India's Indian member to the contrary."

3. A petition be presented to Parliament to take immediate steps to institute proceedings by way of impeachment or otherwise to bring Sir Michael O'Dwyer to justice and to place General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien and Bosworth Smith before His Majesty's Court of Justice in Great Britain for the cruelties committed in April-May, 1919, in Amritsar, Gujranwala, Kasur and other places in the Panjab. That Rai Saheb Sri Ram Sud and Malik Khan be dismissed and prosecuted.

4. That the Rowlatt Act be repealed.

5. That the Viceroy be recalled.

6. The AICC is emphatically of opinion that the peace terms offered to Turkey constitute a flagrant violence to the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Government and is in complete disregard of the principle of national self-determination accepted by the Allied Powers and of Muslim religious sentiment in India. The AICC strongly urges that in the interest of peace and contentment in India the Turkish Treaty terms be revised.[3]

That the above resolutions really reflected the prevailing sentiment in India is proved by the fact that the Moderate leaders, assembled in a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation on June 12, passed resolutions generally endorsing the views of the AICC.

They urged for suitable punishment of all guilty officers, civil or military; recorded emphatic protest against the high encomium bestowed upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer both by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, and recommended his removal from office; regretted that His Majesty's Government have ignored altogether the responsibility of the Viceroy who, instead of examining the situation on the spot and exercising the much-needed control over the Panjab Government, gave it virtually a free hand; recorded appreciation of the Minority Report (of the Hunter Committee) and urged that His Majesty's Government should make a genuine effort to obtain revision of the peace terms offered to Turkey. At the same time they strongly disapproved of the Non-co-operation movement

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which, without doing any good to Turkey, is certain to do gre harm to the peaceful progress of India.[4]

The All-India Congress Committee which met at Banara on 30 May, 1920, did not endorse the NCO movement of Gandh and Khilafat Committee, and passed the following resolution:

"That in view of the general situation in India with referenc to Indian public feeling on Turkish peace terms, His Majesty' Government's action with regard to the Panjab atrocities, an the policy pursued by the Government of India in giving effec to the reform scheme through the proposed draft rules and regu lations, a special session of the Congress be convened at Calcutt as early as possible, not later than the 15th September, to consi der the adoption of the policy of Non-co-operation or an other suitable course of action".

It is stated in the official history of the Congress in it account of this A.I.C.C. meeting held at Banaras that "althoug Lokamanya Tilak passed Banaras at the time, he did not atten the Banaras meeting, for his heart was not wholly in the Khilafa agitation".[5] On the other hand, according to Ansari, Tilak sup ported the Khilafat resolution in the meeting, but refused t attend the Hindu-Muslim Conference held almost immediatel afterwards at Allahabad.[6] The exact nature of this Conference held on June 2, is also not easy to determine. According to the Congress version it was a meeting of the leaders of all parties summoned by Gandhi which decided upon the policy of Non-co-operation and appointed a committee to draw up the programme. But this does not appear to be quite correct. In view of its great historic importance the point deserves careful considera-tion. The account of this meeting and the events following it as given in the *Indian Annual Register*, may be summed up as follows:

A meeting of the Hindus and Muslims was held at Allahabad under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee on June and 2 to consider the serious situation created by the Allied peace terms offered to Turkey. Among the Hindu leaders who attended the meeting were Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai Tej Bahadur Sapru, B. C. Pal, Malaviya, Satyamurti, Rajagopal achari, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Chintamani. An informal meeting was held on the morning of June 1, and the main Conference was

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held at 9 P.M. The Muslim leaders appealed to the Hindus to co-operate with them and support Non-co-operation. Several Hindu leaders spoke expressing sympathy with the Muslim claim, but differed as to the remedy suggested. Some expressed doubt of the success of Non-co-operation; others welcomed it on principle, but not at that moment. Mrs. Besant strongly opposed it.

On June 2, the Conference met in the morning when the Muslims from various Provinces explained how far they were prepared to take up Non-co-operation. The same night, again, a meeting was held when only members took part in the discussion and voted, but delegates and visitors attended. Gandhi, in a solemn speech, said he knew full well that the Muslims realized that Non-co-operation was the only remedy now left to them. He was prepared to co-operate with them and suggested that a committee, consisting of members prepared to remain with him, with full powers, be appointed to work out the scheme and that its decision be binding on all people. This was agreed to and the following resolution was passed by the Central Khilafat Committee: "This meeting reaffirms the movement of Non-co-operation in accordance with the four stages already approved by the Central Khilafat Committee and appoints a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number to give practical effect to the movement without further delay." The gentlemen named were Gandhi and six Muslim leaders. The meeting also resolved that the *Swadeshi* movement should be undertaken in right earnest and appointed a Sub-Committee to work out a scheme.

It is thus quite clear that the decision was made by the Khilafat committee and not by a conference of the leaders of all parties as stated in the official history of the Congress.

In pursuance of the decision arrived at this meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee, a letter signed by about 90 Muslim leaders from various parts of India was sent to the Viceroy which, *inter alia,* stated: "If, unfortunately, Your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion, we shall be obliged as from the first August next. to withdraw co-operation from the Government and to ask our co-religionists and brethren to do likewise." Gandhi also wrote a letter to the Viceroy explaining

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'his connection with, and his conduct in, the Khilafat question. Both these letters were made public in the last week of June.'[8]

In the light of later events, the decision of the Khilafatists in the Allahabad meeting must be regarded as a momentous one which profoundly influenced the course of events in India's history. But if we can trust the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it would appear that the Muslim members who adopted the resolution of Non-co-operation had really neither courage nor enthusiasm for it, and were merely goaded to this decision by Gandhi's spirited address. Referring to it Nehru writes: "I remember the meeting because it thoroughly disappointed me. Shaukat Ali, of course, was full of enthusiasm; but almost all the others looked thoroughly unhappy and uncomfortable. They did not have the courage to disagree, and yet they obviously had no intention of doing anything rash. Were these the people to lead a revolutionary movement, I thought. and to challenge the British Empire? Gandhiji addressed them, and after hearing him they looked even more frightened than before. He spoke well in his best dictatorial vein.....This is going to be a great struggle, he said, with a very powerful adversary.....When war is declared martial law prevails, and in our non-violent struggle there will also have to be dictatorship and martial law on our side if we are to win.....Something to this effect he said, and these military analogies and the unyielding earnestness of the man made the flesh of most of his hearers creep. But Shaukat Ali was there to keep the waverers up to the mark; and, when the time for voting came, the great majority of them quietly and shamefacedly voted for the proposition—for war!

'As we were coming home from the meeting, I asked Gandhiji if this was the way to start a great struggle. I had expected enthusiasm, spirited language, and a flashing of eyes; instead we saw a very tame gathering of timid, middle-aged folk. And yet these people, such was the pressure of mass opinion, voted for the struggle."[9]

In July 1920, the Non-co-operation Committee, appointed by the ,Khilafat Committee on June 2, as mentioned above, issued a manifesto outlining the programme of the demonstration to be held on August 1 in the following words:

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(1). The Committee advise full *hartal* on the first of August. Mill-hands, however, are requested not to abstain from work unless they receive permission from their employers, nor should all those abtsain who are required for absolutely day-to-day work, viz. hospital men, sanitary men and dock labourers.

(2). The day should be devoted to prayer. All those, who can, should fast for the day.

(3). Meetings should be held all over the country, not excluding the smallest village, at which the following resolution should be adopted, with or without speeches, and forwarded to the Government. (The text of the resolution follows. It requests the Imperial Government to revise the peace terms offered to Turkey).

A note was added to the effect that there should be no defiance of any Government order and "no meetings should be held where there is any written prohibition."

An appeal was made for the surrender of titles and honorary posts on that day and the Committee sought the co-operation of the Hindus and other non-Muslim communities in making the inauguration of Non-co-operation a complete success.

The Committee issued further directions for the demonstrations on the first of August. 'There should be no procession and no pressure against anyone refusing to close shop. Special effort should be made and continued to secure surrender of titles and honorary posts, and parents are requested to withdraw their children from schools recognized by, or under control of Government. Lawyers are requested to suspend practice.....Agitation for securing complete boycott of Councils should be continued unabated. Finally the Committee expects Muslims to lead as well in preserving peace and order as in sacrifice, and we feel sure that our Hindu brethren will not fail to respond and join the Muslims."[10]

The Central Khilafat Committee organized a general all-India *hartal* on 1 August, 1920, under the guidance of Gandhi. Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy and returned all the war medals which were awarded to him by the British for his war services. "I venture to return these medals, in pursuance of the scheme of Non-co-operation inaugurated today *in connection with Khilafat movement*. Valuable as these honours have been

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to me", wrote he, "I cannot wear them with an easy conscien so long as my Mussalman countrymen have to labour und wrong done to their religious sentiment."[10a]

These words. and the whole history sketched above, le no doubt that the action of Gandhi in launching Non-c operation on 1 August, 1910, was the direct outcome of Khilafat movement. A somewhat different interpretation is gi of his action on account of his reference to the Panjab incide in the same letter, in the following words: 'The attitude of Imperial and Your Excellency's Government on the Panj question has given me additional cause for grave dissatisfactio ...I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a co ference of recognised leaders of people and in consultation wi them find a way that would placate Mussalmans and do repar tion to unhappy Panjab". It is obvious that the Panjab incide was at best a secondary issue; at a still later date, at the sugg tion of Vijayaraghavachari, endorsed by Motilal Nehru, Gand added a third issue, viz. independence of India, as the ground Non-co-operation movement.[11] In view of the whole hist of the Khilafat movement sketched above, and the first sugg tion of Non-co-operation by Gandhi as far back as Novemb 1919,[11a] there seems to be no doubt whatsoever that when launched the Non-co-operation movement on August 1, 19 the Khilafat wrongs were the single issue which *determined* action; the Panjab atrocities and winning of *Swaraj* were sub dinate issues which were gradually tacked on to the main iss of the Khilafat, at a later date, and as an afterthought.[11b]

It is somewhat singular that both the official history of Congress as well as the Report of the Civil Disobedience E quiry Committee appointed by the Congress in 1922 evade t main point and consequently give a version of the genesis Non-co-operation movement which is very misleading, to the least of it. After mentioning the elaboration of Non-operation programme by the Madras Khilafat Conference April 17, 1920, the Report of the Enquiry Committee contin

"Although at this stage the movement of Non-co-operati was concerned mainly with the Khilafat question, Mahat Gandhi resolved to refer the question to a Conference of lead of all parties which met at Allahabad on the 2nd of June 19

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At this Conference the policy of Non-co-operation was decided upon and a committee was appointed consisting of Mahatma Gandhi and some of the Muslim leaders to draw up the programme. The Committee published the programme in July and it was in the programme that the boycott of schools and colleges and of law courts first figured."[12]

The Report then, somewhat abruptly, turns to the Special session of the Congress in Calcutta held in September, 1920.

As noted above,[13] the course of events in Allahabad is described somewhat differently by others. As a futher specimen we may quote the following: "The Hindu-Muslim Conference, which met at Allahabad on June 1, dispersed without coming to any definite conclusions. The Khilafat Committee, meeting on June 9, reaffirmed the principle of Non-co-operation and appointed a Committee to lay down a detailed programme. It was also decided to start the movement under Gandhiji's guidance, after giving a month's notice to the Viceroy. Gandhi addressed an appeal to the Viceroy on June 22.....On July 7, the Non-co-operation Movement Committee gave instructions about the programme consisting of the surrender of honorary titles and posts, boycott of schools and colleges, and of courts and councils, as from the 1st of August."[14] This account also indicates that it was the Khilafat Committee, and not a Conference of all parties as stated in the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, that launched the Non-co-operation movement. It also appears that no Hindu leader, other than Gandhi, took an active part in the movement started on August 1. This seems to be quite natural as the whole question was scheduled to be discussed in the Congress session in September, 1920, and it is hardly likely that any prominent Hindu leader would think of definitely participating in it till the Congress decision was known.

It is therefore not a little curious, and perhaps not without significance, that an erroneous view on such an important issue should have been propagated. Thus R. G. Pradhan states: "On 19th June a joint Hindu-Muslim Conference was held at Allahabad regarding the Khilafat question and it was unanimously resolved that Non-co-operation should be resorted to after a month's notice to the Viceroy,"[15]

Here, again, the term Hindu-Muslim Conference is mislead-

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ing, as it is likely to convey the idea of an All-Parties Conference, as stated in the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, whereas it seems to have been really a Conference held under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee, attended by some Hindus.

The attitude of Tilak towards the Non-co-operation movement initiated by Gandhi deserves more than a passing notice as it is held by many that, but for Tilak's death shortly before the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1920, Gandhi would not have been able to carry his resolution on Non-co-operation. As mentionad above, Tilak always advocated the policy of Responsive Co-operation. After the Amritsar Congress he announced the formation of the Congress Democratic Party and issued a manifesto on behalf of it in April, 1920. The Party proposed "to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government, and for this purpose, it will without hesitation offer co-operation or opposition to constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will."[16]

There is nothing on record to show that Tilak later changed his views. But a few facts have been brought forward to prove that he was gradually veering round to the principle of Non-co-operation. It is said by Asaf Ali that Gandhi placed a detailed programme of Non-co-operation in a meeting of Hindu and Muslim leaders in Delhi on January 19, 1920. Tilak was present in this meeting but left it before it ended as he had another engagement. But before he left he said: "Whatever may be your decision, you may take it that I agree with it, for I am ready to go much further than your programme."[17]

That Tilak's concurrence refers to the Khilafat programme and not to a general Congress policy of Non-co-operation appears not only from the date of the meeting,[17a] but also from what Ansari speaks of him. Tilak, we are told, supported the Khilafat resolution in the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Banaras on May 30,[18] and was urged by Ansari to go to Allahabad where a Hindu-Muslim Conference was to be held in the first week of June. In reply Tilak said that "the Mussulmans could always count on his support in the course of the Khilafat campaign, which they were going to start under the leadership

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Mahatma Gandhi." Tilak also told Dr. Chaitram at Banaras that "he had no objection to his advising Hindus to join the movement, provided Muhammadans are sincerely bent upon non-co-operation with Government." When Gandhi saw Tilak along with Shaukat Ali in Bombay, he (Tilak) said turning to the latter: "About Hindus and Muslims I will sign anything that Gandhi suggests, because I have full faith in him on the question." About Non-co-operation he said to Gandhi: "I like the programme well enough but I have my doubts as to the country being with us under the self-denying ordinance which Non-co-operation presents to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the movement: I wish you every success, and if you gain the popular ear you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter".[19] Tilak told Mrs. Besant that "he wished for Responsive Co-operation but he thought that Gandhi wielded power that might serve India, and he would not therefore break with him."[20]

If we can rely on even the general accuracy of these reported conversations, we may trace the evolution of Non-co-operation movement, bearing in mind Tilak's indifferent attitude towards it. The movement started as a specific mode of protest against the Khilafat wrongs, at the inspiration, and under the guidance, of Gandhi. The organizers of the movement received sympathy and promise of co-operation from some Hindu leaders, including Tilak. But even up to the end of May, 1920, the movement retained its original character. About this time Gandhi conceived the idea of making Indian National Congress participate in this movement, in order to forge the unity between Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims naturally welcomed the idea with whole heart, because the new-fangled, isolated Khilafat movement would gain enormous accession of strength if an organized All-India institution of established repute like the Congress lent its strength and support to it. As regards the Hindus, a large section was attracted to the idea, partly out of devotion to Gandhi and in deference to his judgement, and partly also because they looked upon it as a master-stroke of policy of organizing a united resistance of Hindus and Muslims against the British Government. The disunion between the Hindus and the Muslims had been the chief obstacle to the political advance

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of India, and Indian politicians of all shades of opinion strongly held the view that they could never achive their political goal unless the two communities were united on a common political platform. Here was an opportunity for achieving that unity which, as Gtndhi is reported to have said, would not arise in a hundred years.

There was no doubt that the Muslim community was roused to a passionate hatred against the British, and the intensity of their anti-British feeling was not only demonstrated in mass meetings and conferences, but by a still more practical test, namely the mass exodus to Afghanistan mentioned above. They chose to live in a free Muslim country rather than in British territory in India. These symptoms misled the Hindu political leaders into an exaggerated idea of the importance of the Khilafat movement in India, and the role it was destined to play in the Muslim world. Their poor knowledge about the Muslim countries of Asia led them to place an extravagant value on an alliance between the Congress and the Khilafat Movement. The ludicrously absurd extent to which they were carried by this prospect may be judged from the following observations made by even a leader like Rajagopalachari, who is well known for his political acumen and shrewdness of a very high degree. In 1921 he wrote:

"The Khilafat has solved the problem of distrust of Asiatic neighbours out of our future. The Indian struggle for the freedom of Islam has brought about a more lasting *entente* and more binding treaty between the people of India and the people of the Mussalman States around it than all the *ententes* and treaties among the Governments of Europe. No wars of aggression are possible where the common people on the two sides have become grateful friends. The faith of the Mussalman has a better sanction than the seal of the European diplomats and plenipotentriaies. Not only has this great friendship between India and the Mussalman States around it removed for all time the fear of Mussalman aggression from outside, but it has erected round India a solid wall of defence against all aggression from beyond, against all greed from Europe, Russia or elsewhere. The Indian support of the Khilafat has as if by a magic wand

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converted what was once the pan-Islamic terror for Europe into a solid wall of friendship and defence for India."[20a]

Gandhi had undoubtedly a genuine sentiment of love and sympathy for the Muslims; but it may be reasonably concluded that to this was added in his mind a very exaggerated importance of an alliance with the Khilafatists, somewhat on the line of Rajagopalachari's observations. This alone can explain, in a satisfactory manner, the dual role he played in Indian politics which it is not always easy to reconcile. This would be evident from the following *facts* and *dates*.

23 November, 1919—Gandhi supports the idea of Non-co-operation movement by the Muslims. (p. 46).

31 December, 1919—Gandhi staunchly supports, in the Amritsar Congress, Co-operation of India (including Hindus and Muslims) with the British Government, against the opposition of eminent Indian leaders, and professes loyalty to the British Government and faith in their goodness (p. 42).

18 January, 1920—Gandhi places a detailed programme of Non-co-operation in a meeting of Hindu and Muslim leaders in Delhi (according to Asaf Ali, p. 66).

January-March, 1920—(i. e. before the fate of Turkey was definitely known and the reports of the Enquiry Committees on the Panjab disturbances were published) Gandhi elaborates the scheme of Non-co-operation movement in the '*Young India*' and issues a manifesto on March 10 (p. 48).

0 May, 1920— The All-India Congress Committee decides to hold a special session of the Congress to *consider* the question of Non-co-operation in view of the Panjab atrocities and dismemberment of Turkey (p. 60).

-2 June, 1920— The Khilafat Committee decides to start

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Non-co-operation *under the guidance of Gandhi* (pp. 60-61).

1 August, 1920— Gandhi formally inaugurates Non-co-operation movement by returning the three medals which the Government had awarded him for meritorious services, in addressing a letter to the Viceroy in which he declared that the attitude of the Government with regard to Khilafat and the Panjab, as demonstrated by "events that happened during *past month*," made it impossible for him to continue co-operation with a Government that had acted so unscrupulously and whom he could retain neither respect nor affection (pp. 62-3).

4 September, 1920—A Special Session of the Indian National Congress meets to discuss the policy of Non-co-operation.

It is interesting to note that in his letter to the Viceroy dated August 1, Gandhi seems to convey the impression that he had to resort to Non-co-operation because "events have happened during past month" i. e. in July 1920. Yet it will be quite clear from the chronology of events given above, that Gandhi had been not only thinking about Non-co-operation before the Amritsar Congress, in December, 1919, but also drew up a detailed programme, either almost immediately after it, in January 18, 1920, or in any case during the next three months.

There is another intriguing question that has to be faced. What was the position of Gandhi when the Special session of the Congress met at Calcutta on September 4, 1920? The resolution of Co-operation passed at the Amritsar Congress, at the instance of Gandhi himself, was still in force. Yet Gandhi had been supporting Non-co-operation since November 1919 and had openly declared himself a Non-co-operator on August 1, 1920. One cannot be blamed for holding that he had a split personality like Jekyll and Hyde, a Non-co-operator as a Khilafatist, and a Co-operator as a Congressman. The view is

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tainly wrong, but then the only alternative is to suppose that he had already flouted the decision of Amritsar Congress and could only hope that the Congress would approve of his revolt by deciding in favour of Non-co-operation.

Gandhi himself seems to have been *fully* conscious of his anomalous position, and had evidently decided to go on with his Non-co-operation programme, with the Congress, if possible, and without it, if necessary. This seems to be the real explanation of his manoeuvre on the eve of the Calcutta Congress, described as follows by one of his intimate friends and devoted admirers: "In Calcutta, while the fate of N. C. O. (Non-co-operation) was hanging in the balance, Gandhi assembled the old Home Rulers, from whom Mrs. Besant virtually seceded, under a common banner and changed the creed of the (All-India Home Rule) League into a form since adopted by the Congress at Nagpur, as also the name of the League into Swaraj Sabha. But this Sabha *never had occasion to function,* as Calcutta accepted the cult of N. C. O., and Nagpur confirmed it."[22]

The situation as it actually developed may be briefly described as follows. That part of the Home Rule League, of which Mrs. Besant was the President, rejected her in 1919, and elected Gandhi as her successor. This was evidently due to her reactionary attitude, to which reference has been made above.[23] After the death of Tilak, Gandhi was elected the President of the All-India Home Rule League. He naturally wanted to bring it in a line with the changed political situation in the country, and a sub-committee was appointed early in September, 1920, to revise the constitution of the League. On the recommendations of this sub-committee the following changes were introduced in a general meeting of the All-India Home Rule League held in Bombay on October 3, 1920.

1. The name of the League was altered to "Swarajya Sabha."

2. The object of the Sabha was defined to be "to secure complete Swaraj in India according to the wishes of the Indian people."

3. The interpretation of the word Swaraj shall not be extended beyond Article 1 of the Congress Constitution.

A strong section headed by M. A. Jinnah and Jamnadas

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Dwarkadas strongly objected to the changes, and nearly two members seceded from the League. Gandhi wrote a long le trying to meet the objections of the seceders and refuting t arguments (October, 25), but Jinnah's reply thereto shows Gandhi's efforts were not successful.[22a] But this was a ma of little practical importance, for henceforth the All-India Ho Rule League or Swarajya Sabha lost its separate identity a unconsciously merged itself into the Indian National Congr

II. ADOPTION OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT BY THE CONGRESS

The Special session of the Congress was held in Calcu on September 4, 1920, under the shadow of a grave natio calamity, for the great national leader Tilak had passed aw on August 1, 1920. It was presided over by Lala Lajpat R who, after a long forced internment in U.S.A., was at last p mitted by the Government of India to return to his native la The Congress met in a tense atmosphere. The whole coun looked upon it with animated suspense. A new weapon, wh had been forged by Gandhi and had hitherto been tried on small scale with varying success, was now going to be hur by India upon the mighty British Empire. The resolution m ed by Gandhi read as follows:

"In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both t Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in th duty towards Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister h deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and th it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitim manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him;

"And in view of the fact that, in the matter of the eve of the April of 1919, both the said Governments have gro neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Pun and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behavi towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer w proved himself, directly or indirectly,[23b] responsible for most the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the peo placed under his administration, and that the debate in the Ho of Commons and specially in the[23c] House of Lords betraye

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woeful lack of sympathy wtih the people of India, and showed virtual support of the[23d] systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab;

"This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr.[23e] Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established;

"And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts, and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice, compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in Local Bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials, or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for elec-

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tion to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of t voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congre advice, offer himself for election;

(g) boycott of foreign goods;

"And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived a a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which n nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportuni should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation t every man, woman and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods o a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India wit indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yar and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the Nation, and ar not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advise immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scal by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have aba doned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encourage ment".

But though sponsored by Gandhi and backed by the A Brothers and nearly the whole Muslim bloc, the resolution wa strongly opposed by a large section. The Subjects Committe debated it for three days. The substantive motion was the on drafted by the Reception Committee, and Gandhi introduce his motion by way of an amendment. There were about thir amendments but the rest were lost and Gandhi's amendment wa carried by a majority of seven votes only. In the open sessio of the Congress, on September 8, a resolution was moved fo adjournment of the Congress till the winter session so that fu ther time may be given to the country to consider the whol question. The mover pointed out that the discussion in t Subjects Committee left no doubt that there was a considerab body of opinion against the Non-co-operation resolution o Gandhi, and a precipitate decision might split the Congress. B the adjournment motion was lost. The resolution was oppos by C. R. Das, B. C. Pal, Annie Besant, Malaviya, Jinnah an others. Among the eminent Hindu leaders only Pandit Moti Nerhu supported Gandhi. After a prolonged debate the moti was carried by 1886 against 884 votes.[24] It was a great person

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triumph for Gandhi—for he had already burnt his boats behind him, and it may be said, staked his whole political career on the favourable decision of the Congress. For his position would have been unenviable if the Congress threw out his resolution. This must have been a compelling consideration to many who supported Gandhi's resolution on Non-co-operation.[24a]

There has been much speculation about the fate of the resolution, if the Congress could have the benefit of the presence and advice of Tilak. All that can be urged with a tolerable degree of certainly is that the death of Tilak undoubtedly facilitated the assumption of unquestioning leadership by Gandhi.[24b]

As this ushers in a new era in India's struggle for freedom and marks a turning point in the history of the Indian National Congress, it is necessary to pause and discuss the motives that prompted Gandhi to a radical change of his views. It has been held by a biographer of Gandhi that "this change, from love to rejection of the British Empire, grew out of the Jallianwalla blood bath"[25]. According to Surendra Nath Banerji, "the Rowlatt Act was the parent of Non-co-operation movement."[26] Such views have been repeated by others. But they ignore the very important fact that the Rowlatt Act was passed and Jallianwala massacre took place before the Amritsar Congress where Gandhi opposed even a milder form of Non-co-operation. One might indeed be puzzled to think out what happened during the following six months that brought about such a radical change in Gandhi's inborn sense of loyalty to the British Empire and his die-hard spirit of co-operation with the Government, which neither the Rowlatt Act nor the tragic incidents of the Panjab in 1919 could extinguish or even modify to any degree.

Gandhi's own explanation for his sudden change of front is given in the following passage in the speech with which he moved the resolution on Non-co-operation in the Calcutta Congress: "The Mussulmans of India cannot remain as honourable men, and followers of the faith of their Prophet, if they do not vindicate its honour at any cost. The Punjab has been cruelly and barbarously treated..... And it is in order to remove these two wrongs.....that I have ventured to place before this country a scheme of Non-co-operation....." He did not, however, make it clear, why, in respect of the wrongs done to the Khilafat, the

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Mussalmans of India should regard themselves on a special foo ing, as compared with their co-religionists in other countrie If the Muslims of Arabia and Persia, the homeland of Islam did not feel perturbed, and even welcomed the terms offere to Turkey, why should the Musalmans of India, who derive their faith from those two countries, cease to be honourab men or followers of the faith of their Prophet (who belonged Arabia), if they did not vindicate the honour of the Khilafat But what is still more important, the Turks and their Caliph, them selves, did not want any domination over Arabia, demanded b the Indian Muslims; for the Turkish deputation in January February, 1919, after the Armistice, only pressed for politica and economic independence in the area of predominantly Tur kish population. What is the explanation for the Indian Mus lims out-Heroding Herod himself, and the justification of th Hindus for supporting them even by taking an extreme an hazardous step?

As regards the Panjab Gandhi rightly observed: "Inasmuc as a single Panjabi was made to crawl on his belly, the whole India crawled that day on her belly, and it is that humiliatio which you and I, if we claim to be worthy sons and daughters India, must be pledged to remove." These are noble sentiment but one wonders how, with all the crawlings and hundred oth indignities of the people of the Panjab fresh in his memor Gandhi could put his whole weight on loyal co-operation wit the British in the Amritsar Congress, and fight against thos who proposed to vindicate the wrongs of the Panjab by a pro gramme of Non-co-operation, which he now proposed.

The same personal explanation, with slight variations, i found in Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy on August 1, 1920, an more particularly in the statement which he had made befor Justice Broomfield during his trial in March, 1922. The rel vant passage runs as follows:—

"The first shock came in the shape of Rowlatt Act..... Then followed the Punjab horrors.....I discovered, too, that th plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussulmans of Ind regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Isla was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the forebodi and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress

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1919, I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussulmans, that the Panjab wound would be healed, and that the Reforms, inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India. But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was whitewashed, and most culprits were not only unpunished but remained in service, and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue, and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw, too, that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude."

In view of the saintly character of Gandhi, and particularly his solicitude for truth, no one has a right to disbelieve the above statement. But history is no respecter of persons, and is bound to judge the conduct of a public man by certain rational standards. A person who is not blinded by unquestioning faith in, and devotion to, Gandhi, and is in a position to take an unprejudiced and detached view, may, while appreciating the sentiments of Gandhi, find it difficult to admit the soundness of his views and the wisdom of his judgment. As regards the Khilafat question, it was the height of political unwisdom to make it a chief plank or problem in the struggle for freedom waged by India against the British. India might certainly have expressed her sympathy with Turkey and others; the Mussalman citizens of India might feel perturbed by the curtailing of the power of the Khilafat over their holy places; but, as pointed out above, the Muslims outside India did not share their views and, in any case, it was not for India to make it the first issue in her political struggle against the British. But Gandhi's action might appear to many to be still more objectionable. By joining with a separate Mussalman organization acting independently of the Congress, and in deciding upon Non-co-operation solely on this issue, while the Congress at his instance had decided at Amritsar to co-operate with the Government, he put a premium upon the extra-territorial nationality of the Indian Muslims. In other words, he upheld the right of the Muslims in India to look upon Turkey or Khilafat as more important

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than their own country, India. This cut at the very root o Indian nationality. As John Stuart Mill has very correctly ob served, different groups of men inhabiting a country may b said to constitute a nationality only when they are united b common sympathies which do not exist between any constituen group and outsiders. If the Muslims of India felt themselve in duty bound to take an extreme step against the Governme for undoing the wrongs done to the Khilafat which they did no consider necessary to adopt for redressing the wrongs of th Panjab or attaining self-government for India, they could hardl be regarded as a constituent group of the Indian nation.

It is sad to find that even such shrewd statesmen as Raj gopalachari did not realize this aspect in their over-zealou enthusiasm for the Indian support of the Khilafat.[27] There were however, many eminent Indians who disapproved of the conduc of Gandhi.

But, apart from this theoretical objection, will it be serious contended that a man with even a moderate knowledge o European politics could have failed to see in September, 192 or even in December, 1919, what was in store for Turkey? Gandhi had honestly believed that the threat or agitation Indian Mussalmans in September, 1920, would induce the Briti Government to re-open the question which had already be settled in consonance with the general policy adopted by th victorious Allies towards the resettlement of Europe, and for the latter to adopt a radically new policy, one cannot entertai a very high opinion of his knowledge of European history, o of his political acumen, to say the least of it.

Similarly, the ominous silence of the Government of Ind about the tragic happenings in the Panjab for a period of abo eight months, and the composition of the inquiry committ which they were reluctantly forced to appoint, should not ha left any hope that the Panjab wounds would be healed, even the assumption that the grievous wounds could be healed any action of the Government of India. There should not ha been any reasonable doubt in the mind of any one in Decembe 1919, that the inhuman atrocities in the Panjab were done w full knowledge and connivance, if not encouragement, of th Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and the action was tacit

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if not directly approved by the Government of India and condoned by the Home Government. The attitude displayed by the Government of India during the six months that followed the Amritsar Congress was therefore neither unexpected nor so strikingly grave in character as might justify Gandhi's complete somersault in respect of his feelings of loyalty towards the British. But the most mysterious is the last sentence in the statement of Gandhi in the Court quoted above, which adds a third ground for his action, not included in his letter to the Viceroy. His favourable attitude towards the Reforms is explicitly indicated by his articles in the *Young India*, and the part he played in the Amritsar Congress[28]. How, one wonders, did Gandhi realize, even before the Reforms were actually put into operation, that they were only a method of "further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude"? The draining of the wealth of India, so pathetically described by Dadabhai Naoroji and Digby, and her abject servitude for one hundred and sixty years could not materially impair Gandhi's attachment to the British rule, and left Gandhi sufficiently loyal to extend his hand of co-operation up to the end of 1919; what new knowledge, gained in course of six or seven months following it, outweighed the experience of 160 years, it is not easy to determine. Besides, as indicated above, Gandhi seems to have decided upon Non-co-operation before the events, he complained of, actually took place. On the whole it would have been difficult to accept the explanation, at least as whole truth, if it were offered by a lesser man than Gandhi. A more rational explanation of the change of Gandhi's mind seems to be that he could sense the great change in the temperament of the people, and either realized his own mistake or wished to be in a line with his own countrymen. One could also explain his attitude towards the Khilafat problem as a matter of expediency, for Gandhi himself is reported to have said that it provided "such an opportunity of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans as would not arise in a hundred years".[29] But none of these fits in with the known character of Gandhi. He never hesitated to admit his own errors, and never allowed himself to be moved by mere popular feelings or expediency, unless he was convinced that the course was right.

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We are, therefore, bound to accept the explanation offered by Gandhi himself, though it is sure to provoke the criticism that the nobility of his character was not matched by his political acumen. In this connection one may remember what Gandhi once wrote: "My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statement on a given question, but to be consistent with the truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result is that I have grown from truth to truth".[30] This may be a lofty utterance from the point of view of personal ethics, but may often be dangerous in a political leader. For, if he does not choose to disclose the grounds for his change of view and invite public discussion on the matter, the only alternative for the people is to accept, without demur, whatever the leader says and follow blindly his directions, or to reject his leadership. The latter course was almost impossible in the case of Gandhi who had established his position among the masses more by his ascetic ideals and saintly character than by political wisdom or a cut and dried political programme. The fact that Gandhi carried his pro-British resolution in 1919 in spite of the opposition of prominent Indian leaders like Tilak, C. R. Das and Jinnah, and again, without more ado, carried the opposite resolution eight months later in 1920, again in the teeth of opposition by C. R. Das and other leaders, proves beyond doubt that he had alreay attained the position of spiritual *guru* in politics, whose word was law. This was further demonstrated by the Nagpur Congress of 1920 where leaders like C. R. Das 'who came to scoff, remained to pray'.[30a] The Calcutta resolution was the first, but not the last, of Gandhi's political somersaults which puzzled his contemporaries, irritated many, and alienated a few, but were nevertheless accepted in principle and carried into practice by the overwhelming majority of the people.[30b]

Before leaving this topic it is necessary to draw attention to the third para. of the Non-co-operation resolution moved by Gandhi and accepted by the Congress. It conveys the definite idea that *Swaraj* was demanded only to redress Panjab and Khilafat wrongs, and thereby vindicate national honour and prevent their repetition in future. This side-tracks the main issue of the fight for freedom, and unnecessarily emphasizes only two side-issues. The inclusion of Khilafat wrongs as a ground for

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demanding *Swaraj* would perhaps appear to many as nothing short of grotesque. Even the Panjab wrongs, grievous though they were, should not have been put forward as the basis of demand for *Swaraj*. By adopting this para, political India went back upon what had hitherto been regarded as the fundamental issue, so tersely put by Tilak: "Swaraj is my birth-right and I shall have it."

Gandhi's occasional utterance in this respect perhaps deserves even stronger condemnation. When, after about a year, the Non-co-operation movement failed to redress the grievances of the Muslims and they grew impatient, Gandhi wrote:

"In their impatient anger, the Mussalmans ask for more energetic and more prompt action by the Congress and Khilafat organisations. To the Musalmans, Swaraj means, *as it must mean*, India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. The Musalmans, therefore, decline to wait if the attainment of Swaraj means indefinite delay...."It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude. ...*I would gladly ask for postponement of Swaraj activity if thereby we could advance the interest of the Khilafat*.....

"But in my humble opinion, attainment of Swaraj is the quickest method of righting the Khilafat wrong....."[30c]

Thus according to Gandhi's own confession, the freedom of India was valued chiefly as a means to the restoration of the authority of the Turkish Sultan, and he was even prepared to give up the struggle for India's freedom, if anybody could suggest a quicker remedy for achieving the same end. Comment is superfluous upon such a statement made by one whom the country hailed as "Father of the Nation", meaning obviously Indian and not Muslim nation.

III. THE NAGPUR CONGRESS—DECEMBER, 1920

The mystic element in Indian politics which was noted in the sudden change of front by Gandhi in the first part of 1920, persisted throughout the year. This is amply evident from the proceedings of the Annual session of the Congress held at Nagpur in December, 1920, under the Presidentship of Vijayaraghavachariar. The resolution on Non-co-operation passed in the special session of the Congress at Calcutta had to be ratified in

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the regular session. There was unprecedented enthusiasm more than 14,000 attended the Congress.[30d]

It was generally expected that there would be a fresh of strength between Gandhi and the opponents of No operation. But, curiously enough, no such thing took p and the resolution was ratified with only a few dissentient vo This was mainly due to another inexplicable and sudden p cal somersault,—this time on the part of C. R. Das. Su Chandra Bose, who shortly afterwards became the most fidential lieutenant of Das, gives the following version of whole affair:

"Mr. Das and his followers mustered strong at Na hoping to cross swords wih Mr. Gandhi once again. But thro the latter's tactful handling of the situation an understan was arrived at between him and Mr. Das. The boycott of legislatures, to which Mr. Das was chiefly opposed, was longer a live issue as the elections had already taken place was therefore possible to persuade Mr. Das to come to an ag ment. When this was done, the non-co-operation resolution ratified with practical unanimity, though Pandit Malaviya, Besant, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. B. C. Pal remained irreco able."[31]

The explanation is vague and unconvincing. Das did indicate in the Calcutta session that his opposition was li to the boyott of legislature. Even if it were so, the holdi one election could not be a decisive factor, as there was another election after three years. Besides, Bose's own co ment that Das started for Nagpur with a strong conti to fight against Gandhi takes away the force of his argu for even before Das started for Nagpur, the election was and the boycott of legislature 'had ceased to be a living i Here, again, one might ask, what happened during his st Nagpur—perhaps during less than twenty-four hours—w induced Das to give up the fight and join wholeheartedly t Gandhi? The incident further shows the beginning of dict regime (or *guruvad*) in Indian politics. Das was no dictator in the restricted sphere of Bengal than Gandhi rest of India. It seems that the rank and file of Congress ticians had gladly and willingly surrendered their political

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ment and conscience to the safekeeping of a few individuals. There were a few honourable exceptions, including those mentioned above by Bose. Among these Mrs. Besant veered round to the Moderate camp. Jinnah gave pointed expression to his disapproval,—and this is worth noting as it marks the beginning of his etsrangement from the Congress politics domonated by Gandhi. Jinnah was the only one who strongly fought against the Non-co-operation resolution at Nagpur, and when Gandhi asked for his co-operation, he replied as follows:

"I thank you for your kind suggestion offering me to take ny share in the new life that has opened up before the country. f by "new life" you mean your methods and your programme, am afraid I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced that t must lead to disaster.....Your methods have already caused plit and division in the public life of the country, not only mongst Hindus and Muslims, but between Hindus and Hindus nd Muslims and Muslims, and even between fathers and sons; eople generally are desperate all over the country and your xtreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination nostly of the inexperienced youth and ignorant and illiterate."[32]

Another political leader, who raised his voice of protest and whose forebodings proved almost prophetic, was G. S. Khaparde, co-worker of Tilak, who published a short memorandum on ecember 10, 1920, pointing out how the Non-co-operation esolution, passed in Calcutta session, was caulculated to divert the energies of the Congress into directions of attaining oul force and moral excellence, and lose sight of the political spect of affairs." "The N. C. O.", it continued, "as preached ow, may develop powers of endurance, but cannot breed the nergy and resourcefulness and practical wisdom necessary for political struggle. The three boycotts, at present recommend-, are futile and have not at all a distinct political aspect, and e tendency of the whole, as evidenced in the proceedings for teration of the creed of the All-India Home Rule League, now named Swaraj Sabha, would appear to be towards a return autocracy and personal rule, which is objectionable and against e spirit of the age, though entrusted to a highly developed and oral individual."[33]

Three members of the British Labour Party—Colonel

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Wedgwood, Mr. Ben Spoor, and Mr. Holford Knight,—attended the Congress session. Wedgwood, who was permitted to address the Subjects Committee with his two colleagues and was also permitted to take part therein, gravely warned the Congress against N.C.O. "You will make it difficult for your friends in England to take up your cause", said he. "You are going into the wilderness. You must pursue a constructive programme". He was immediately met with the blunt reply: "We have no friends outside India; let there be no mistake about that. Our salvation lies in our own hands. We must make or mar our future. We are going into the wilderness, we know, because the way to the 'land flowing with milk and honey', the land of Canaan, is not the land of our bondage, lies only through a wilderness. But we trust to the leadership of a Moses or an Aaron to lead us from untruth to truth, from darkness to light, from death to life". There is no doubt that this speech reflected the sentiment, not only of the people in general, but also of a vast majority of the politicians of the Nationalist school who attended the Congress. C. R. Das, who came prepared to oppose N.C.O., himself moved and Lala Lajpat Rai seconded the resolution about N.C.O. It was long and comprehensive, and virtually reaffirmed the one passed in Calcutta, covering the whole field, from the renunciation of titles at one end to the refusal to pay taxes to the other. It laid emphasis on non-violence as an integral part of the N.C.O. movement and requested those elected to the Council to resign their seats. In a separate resolution the country was asked to refrain from taking any part in functions or festivities in honour of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.

A number of other decisions adopted at the Nagpur session makes it a landmark in the history of the Congress.

In the Amritsar session of the Congress in 1919, C. R. Das was authorized to prepare the draft of a new constitution for the Congress. On the basis of this draft certain important changes were made in the constitution. The goal of the Congress was defined in the existing constitution as "self-government within the British Empire". This kept out of the Congress a large section whose political ideal was complete independence. To accommodate this section the goal of the Congress was defined

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be 'Swaraj'. It literally means self-rule, and neither long sage nor any generally accepted convention had given any efinite connotation to it. It was evidently kept deliberately ague so that each individual member might satisfy his conscience y putting any interpretation upon the word he liked. Gandhi efined 'Swaraj' to mean "self-government within the empire, if ossible, and outside, if necessary."

The Congress was reorganized on the basis of a gradation f committees, beginning from village, the smallest unit, through adually increasing areas like sub-division, district, and pro-nce, to the All-India Congress Committee of about 350 mem-ers. This Committee was to elect a Working Committee of 15 embers which would be the supreme Executive of the Congress r the whole country. The provinces, for the purpose of the bove organization, were re-arranged on a linguistic basis; adras, for example, being divided into Andhra and Tamil-nadu. he Subjects Committee was henceforth to be composed of the embers of the AICC alone and was to meet 2 or 3 days before e open session of the Congress.

Another important change was the substitution of the words ll peaceful and legitimate means" for the existing "constitu-onal means", which defined the method to be followed by the ongress in achieving the goal. This was evidently a compro-ise between the Moderate section represented by Malaviya and nnah and the Radical section who demanded absolute inde-ndence to be achieved by all possible means. Gandhi's in-ence induced the extreme section to accept the compromise.

IV. THE NAGPUR PROGRAMME

I. Constructive Work

The movement launched by Gandhi, on which the Nagpur ongress put its imprimatur with almost rare unanimity, had o aspects which may be called positive and negative, or con-uctive and destructive. The former included the promotion *Swadeshi*, particularly the revival of hand spinning and weav-g, removal of untouchability among the Hindus, promotion of ndu-Muslim unity, prohibition of the use of alcoholic drinks, d the collection of a crore of Rupees for the memorial of Tilak the shape of a *Swarajya* fund). The spinning and weaving—

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two lost arts of India, of which the first was almost a forg one—were no doubt originally intended as a means of econo uplift of the masses, but to this was later added a symbo one might almost say, political and ethical—significance w gave it a sacrosant character. Gandhi even went so fa declare that the *Charka* (spinning wheel) was the key to In freedom,—as soon as India would be able to weave its cloth, 'Swaraj' would be realized. Some of the eminent na alist leaders like B. C. Pal regarded this as going too far refused to see in the spindle the veritable secret of, or wa India's political freedom.

The destructive side is usually referred to as the triple cott,—namely, boycott of legislature, courts, and educati institutions, both schools and colleges maintained or aide the Government. The ideas of Passive Resistance and Disobedience, though not explicitly included in the program seem to have been tacitly permitted, though under strict lim tions, whenever necessary to carry out the above programme minor items of boycott included surrender of titles, honours as formulated in the resolution, quoted above, of the Con in its special Session at Calcutta. Some constructive workin directly necessitated by the destructive programme, such a ting up arbitration boards where cases might be decided o courts, and national schools and colleges where students le old schools and colleges might continue their education. T reverse process, the boycott of foreign goods, particularly fo cloth, formed an important item by way of promoting *Swa*

Immediately after the Nagpur session Gandhi made a tensive and prolonged tour of the country in order to popu the N. C. O. movement. It seems that at first the constru side was more emphasized than the destructive. The All Congress Committee, meeting at Bezwada on March 31, passed resolutions "calling upon all workers to concentrate attention chiefly on (1) collecting a crore of Rupees for the Memorial Swaraj Fund; (2) enlisting a crore of members (3) introducing 20 lakhs of *Charkas* (spinning wheels) in households; all this before the 30th June 1921". The firs was successfully carried out, the fund being over-subscrib 15 lakhs of ruppes. The membership reached more than

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lakhs and the number of *Charkas* almost reached the target. Gandhi was at first against the boycott of foreign goods, as it was, in his opinion, a form of violence, but he changed his views in a few months and laid great emphasis on it. In its meeting at Bombay on July 28, 1921, the All-India Congress Committee sent detailed instructions to all Congress organizations in order to attain "complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th September next," and asked them to concentrate their attention upon manufacture of *Khaddar* by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving. It also approved the picketing of liquor shops which had already begun, but deplored the excesses committed by the mob at Aligarh and Malegaon.

The weaving and popularizing of *Khaddar* made some progress, but the production was slow and far behind the target aimed at. As to the consumption of liquor, it underwent a marked decline due to vigorous picketing of liquor shops, and there was a substantial fall in the revenue of the Government, but "after the removal of the pickets, the pendulum swung back and the evil asserted itself again in full force."[34]

The All-India Congress Committee at Bombay, while passing the resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth, also advised all Congress organizations "to collect foreign cloth for destruction or use outside India at their option." This provoked a heated discussion and several amendments were moved against the burning of cloth or its being sent out to Smyrna for the use of the Turkish forces. Patel, supported by Kelkar, opposed the destruction of foreign cloth which he thought was valued roughly at hundred crores and which he described as national wealth, especially at a time when millions were either ill-clad or naked. Gandhi vigorously supported the burning of cloth by the consumers, though not by the cloth-dealers. Immediately after the session of the AICC, the city of Bombay displayed great enthusiasm in this item. Numerous meetings were held urging the boycott of foreign cloth, and arrangement was made for a great spectacular demonstration of burning it. The following is the contemporary account of a scene:

"On July 31 there was a gathering of some two to three thousand people to witness the great holocaust. The pile of foreign cloth collected was ranged in an enormous circle about

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a mile in diameter and some three feet high. All sorts of for clothing from rich brocades and silk *saris* to torn hats, c neckties and collars were thrown into the pile. All the pr nent provincial leaders who had gone to Bombay to attend AICC meeting were present, and also a few hundreds of lad Gandhi came in the evening and applied a lighted match to pile. At once the fire leaped up and went round the circle few minutes, and in about a couple of hours the huge pile w some crores of Rupees was burnt to ashes."[35]

Similar bonfires, though not on such a grand scale, made in other towns, and this became almost a regular feat of the programme of cloth boycott. Eminent men, includ poet Rabindranath, made vigorous protest against this "ins sate waste" of cloth when millions were going half-nak Gandhi gave a spirited reply in his paper, the *Young In* "Critics", said he, "have overwhelmed me with their rebuke garding the burning of foreign cloth. After having consid every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth.

But in spite of spectacular demonstration of the bur of foreign cloth, the boycott of foreign cloth did not show s actory progress, as was admitted by the Working Committe its Bombay meeting on 5 October, 1921. As regards o items of constructive programme it is difficult to recognize substantial progress either in the removal of untouchability other class distinctions among the Hindus, or in the promot of Hindu-Muslim unity. The deplorable communal riots Malabar and at Multan, to which reference will be made la rather show a worsening of the situation, even though the C gressmen, as usual attributed all incidents to mischief-mak The elaborate review of this point in the Report of the C Disobedience Enquiry Committee is almost pathetic in its sim city of faith in the inherent Hindu-Muslim fraternity, and cr almost incredible, tendency to ignore hard facts.

2. Boycott

The destructive side of the Non-co-operation movement also pursued with zeal. The two most exciting items in connection were the boycott of legislature and educational i

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tutions. Serious attempts were made at the time of the election in November, 1920, to persuade persons, particularly Congressmen, not to stand for election, and the voters to abstain from registering their votes. These activities were, of course, short-lived and came to an end as soon as the elections were over. Far more protracted, and at first far more active and successful, was the country-wide agitation for the boycott of schools and colleges. Eminent leaders appealed to the students to leave their institutions and the response was, in some parts, most enthusiastic.

i. Volunteer Organization

But there is no doubt that much of the success in regard to this item was due to picketing by students themselves. Picketing was also an essential feature in stopping the sale of liquors and foreign goods. This work was mainly done by the National Volunteers—a body thoroughly reorganized for carrying out the programme of Non-co-operation.

Long before the commencement of this movement there were Congress Volunteer Associations in almost all parts of India whose main activities, besides helping the arrangements for the annual sessions of the Congress, were confined to social and philanthropic service, such as helping the pilgrims on special occasions when there was a great rush, maintaining order in religious fairs, relief work in times of epidemic, famine or floods, etc. The Khilafat agitation led to the growth of a body of volunteers who were from the very beginning, of a more militant character, and in many places wore uniforms and practised drills and route marches. These two bodies were now combined, though not actually fused into a single organization under one command, and came to be known as National Volunteers. It was mainly with the help of these volunteers that the Congress carried on not only the picketing which was essential for preventing the sale of liquors and foreign goods, but also the enforcement of other items, both constructive and destructive, through social and economic pressure as far as possible. Though pledged to non-violence their activities were described by Government as subversive of order and discipline. "Attempts to usurp functions of police, intimidation and use of violence to

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enforce *hartals* and social and commercial boycott, or und guise of *swadeshi* or temperance movements in order to imp authority of Government and terrorise political opponents, ha been prominent features of their recent activities". This vi of Government was not certainly without foundation, thou the evils and shortcomings were considerably magnified by the

ii. Boycott of Councils

The object of boycotting the Councils was to bring abo a complete deadlock in administration. Gandhi hoped th there would be a wholesale abstention of voters from votin To the argument that the whole country will not respond to th and the Moderates will steal into the Councils, he replied: "Wi a single Moderate leader care to enter any Council if more th half his electorate disapproved of his offering himself as candidate at all?[36] I hold that it would be unconstitutional f him to do so." From this point of view the movement for bo cotting the Councils was a complete failure. All the Congre candidates had withdrawn from the contest in obedience to t mandate of the Calcutta Congress, and all the seats were fil up by non-Congressmen. Just out of fun, or out of spite, t Congressmen put a cobbler as a candidate from a seat in Beng and he was duly returned. But though the Congress was u deniably strong and could easily command majority of votes almost all Hindu constituencies, it was not strong enough prevent at least a quarter of the total number of voters fr casting their votes and thereby render the election void or i effectual, as they hoped. The Congress, however, succeed in proving to the world that the Legislative Councils elect under the new constitution had no claim to represent the peo of India. This was frankly admitted even by high British o cials. Thus on Novermer 22, 1924, in the course of a farew speech, Sir Frank Sly, the Governor of C.P., observed: "At t first election many of the electors, under the influence of t Non-co-operation movement, abstained from voting, and me bers were returned to the Legislative Council who could n claim to be really representative of public opinion, and so of whom were unfit to exercise the responsibilities of th position".[37]

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iii. Boycott of Law-Courts

The boycott of legal profession was heralded by the magnificent self-sacrifice of Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, both leaders of the Bar and enjoying a princely income. They gave up their practice, and their example was followed by a large number of lawyers. Here, again, the boycott was more spectacular than effective, for the number of boycotting lawyers, though perhaps exceeding a thousand to start with, but gradually dwindling as time passed, were not large enough in proportion to their total strength, and hence could not make any impression upon, far less cripple, the work of the British law-courts. The attempt to dissuade the people from resorting to British courts and settle their litigation by boards of arbitration set up by the Congress or village *panchayats*, though partially successful in a few localities, did not achieve any important results.

iv. Boycott of Schools and Colleges

The programme of boycotting schools and colleges at first created great enthusiasm. It was foreshadowed by the All-India College Students Conference held at Nagpur on December 25, 1920, under the Chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. In his Presidential address he denounced the view that "students ought not to have to do anything with politics." He thought that "while students ought to be free to study politics, have opinions on political questions and express them at times, whenever there is need, through their organization, they ought to steer clear of politics. Otherwise this organization might be turned into a political organization, and the division among political parties will be carried into the students' camp". As regards the item of the boycott of schools and colleges in the Non-co-operation programme he gave the following advice: "Leave at once the Law Colleges. Do not leave Medical, Engineering, and Technical Schools. As regards Arts Colleges, consider the situation well and if you really feel the call of duty, leave the Arts Colleges, but under no delusion that some one is going to make provision in National Schools established by the leaders of the National Congress."[38]

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The Conference met again on December 26, 1920, with Mr. Pickthal, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in the chair. There was a heated debate on the boycott of Government-aided schools and colleges. A resolution was passed to the effect that 'this Conference whole-heartedly supports the immediate and unconditional boycott of Government and Government-aided colleges, and advises the college students of India to respond to it.' By another resolution national leaders were requested to establish National Colleges, including provision for technical education. A programme of work was laid down for the student Non-co-operators. The students of India were requested by another resolution to use only their vernacular in their correspondence, daily talk and provincial deliberations.

The Students' Conference, and the almost unanimous adoption of the Non-co-operation resolution by the Congress, at Nagpur had great repercussion upon students all over the country. The greatest upheaval took place in Calcutta on January 12, 1921, as a large number of students left their colleges, marched through the streets in procession, and gathered in a meeting addressed by Congress leaders like C. R. Das and B. C. Pal. In course of the next week, many more students came out and processions and mammoth meetings became the order of the day. The teachers, however, with rare exceptions did not join the students' strike. The example of Calcutta was followed by many mofussil colleges. The boycotting students adopted a novel method of picketing in order to prevent others form entering the colleges. A number of them lay flat, side by side, on the pavements of the doorways, blocking the entrance. The students, willing to attend, had either to tread upon the bodies of their fellow-students or abstain from attendance. It is easy to understand why many chose the latter alternative. The initial success of the boycott was mainly due to this practice whose non-violent character may justly be questioned. But as noted above, the boycott of colleges, thus artificially maintained, did not, in the long run, prove very effective. This result was also partly due to the attitude of Gandhi. Hitherto the students merely boycotted the existing colleges in order to join National institutions which were slowly springing up in different parts of India. Gandhi, however, made it clear that

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he wanted the students to give up their education and join in the fight against bureaucracy by devoting their whole time and energy to the national movement. He cited the analogy of belligerent countries in Europe during the World War where the colleges were closed down and the students drawn to war-work. In this national crisis, said Gandhi, students were to think not of education but of *Swaraj*. This appeal, however, found little response.

There was a great commotion among the students of the D. A. V. College at Lahore, and Lala Lajpat Rai requested its authorities to convert it into a national institution. The Managing Committee, however, refused to do so. On January 25, the students of the college held a meeting at Gujranwala which was addressed by Rambhuj Dutt Choudhuri and Lajpat Rai. The former appealed to the students to give up their studies at once and join the national movement to win *Swaraj*. Lajpat Rai asked the students to leave the D. A. V. College so that it might be converted into a true national college. "But," he added, "remember one thing, dont be a bluffer. Think and consult your conscience. Do not leave the college unless you are absolutely determined to follow your conscience. But once you take the step, do not recede."

The meeting was followed by the Panjab Students' Conference at Gujranwalla on January 30, with Dr. Kitchelew as President. It passed a resolution urging upon all students above the age of 16 "to make immediate and effective response to the call of the nation by unconditional withdrawal from all arts, science, and professional institutions connected with the Government."

In the meanwhile the students of other colleges went on strike on January 27, and passed similar resolutions in their meetings. Most of the colleges had to be closed down for the time being. But by the end of February, the movement for strike practically died down both in Calcutta and Lahore.

There were commotions in varying degrees, but no strong movement of students in other parts of India. On the whole, the movement for the boycott of schools and colleges proved a failure. Though quite a large number of students gave up their studies, the movement never gained sufficient strength.

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and failed to create any lasting impression or produce a serious effect on the existing institutions. Many of the stude who came out rejoined their old institutions; some resum their studies in newly started national schools and colleges; o a small mand remained steadfast to their resolve, at least many years to come.

But the boycott of courts and educational institutions p duced most significant and far-reaching consequences in anot direction. Men like Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, along w others, now devoted their whole time and energy to the servi of the country. So did most of the students who gave up th studies. For the first time in the history of modern India the was a select band of whole-time workers, both leaders and ra and file, all over the country, who made the freedom of Ind their only goal in life and consecrated themselves to its achiev ment. There were many who took to the service of the coun as a whole-time job rather than a pastime in their leisure a their example had a profound influence over others; all t changed the entire outlook of the country, and gave a new z and spirit to India's struggle for freedom. The ideal of Bank Chandra's *Anandamath*, and the idea with which Gokhale star the 'Servants of India Society' at last came to fruition.

v. *Miscellaneous*

The Boycott of titles and honours as well as of Governm offices was a hopeless failure. The number of persons who nounced honours and titles was very small compared to t total number. But it is an undeniable fact that these titles honours henceforth ceased to be distinctions in the estimation the people at large, and generally came to be regarded as bad of slavery. Many holders of titles, though unable to renou them for fear of incurring the displeasure of Government, re felt uncomfortable, and gradually the display of the so-cal honours and their recognition as such were confined to Gov ment functions.

As regards the resignation of Government jobs, the respo was insignificant and negligible. But there were a few rem able instances. Subhas Chandra Bose, the future Netaji, passed the I. C. S. in 1920, resigned his post in May, 19

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P. C. Ghosh, who later became the Chief Minister of Bengal, also resigned a lucrative appointment. There were a few other cases, too.

More spectacular success attended the movement for boycotting the visits of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught and the Prince of Wales as will be related later.

3. The Policy of the Government

It is very significant that the Government at first did not take any serious notice of the activities of the Non-co-operators, except in cases of picketing and burning of foreign cloths, which led to disturbances, either real, or artificially created by *agent-provocateurs* of the Government. The disturbances were followed by the usual *lathi* charge, brutal assault and imprisonment.

The gradual evolution of the policy of the Government of India towards the Non-co-operation movement has been admirably summed up in the long telegraph which the Viceroy sent to the Secretary of State for India on February 9, 1922, thus covering the entire period during which the movement was in force. As early as April, 1920, instructions were issued by Lord Chelmsford's Government that there should be prompt prosecution of all persons tampering with the loyalty of the troops or the Police, and a scheme for instituting counter-propaganda was formulated in July of the same year. In September instructions were issued to Local Governments to take action vigorously to prosecute for all incitements to violence, and their attention was drawn in October to the dangerous potentialities which lay in the Volunteer movement. Lastly, in November 1920, a resolution was issued by the Government of India defining their general attitude towards the Non-co-operation campaign. It was explained that, although the entire movement was unconstitutional, they had refrained from instituting criminal proceedings against such of its promoters as had advocated simultaneously with non-co-operation abstention from violence, and they had given instructions to Local Governments that action should be taken against those persons only, who, in order to further the movement, had advanced beyond the limits which its organisers had originally set up, and had openly incited the public to violence by speech or writing, or endeavoured to tamper with the loyalty

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of the army or the Police. The following considerations influenced Government in adopting this policy:—

1. Reluctance to interfere with the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech at a time when India was on the threshold of a great advance towards self-government.

2. The knowledge that those against whom prosecution might be directed (some of whom were actuated by honest, misguided motives) would be likely to find in it the opportunity of posing as martyrs, and that they might swell the number of adherents to their cause by evoking false sympathy.

3. The belief that Non-co-operation would be rejected by the country as a visionary and a chimerical scheme.....

In the above communication reference is made to a system of counter-propaganda by the Government. It took two forms. The Government subsidised some papers and issued leaflets with a view to emphasizing the evils of the Non-co-operation movement and defending the policy of the Government. It is hardly necessary to point out that this was a mere waste of money, paid to certain favoured individuals for their loyalty, and had absolutely no effect on the class of people whom the Government had in view. The second form of the propaganda was to convince the people of the great powers conceded to them by the Reforms of 1919. We may quote from the telegraph referred to above: "Government at the same time took every opportunity during the first session of the reformed legislature of convincng Indian opinion that the reforms were real and great, and that they had conferred on the representatives of the people wide powers, and that there was a readiness to inquire into the cause of discontent, or any specific grievances. It was, for example, agreed to refer to non-official Committees of the Legislature certain Acts which conferred extraordinary powers on the Executive, as well as the Acts regulating the conduct of the Press. the greatest consideration was shown in framing the Budget the opinion of the Legislature."

4. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers.

During the early part of 1921 Gandhi and the Ali Brothers succeeded in bringing about such a unity of aims and activities between the Hindus and Muslims as was never witnessed be-

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or since. The Muslims, as a general rule, plunged into the movement with a greater zeal and enthusiasm, and consequently suffered, in the hands of the Government, a great deal more than the Hindus. It was indeed complained by the Muslims that while they formed only a small minority of the population, they had to bear the greater share of the brunt on their shoulders. This was true to a large extent. The reason lies in the fact that the appeal to the Muslims was mainly religious in character, while the Hindus were inspired by national sentiments alone. The Non-co-operation movement proved once more that religion had a stronger hold on the minds of the people than the country, and this was certainly true of the Muslims. Though not fully realized at the time by Congressmen, it demonstrated quite clearly that the edifice of the Hindu-Muslim unity was founded on an artificial basis, and not designed on a clear-cut national plan. But as times passed, this aspect gradually forced itself on the public mind. The Pan-Islamic spirit behind the Khilafat agitation, which has been discussed in detail in this and preceding chapter, gradually revealed itself in the speeches of the Muslim leaders, who further showed but scant respect to the spirit of non-violence. As noted above, even Muhammad Ali, Gandhi's disciple in non-violence, spoke openly that he was a Muslim first and everything else afterwards, and did not leave any doubt about the scope and meaning of this pregnant phrase when he said that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade India for the liberation (?) of the country, it would be the duty of all Muslims to assist him actively.[39] As a matter of fact, the speeches of Muslim leaders mainly laid stress on the religious character of the war waged against the English by the Muslims of India in combination with their brethren in faith beyond the north-western frontier of India, i.e., the wild tribes and the people of Afghanistan, whose past domination in India was a bitter and painful memory to every Hindu. The Hindus were widely shocked, particularly as even Gandhi lent indirect support to the utterances of his 'dear brother' Muhammad Ali.[40] But, as noted above,[41] such was the magic spell of Gandhi over the Hindus, that in spite of protests and murmuring from certain sections, they were not affected in any way by the Pan-Islamic spirit of the Khilafatists, or even by the shocking atrocities per-

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petrated by the Muslims upon the Hindus on a large scale Malabar, to which detailed reference will be made later, lure of the coveted goal of Hindu-Muslim unity stifled, large extent, the natural resentment of the Hindus against undue toleration of Muslim opinion and demands by Gandhi

Gandhi's faith in the nationalism of the Ali Brothers their non-violent spirit can only be described as pathetic character. Instead of honourably extricating himself from entanglements with them, he descended to activities which deemed by many at the time to be unworthy of the great le of the Non-co-operation movement. This feeling is not perh fully justified by facts, but as it created a great stir the moment and there is a good deal of misunderstanding now on the subject, a brief reference may be made to incident.

Shortly after Lord Reading assumed charge of his office Viceroy, he had several interviews with Pandit Madan Mo Malaviya, who suggested the idea that the Viceroy should Gandhi. Lord Reading told him, "if Mr. Gandhi applies me for an interview I would readily grant it and I should glad to hear his views". Gandhi came to Simla at the req of Malaviya and C. F. Andrews, and applied for interview w was readily granted by the Viceroy. There were altogether interviews between May 13 and 18, 1921, and some of were very prolonged. This gave rise to various rumours prophecies, none of which proved true. There is still a ve secrecy over the talks between the Viceroy and Gandhi, and that was given out was that there was a general talk about political situation. Only in one respect the interviews led t important consequence. The Viceroy told Gandhi that s responsible Non-co-operators had made speeches incitin violence, and as Gandhi denied it, the Viceroy read to G certain passages from the speeches of Muhammad Ali Shaukat Ali. Gandhi thereupon admitted the charge o Viceroy and told him that he would advise the Ali Brothe express publicly their regrets for the unintentional incite to violence contained in the passages. It was at this stage *not before*, that the Viceroy told Gandhi that the Gover proposed to institute criminal proceedings against the

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Brothers for these passages, and if Gandhi showed him the draft of the statement he would recommend to them to issue, and if this statement proved satisfactory, he would prevent the prosecution. The draft was in due course shown by Gandhi to the Viceroy, and some alterations were made at the latter's suggestion. Gandhi left Simla and some days afterwards telegraphed to His Excellency that the Ali Brothers had signed the statement, with an immaterial alteration and sent it to the press for publication. This apology of the Ali brothers, after denial of any ntention to incite to violence, ran as follows:

"We therefore sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for he unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, nd we give our public assurance and promise to all who may equire it that so long as we are associated with the movement f non-co-operation, we shall not directly or indirectly advocate iolence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere f preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the pirit of non-co-operation to which we have pledged our word."

Next day, May 30, the Government issued a communique bout it and Lord Reading referred to the whole subject in a peech at the Simla Chelmsford Club dinner. The official circle as very jubilant and the Government report referred with reat glee to the fact that "the head and forefront of the campaign for non-co-operation with a 'Satanic Government' actually resented himself to the Viceroy". Feelings ran very high mong the Non-co-operators, and a split threatened the Gandhi amp over this matter. It was very galling to their pride that andhi should secure pardon for the Ali Brothers by inducing em to give an apology while the rank and file were courting rest for less violent language. It was also irritating to many at Gandhi should have sought interview with the Viceroy, hile carrying on a life and death struggle with the British Govnment for *Swaraj within a year*, and that again, not for disssing the problem of *Swaraj* or any other fundamental problem, t only a side-issue of a very minor nature and of a personal aracter. Gandhi defended his action in a long statement. vo important facts are often ignored in judging of Gandhi's tion. In the first place, it is clear from the Viceroy's statent that Gandhi was unaware of the Government's decision to

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prosecute the Ali Brothers when he suggested about p... apology. Secondly, Gandhi did discuss with the Viceroy ... general political issues, and the episode of Ali Brothers ... merely a side-issue. Besides, as Gandhi pointed out, he did ... make any bargain, but thought it to be proper for the ... Brothers to express regret for violence, irrespective of ... question whether there was any prosecution or not.[42]

Gandhi might have other motives, too. The ap... tendered by the Ali Brothers was calculated to remove, ... least diminish, the growing discontent and sullen resentme... the Hindus about the aims and methods of the Khilafatists ... their leaders, and to convince them that the Khilafatists ... abjuring violence showed that they did not cherish any ... Islamic sentiment.

There is no doubt, however, that the episode of tend... apology considerably lowered the prestige of both Gandhi ... the Ali Brothers, and consequently weakened Non-co-oper... movement. The Ali Brothers fully realized this and tri... wriggle out of the position. In his Presidential speech a... Gujarat Provincial Khilafat Conference, held at Broach on ... 2, Muhammad Ali denied that he ever had made a v... speech or ever dreamt of bargaining with the Government. ... also made it clear that while their present policy coincided ... the Mahatma's their creed was not indentical, and should ... co-operation fail to achieve the end, he would exert his ri... take up arms against the enemies of Islam. Again, at the Kh... Conference at Karachi, held on July 8-11, Muhammad ... referred to the apology in his Presidential address. He ... addressing the audience, "I want you to understand th... apology is meant for you. We can never apologise to the ... ernment." Again he observed that the apology "was mea... Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who entertained fears ... Afghan invasion. It was meant to set at rest the fears ... Pandit. But, as it would seem, it has unfortunately not su... ed." Refering to the public criticism and the Governmen... tude, he said: "In the eyes of our enemies we are poli... extinct to all intents and purposes. We have been repre... by the Sircar that having apologized none is prepared to ...

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o us". He then proved by citing concrete illustration that his popularity was as great as ever.[43]

Whatever we may think of these pronouncements, the Khilafat Conference at Karachi rehabilitated the Ali Brothers in their old popularity and prestige. Some time before it a *futwa* was published in the name of five hundred Ulemas (learned Muslim divines) to the effect that all service under a non-Muslim Government was forbidden by Islamic law, and service in the police and the army was stigmatised as a specially heinous sin. In accordance with this view the Karachi Conference passed the following resolution: "This meeting clearly proclaims that it is in every way religiously unlawful for a Musslman at the present moment to continue in the British army or o induce others to join the army, and it is the duty of all the Mussulmans in general, and the Ulemas in particular, to see that hese religious commandments are brought home to every Muslman in the army."

Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and four other Muslim leaders were arrested in September and tried on the charge of passing he above resolution and circulating the Ulemas' *futwa,* since proscribed, among the Muslim troops.

All the accused were convicted on November 1, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. As soon as the entence was passed the Ali Brothers were wildly cheered by a ast crowd that had collected near the court and once more they ecame popular heroes. But even before the trial was over, ublic meetings were held all over the country where the Karachi esolution was reiterated and the extracts from the *futwa,* regardg service in the army, were distributed broadcast.[44]

Huge meetings were held at Delhi and Lakhnaw on September 29 and 30, and in the latter place ten thousand people are said o have sprung to their feet and repeated the whole resolution ord for word. Similar meetings were held at Kanpur, Agra, agpur, and many other places. Gandhi himself took up the hallenge and along with 46 other top-ranking N.C.O. leaders sued a manifesto on 4 October. They declared it to be "conary to the national dignity for any Indian to serve as a civilian, d more specially as a soldier under a system of Government hich has brought about India's economic, moral and political

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degradation....." and that "it is the duty of every Indian sc and civilian to sever his connection with the Government find some other means of livelihood". Next day, 5th Oct the Congress Working Committee, meeting in Bombay, p a long resolution expressing the same sentiment.[45]

5. The Militant Attitude of N.C.O.

It is somewhat surprising that the Government ignored open defiance. But it was fully aware of the growing str of the N.C.O. movement, as would be evident from the fo ing remarks in the official report: "The activities of the no operation party redoubled. The number of Khilafat and co-operation meetings rose to unprecedented heights, a steady stream of inflammatory oratory was poured f Hostility to Government increased, encouraging the tend towards general lawlessness. The volunteer movement bec more formidable: intimidation was freely practised and police were molested in the exercise of their duty. The d of erecting an administration parallel to that of Goverm which should be ready on the slightest warning to take ove whole regulation of the country, was freely bruited."[46]

How far the allegations of the Government were co it is difficult to say. But there is no doubt that the tempo o Non-co-operation movement rose much higher at this t "When the Working Committee met at Patna on the 16th Au 1921, the letter of request for permission to start Civil Di dience of Orders under section 144 from the District of H in U.P. was adjourned to the next meeting of the Committ At its next meeting, held in Calcutta in September (6th, 7th and 11th), it negatived the idea of Civil Disobedience in any trict and Province, and only authorized Civil Disobedience b dividuals who might be prevented in the prosecution of the *deshi* propaganda. But the Working Committee and the A that met at Delhi after the arrest of Ali Brothers, on Novemb 1921, took a much bolder step. They authorized every Pro on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience, in ing non-payment of taxes, in the manner considered most able by the respective Provincial Congress Committees, s to the following conditions: "Every individual civil resister

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have fulfilled the part of the NCO programme applicable to him, should know spinning, must have discarded foreign cloth, taken to Khaddar, must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity, believe in non-violence as absolutely essential.....In regard to mass civil disobedience a district or tashil should be treated as a unit and therein a majority of the population must have adopted full *Swadeshi* and must be clothed out of cloth hand-spun and hand-woven in that area.....No one should expect support out of public funds."[48]

This did not lead to any mass Civil Disobedience, nor was it probably intended. But it shows a striking advance on the road to Civil Disobedience which was destined henceforth to form the chief item in the non-violent campaign against the Government for the attainment of *Swaraj*. The Non-co-operation movement was only the first stage. The Delhi Resolution may be said to have heralded the beginning of the second.

There is no doubt that the arrest of the Ali Brothers rejuvenated the Non-co-operation movement. Another important factor which contributed to it was the support which the members of the old revolutionary party in Bengal accorded to it. As this fact is not generally known, the account, as given by Subhas Chandra Bose, may be quoted at some length:

"While opposition to the Mahatma's policy of non-co-operation came from the intellectuals, opposition to his cult of non-violence came from another quarter, namely, the Revolutionary Party. During the Great War, thousands of revolutionaries had been imprisoned and most of them were subsequently released as a result of the amnesty declared in 1919. Many of them did not approve of the doctrine of non-retaliation which they apprehended would demoralise the people and weaken their power of resistance. There was a possibility that the ex-revolutionaries as a class would go against the Congress owing to ideological differences. As a matter of fact, a section of them had already started propaganda in Bengal against the Non-co-operation movement. Strangely enough, funds had been provided by the British mercantile community under the name of the Citizens' Protection League. The money was distributed through the medium of an Indian advocate who did not disclose the source of the funds. Deshabandhu C. R. Das was anxious

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to disarm the hostility of the ex-revolutionaries and, if possible, to win their active support for the Congress campaign. He therefore arranged a Conference in September between them and the Mahatma, at which he also was present. The ex-revolutionaries had a heart-to-heart talk with the Mahatma, and he and Deshabandhu tried to convince them that non-violent non-cooperation, instead of weakening or demoralising the people, would strengthen their power of effective resistance. The upshot of the Conference was that all those present promised to give full chance to the Congress to strive for Swaraj and promised to do nothing to hamper its work, while many of them agreed to join the Congress organisation as loyal and active members.

Bose adds that this Conference took place behind closed doors in September, 1921, when the Mahatma and other members of the Congress Working Committee were styaing in Calcutta as guests of C. R. Das. As Bose speaks of the Conference from his own personal knowledge, there is no reason to disbelieve his account which is corroborated by the statements of several ex-revolutionaries and their practical conduct mentioned in Chapter VII.

6. Boycott of the Prince of Wales.

Though the arrest of Ali Brothers and the subsequent episode caused a great sensation, generally speaking, the Non-co-operation Movement did not, so far, arouse any great excitement, or lead to any such open conflict between the Government and the people as many anticipated. The youthful Subhas Bose, who had thrown himself whole-heartedly into the movement immediately after his return to India in July, 1921, records in his autobiography that the youths of Bengal rather felt dampened in spirit at the tameness of the whole show and were 'spoiling for a fight', but no opportunity presented itself. The visit of the Prince of Wales to India in November, 1921, however, offered such an opportunity.

It was originally proposed that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would formally inaugurate the new legislatures in India, both Central and Local, constituted under the Reforms Scheme of 1919. But as he had not yet completely recovered from labours of his Dominion tour, His Royal Highness,

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Duke of Connaught, was appointed by His Majesty to discharge the task. But it was announced at the September session of the Legislative Assembly that the Prince will visit India in November. The Indian public generally interpreted such royal visit as an attempt to exploit the traditional sentiments of India, and the view was generally held that the visit was deliberately planned as a counterpoise to the Non-co-operation movement with a view to conciliating a large section of the people and rallying it to the support of the Government. To allay such suspicion the Viceroy went out of his way to make the following observations: "The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party". On another occasion Lord Reading emphatically repudiated the allegations that the Prince was coming to serve some political end and assured the Indian people: "Neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes."

The Congress was not satisfied with these assurances and strongly condemned the exploitation of the Royal family for political ends. Its view is thus summed up in the Enquiry Committee's Report: "Every child in the country knew that the visit of H. R. H. was originally intended to give a start to the working of the new Reforms which the country had refused to accept...After this it was but natural to apprehend that the Prince would be called upon, in the course of his visit, to give his Royal Blessing to these very highly controversial reforms, an apprehension which subsequent events fully justified". Urged by such considerations the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay on July 28, 1921, decided to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. It passed a resolution to the effect, "that it is the duty of everyone to refrain from participating in or assisting any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organized officially or otherwise in connection with his visit". To this was added the following: "While the AICC considers it its painful duty to tender the above advice to the people, it desires to place on record its opinion that India bears no sort of ill-feeling against the person of His Royal Highness, and that this advice is tendered because the Committee regards

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the proposed visit as a political move and calculated to strength and support to a system of Government.....th designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthrig Swaraj". The Congress party publicly declared that by step they meant no insult to the Prince, and Gandhi elabo the idea in an article entitled "Honour the Prince" in his jo *Young India* of October 27, 1921.

According to the official report Lord Reading's explan regarding the visit of the Prince was unnecessary so far as larger portion of the Indian people were concerned, as cons able enthusiasm prevailed among them. This, like most o detailed statements about the 'successful' (?) tour of the Pr as given in the official report, is inaccurate and misleading. is worthy of note that even the leading politicians of Moderate Party opposed the idea of the visit of the Prince. veteran leader, Srinivasa Sastri, told the Liberal Conferen Bombay that "he did not think there was anyone there desired it most enthusiastically. He certainly did not counselled against the visit as long as he could."[2]

The boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit followed the pattern as that of the Duke of Connaught. Some Municipa like those of Bombay and Calcutta presented Addresses bu Lahore Municipal Committee refused to do so. There usual receptions with pomp and grandeur in one part of city he visited, while, there was *hartal* in the other parts very disgraceful scene was enacted in Calcutta owing to th discretion of some overzealous loyalists. The Sheriff of Ca summoned a public meeting on 4 August to discuss the qu of according a public reception to the Prince. It was annou that the meeting would be held at the Dalhousie Institute the Chairmanship of the Governor. The Non-co-operators up the challenge and mustered strong at the Dalhousie Ins Long before the appointed time the hall was full. In vi this situation the venue of the Sheriff's meeting was s without any public notice to the Town Hall. As the did not turn up at the Dalhousie Institute where the m was announced to be held, C. R. Das was voted to the and a resolution was passed to the effect that "no rec

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should be accorded to the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his visit here".

In the meanwhile the Sheriff held the meeting at the Town Hall whose approaches were guarded by European and Indian Police armed with *lathis*, and a detachment of the Gurkha military police was stationed on the portico. In spite of this police cordon shutting out the people from the meeting, nearly thousand persons collected outside the building to witness the '*purda* party' as they called it, and disturbed the work of the meeting by a regular fusillade of cat-calls, howling, shouting and jeering. In the midst of all these the '*purdah*' meeting adopted a resolution to accord a hearty welcome to the Prince, and a committee was appointed with the Governor as Chairman to organize the reception. Such was the genesis of the 'cordial public reception' which was given to the Prince in Calcutta.

The Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on November 17, at about 10 A.M. He was welcomed by the Viceroy, officials, and a large number of Ruling Chiefs, leading businessmen and landed aristocrats. After he read the King's message, he was presented with the Municipal Address. After this function was over the Prince drove in state to the Government House, and the Royal procession was lustily cheered by a crowd of sight-seers, mainly composed of Europeans, Eurasians, Parsis, and the wealthy residents of Bombay.

In accordance with the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress to observe *hartal* on that day all over India, a huge public meeting was held at the opposite end of the town. During the morning the tramcars were running and the mills were working. Within a few hours, however, all this stopped, and swelling crowds rushed into the streets. They declared *hartal* and joined the boycott meeting at the beach which was addressed by Gandhi, and a huge bonfire was made of a pile of foreign cloth. The mill-hands came out and began hooliganism of all kinds. Other people joined them, and a swelling mob was molesting the peaceful passengers in the tramcars and held up the tram traffic. Their special wrath fell upon those who had joined or gone to witness the royal procession. The mob forcibly removed their foreign caps and head-dresses, pelted Europeans, and burnt tramcars, a motor and several liquor

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shops. Some Parsi women were roughly handled and had th
saris torn from them. In some quarters every passer-by w
a foreign cap was molested, and even beaten, if he refused
give up the cap.

The orgy of the mob is thus described by Gandhi himse
"The crowd did not consist of hooligans or only of boys.
was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill-han
It was essentially a mixed crowd, unprepared and unwilling
listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head, and
was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all not less th
twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destructio

Soon there was police firing and the Anglo-Indian a
Parsi quarters took revenge upon those wearing *khaddar*. Ma
Congress volunteers were seriously injured. The following is
contemporary description: "For full five days the riot went
There were Parsi mob in the Parsi quarter, Moslem mob in
Moslem quarter, Christian and Anglo-Indian mob in their
quarter, and, to crown all, the monster mob of mill-hands in
mill quarter of the town.....The Parsis, infuriated at
treatment of their women and children, came out in the str
armed with guns, *lathis* and bamboos, and belaboured who
came in their way—not excepting their own kinsmen w
happened to have khaddar and Gandhi cap on. Europeans
the Jews also took the law into their own hands...and ma
lessly injured Hindu and Muslim passers-by. As a result th
was another mob-rising which was quickly quelled by milit
and police fire. Several grog-shops were burnt, a Parsi tem
was set fire to, and immense damage was done to shops. E
nent Indian leaders, who had gone out to pacify the fight
mobs, were badly molested by the Parsis and Anglo-Indi
The casualties were heavy. According to official report 53
sons were killed and about 400 were wounded". But,
Gandhi pointed out, "of the 53 persons who lost their lives,
45 were Non-co-operators or their sympathisers—the hooli
and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe
over 350 were also derived from the same class".[50]

Gandhi was deeply mortified at the incidents of Bom
He violently denounced the rioters and vowed to abstain f
food till the violence stopped. He remarked: "With

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violence on our lips we have terrorised those who happened to differ from us. The *swaraj* that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils." As a result of this ugly riot Gandhi suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement which was to be launched at Bardoli on 23 November.

Generally speaking, the *hartal* was successfully observed all over India on November 17, and passed off quietly everywhere except at Bombay. Calcutta witnessed a strange scene. It looked like a deserted city. Here is a contemporary account: "All Indian shops, bazars, markets, including the great business quarters were closed. There was no tram or any sort of vehicular traffic in the streets...All mills were closed. The European business offices had to stop work owing to the absence of the Indian staff. The Courts, including the High Court and Government offices, had similarly to close down. The Railway stations and their goods-sheds were deserted .....The municipal-hands, the sweepers, scavengers, gas-lighters all struck work. In the European quarters European residents themselves lighted some of the lamps, and it was an interesting sight to see the sahibs running with the ladders on their backs. Not a single case of riot, street-brawl, or even ordinary crime was reported. The volunteers with folded hands requested everybody not to make any disturbance".[51]

The extraordinary success of the peaceful *hartal* so much unnerved the English community that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce addressed a letter to the Government of Bengal the very next day, drawing their attention to the seriousness of the situation. As this letter gives a graphic picture of a political *hartal*—which was to be a very common feature in India in near future—and its reaction upon the British, a somewhat long extract from it is quoted below:

"In order to understand", they said, "how successful the movement was, its leading features must be surveyed. In the first place, the means of locomotion were paralysed. No tram-cars "ticca gharries" or rickshaws were allowed to run, and practically no taxi-cabs. Office gharries could not be utilised. Private motor-cars were interfered with, and many drivers dragged from their seats even in the European quarters of the city. Industrial labour went on strike for the day.....The

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Municipal Services collapsed. The streets were unswept, the dustbins remained unemptied. The shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops; attempts were made to prevent children going to schools; and even the police courts were closed. At night, the gas lamps were dim and streets were deserted. The success of their (that is, of the volunteers') exertions must, of necessity, encourage the leaders of the movement to redouble their efforts. What is possible for one day is possible for more than one. Indeed, there seems no reason to doubt that this is merely a trial of strength, preparatory to the proclamation and organisation of a complete HARTAL to be observed for a week during which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be in Calcutta.....The position of the movement is that the people are rapidly losing, if they have not already lost, all confidence in the Government established by law in the city. They are being systematically taught that the Government has passed away, and that another Government has been set up in its place and this doctrine they are accepting and acting upon."[52]

The two English *dailies* in Calcutta, the *Statesman* and *Englishman,* also wrote in the same strain. They remarked that the Congress volunteers had taken possession of the city of Calcutta and the Government had abdicated; and demanded immediate and drastic action against the Volunteers.

7. Repressive Measures of the Government

The loud outcry of the Englishmen had the desired effect. The Government issued a notification within twenty-four hours declaring the Congress and Khilafat volunteer organization unlawful. A week later proclamations were issued suppressing all public assemblies and processions for three months in Calcutta and some important towns. Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, threatened to take more drastic steps if these measures proved inadequate, and many other Provincial Governments followed suit.

The fact is that the complete *hartal* that greeted the arrival of the Prince of Wales in India radically changed the policy of the Government of India. This is clearly explained in the Telegraph of the Viceroy referred to above:

"A new and dangerous situation confronted Government

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after the events of the 17th November. An increasing disregard for lawful authority and the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness had been engendered by the outbreaks of the last few months, and it had become evident that a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction had been embarked on by many of the Volunteer Associations, to combat which it had proved ineffective to proceed under the ordinary criminal law. In many places these associations were at first recruited from educated classes, but as the campaign became more violent, they began to draw adherents from unemployed labourers, mill-hands and city rabble, many of whom were paid for their service. Government decided in these circumstances that measures of more comprehensive and drastic character should be resorted to, and information was sent to the Local Governments that sanction would be given to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in any district where it was considered necesasry to adopt that course. Instructions were also given to them that vigorous use should be made of the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II, for combating the Volunteer Association's illegal activities, and that troops should be employed more freely, both in order to reinforce the police and to hearten and encourage all law-abiding citizens, and the measures to be taken in the event of civil disobedience being inaugurated were laid down. Provincial Governments were assured of the full support of the Government of India in checking disorder, while the formation of armed Police battalions and the extensive enrolment of special constables was suggested. In particular, they were informed that they should not hesitate to prosecute any offenders against the ordinary law, however prominent their position, whose arrest and prosecution was in their opinion required for the maintenance of authority. Action was promptly taken by practically all local Governments in Northern India, in accordance with these instructions. The Seditious Meetings Act was introduced in most of the seriously affected districts in the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Assam, and Burma. In some provinces the various Associations had been declared as unlawful, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, a few days before the receipt of our instructions, and certain other Provinces have now issued similar proclamations. A large

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number of persons have also been arrested and convicted u
that Act and other enactments for preservation of law and o
At the same time prosecutions were more freely instit
against newspapers, leaders and speakers who had incited
violence."

It is thus obvious that the Government of India
determined to suppress, by force, the movement to boycot
Prince of Wales. Thus was kindled the flame which la
embers nearly throughout the year. At last, after eleven mo
of inactivity, comparatively speaking, the Government decl
open war against the Non-co-operators, and the whole of I
watched with a thrill the results of the first encounter bet
the armed might of the powerful British Government and
Non-violent Non-co-operation or Passive Resistance.

Calcutta proved to be the most sensational theatre of
and an account of it is given by young Subhas Bose, who
an active part in organizing the boycott. Referring to the
fications issued by the Government of Bengal declaring volu
organization etc., illegal, he writes: "We had been spo
for a fight in Calcutta and the official notification therefore
thrice welcome to us. The general opinion was in favour o
immediate reply to the official challenge."[53] But the le
C. R. Das, did not like to take any precipitate action.
ascertaining the views of different district organizations, a
ing of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was c
and held *in camera* towards the end of November, 1921.
Committee unanimously decided to start civil disobedience
vested all its powers in Das, thus making him a Dictator
in law as well as in fact. He decided to begin by sending
batches of five volunteers who would proceed quietly to
Khadi cloth. Das issued a stirring appeal for volunteers
would thus defy the official ban and take all the consequ
As the response at the outset was not quite satisfactory,
decided to send his only son, Chiraranjan, and his wife Ba
Devi as volunteers, in order to set an example to others.
soon as the son was arrested, the number of volunteers
offered their services was increased. But still, against the
animous remonstrances of all his followers, Das sent his wife
next day with a batch of volunteers including two other l

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As soon as the news spread that Mrs. Das was taken to prison with the other ladies, there was wild excitement in Calcutta and men and women began to pour in as volunteers. In the meanwhile Mrs. Das had been taken to the Police Station; but as she was stepping into the prison van, Police Constables "came up to her and vowed that they were going to resign their jobs the same day." There was also a sensation at a dinner party in the Government House, Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Mallik, a leading member of the Liberal Party, one of the invited guests, left the party as a protest as soon as he heard the news of the arrest of Mrs. Das. The excitement grew so tense all over the city of Calcutta that at midnight the Government ordered the release of Mrs. Das and her associates and gave out that they had been arrested through mistake.

But it was too late; the shrewd device of Das was crowned with complete success. From the next day thousands began to enlist as volunteers. The number of volunteers increased rapidly beyond all expectation or calculation, and everyone of them was eager to court arrest. Within a few days the two big prisons in Calcutta were filled with political prisoners. Camp-prisons were then opened, but they too were filled in no time. The British jail had lost its terror and imprisonment became a badge of distinction. As this was the most marked characteristic of the N. C. O. movement and became a permanent feature of the national struggle in future, some actual details may be given in the words of Subhas Bose.

"As more people were arrested the prison-administration became more unmanageable. Orders were given for the release of a large number of political prisoners, but no one would leave the prison, and moreover, it was impossible to identify them. Sometimes they would be taken to the prison office on the pretext of being transferred to some other prison or of being interviewed by their relatives and there they would be set free. When this trick was discovered, no prisoner would leave his cell when called by a prison-official. Prisoners were thereupon taken forcibly to the prison-gate and set at liberty. Outside prison, tactics were changed. Arrests were stopped and orders were given that sticks and batons should be used freely by the police in dealing with crowd and demonstrators. In some cases

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demonstrators were removed in police-vans to out-of-the-places thirty miles from the city and there asked to walk home. A liberal use was also made of the hose in order to the demonstrators free cold baths in winter."[54]

The Prince of Wales was due to arrive in Calcutta on December. Lord Ronaldshay was not insensible to the gravity of the local situation, and did not like to throw the whole into a violent turmoil during the Prince's visit. That is probably the reason why he did not take to more violent measures at the time, and even opened negotiations with Das. He proposed to withdraw the repressive measures if he called off boycott of the Prince. Das pointed out that the boycott was proclaimed by the Congress and could only be lifted by that body. On December 10, Das followed the old tactics for stimulating the agitation. He himself went out as a volunteer and was arrested. This was followed by the arrest of all the prominent leaders of Khilafat and Congress organizations who were in Calcutta. The Government now showed its mailed fist. To overawe the people the British soldiers were posted in different quarters of the city.

This repressive policy was not confined to Calcutta but was followed with relentless vigour in other Provinces where trouble was brewing or apprehended. Leaders like Motilal Nehru and Lajpat Rai were arrested and put in prison. The same scene of Bengal was repeated. People came out in open defiance of Government orders and courted arrest. A wave of unprecedented enthusiasm swept over the country and within a month twenty-five thousand people were put in prison.

8. Reaction against Government Policy

There is no doubt that the Government were hustled into this repressive campaign, partly by the pressure brought to bear upon them by the non-official European opinion, and partly, perhaps mainly, by the unprecedented situation with which they were faced. No Government could possibly tolerate an open defiance of its authority by an organized movement spreading over the whole country. The disrespect shown to the Prince of Wales was also a grave cause of offence, as it made the Government of India look small in the eyes of the Home Govt.

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ment and the world at large. The riot at Bombay was also a grave warning to those who were responsible for maintaining law and order in the country. The Government could be hardly blamed if they regarded the Non-co-operation movement, as it emerged in November 1921, as an incipient revolt on the part of a large section of the people. On the face of it, therefore, the Government had every right to consider itself justified in taking the extraordinary measures which, in their view, were forced upon them. But what the Government failed to realize was the national character of the revolt, and that the real remedy was not the suppression of the disorders which were merely outward symbols, but to eradicate the root cause by generous concessions to the demands for freedom. This is a lesson which the history of every age and every country has taught, but which no Government has ever taken to heart. Another great lesson which was ignored by the Government of India, like all others, is that repression, however necessary or justified, merely helps the cause of the revolution; the blood of the martyr has always proved the seeds of the church. There is therefore nothing to be surprised at the fact that the campaign of repression launched by the Government in place of the cautious policy they had hitherto pursued produced an effect very much the opposite of what was expected. It did not crush the spirit of revolt, but served to widen still more the breach between them and the people. Even the Moderates who had hitherto been their staunch supporters wavered in their loyalty and showed a sullen spirit of resentment and revulsion. The Official Report attaches special significance to this phenomenon, and gives an admirable analysis of the various factors that were working upon their minds. But, as usual, the Government refused to learn the obvious lessons and shape their policy accordingly. But this analysis is important enough to be quoted at some length in order to give a real picture of the effect of the action of the Government upon the people at large, including the loyal element: "But amongst the first effects of the action taken by Government against the volunteers was the arrest of a considerable number of high-minded and much respected persons who were believed by many Indians to be animated by motives of disinterested patriotism. The prosecution and con-

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viction both of these people and of a number of immature misguided students led to a disappointing revulsion on the of moderate sentiment. Further, the Seditious Meetings falls within the category of those enactments which Indian nion stigmatises as 'repressive'; and its application, even in circumstances already related, gave rise to uneasiness. It became manifest a noticeable inclination to represent the policy as an interference, for political purposes, with the of freedom of speech and of freedom of association; and on ground a disposition was shown to make common cause the extremists in attacking Government.....In part, also seems to have been due to sympathy for high-minded, if taken people, who were the earliest victims of the majesty the law; and in part, to a general belief that the powers employed by the Executive were being misused in an oppressive manner by subordinates."[55]

The Government version indicates, but does not adequately describe, the righteous indignation felt by the Moderates loyal sections of the people who had hitherto supported Government. It is therefore necessary to refer to a few illustrating their feelings:

1. On December 10, 1921, Mr. Raza Ali, a member of Council of State, sent a long telegram to the Viceroy, emphatically protesting against the Government's new policy. "Indiscriminate arrests and incarceration of men like Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Mrs. Das, and others", he pointed out, are helping to prove the claim of the Non-co-operators "that the only place for an honest Indian is gaol." "Courageous men who have never hesitated to part company with Mr. Gandhi cannot be expected to acquiesce in a reign of terror being established by the Government.....One can understand Government's efforts to put down intimidation and actual or apprehended violence, but recent events indicate the Government's desire to strike at the Congress and the peaceful part of its propaganda. The present policy, it is my duty to state, will be met with opposition by united India. How can any self-respecting Indian stay at home when our ladies are being put under lock and key in the name of law and order?"

2. On December 15, the Lucknow Liberal League

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to the Viceroy a series of resolutions beginning with the following: "The Lucknow Liberal League views with great alarm the new policy of the Government in pursuance of which volunteers and similar organisations of the Congress and Khilafat have been declared unlawful and strongly disapproves of the wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and imprisonment that are taking place in the name of law and order."

3. On December 18, the President of the Madras Liberal League, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, wired to the Viceroy to the same effect.

4. The National Liberal League, the party to which the Ministers belonged, sent a memorial to the Viceroy complaining of the manner in which the Military and the Police behaved in the streets of Calcutta which caused wide-spread discontent among the citizens, many of whom badly suffered in their hands. Strong objection was also taken to the way in which the law was administered by the Magistracy and the Police and of the atrocious beating of undertrial prisoners.

5. The Indian Association of Calcutta, the central organization of the Bengal Moderates, also made two strong protests to the Viceroy to which reference will be made later.

The session of the Bengal Legislative Council on December 9, 1921, gave an opportunity to both the Government and the Moderate and loyal elements to express their views on the current political situation. The Governor, who personally addressed the Council, made an open offer that the Government would "stay their hand" if the boycott of the Prince were withdrawn. Mr. S. N. Mallik, a prominent Moderate leader, who had been a member of the Council of the Secretary of State, moved the adjournment of the House to consider the grave political situation, and made a vigorous protest against the repressive policy of the Government. The following extracts from his speech would give some idea of his vehement denunciation:

"The whole province is in a state of terrorism.....crude weapons of coercion have been put into use for the purpose of commanding the love and affection of the people.....The methods of putting into execution these repressive measures have taken away the breath even from the most peaceful and law-abiding of citizens....Repression has taken such a cruel shape

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that I have every reason to believe that the Indian eleme the Government has not been consulted by the bureaucra such a vital matter, thus violating the spirit of the new Ref Our disapproval here cannot but take the shape of the u possible condemnation. Unprovoked assaults, unjustifiab sults, indiscriminate arrests are the outstanding features o period of oppression. Still more objectionable have been trials *in camera* and in jail and the harsh sentences.....pe even after their arrest have been subjected to unnecessary h ness and cowardly assault. These things have.....laid Go ment open to the charge of vindictiveness in their doings.

"On the top of these, the wantonly mischievous acti of the Military and the intolerable aggressiveness of the P have put the severest strain upon the loyalty of the most d ed Moderate and have made him look aghast. Whatever ernment communiques may say, I have the evidence of my eyes which I cannot disbelieve. I have seen the Military c ing, insulting and assaulting innocent passers-by in the s with an exuberance of animalism—characteristic of their fession—intensified by the hauteur of a supposed racial certain physical superiority. Even respectable persons, re ing whom there could be possibly no honest mistake, were saved from humiliation and assault at the hands of the P and the Military."

9. Efforts for Peaceful Settlement

The disaffection of the Moderates must have created a impression upon Lord Reading. The position was bro home to him in a more personal way. He arrived at Cal about a week before the date of the Prince's arrival in the and must have been mortified to learn that the banquet the Calcutta Bar had arranged in his honour as ex-Lord Justice of England was cancelled on account of the arre C. R. Das. The day of the Prince's visit was drawing near there were clear signs as to the sort of welcome he would re in Calcutta. The whole outlook was gloomy indeed. The co-operation movement was attaining greater and greater di sions, and there were various other disturbing factors su the Akali movement and the Moplah rebellion. Perhap

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these made him eager, or at least willing, to arrive, if possible, at a settlement with the Congress. Unfortunately, a veil of secrecy still surrounds the negotiations that were carried on for this purpose during that fateful week. According to the official Report, "it was urged by many of the leaders of Moderate opinion that a Round Table Conference should be held at which Government should be represented and all shades of public opinion, in order that some solution might be found of the situation through the means of some act of constructive statesmanship, and a deputation waited on the Viceroy for this purpose in Calcutta on December, 21." The Viceroy insisted upon "discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the Non-co-operation party as a fundamental condition which should precede the discussion of any question of a conference". The Telegraph of the Viceroy, from which the above is taken, leaves the topic at that, but the official Report adds a few more details. We are told that when the suggestion was first made about the Round Table Conference on December 21, by a Deputation headed by Pandit Malaviya, Lord Reading made it quite plain that nothing could be done until the Non-co-operation party discontinued open breaches of the law and the practice of intimidation; but he did not discourage efforts which were so plainly well-intentioned. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the other would-be peace-makers then found that it was Mr. Gandhi who was adamant. He demanded, as a preliminary to any conference, the withdrawal of the recent proscription of the Volunteer organizations and the release of all persons,—including the Ali Brothers, recently convicted for what he described as non-violent activities. Accordingly, the Deputation which met the Viceroy on 21 December could not offer anything on behalf of the Non-co-operators which the Government could accept. But the Government version does not perhaps contain the whole truth. There are good grounds to believe that Lord Reading made a serious attempt to come to an understanding with C. R. Das. There is no doubt that negotiations for a settlement were carried on with Das by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, but whether the latter acted as an emissary of the Government or took the initiative himself, is not quite clear. The following account given by Subhas Bose seems to be fairly authentic, as he was

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himself in prison along with C. R. Das at the time. Bose w that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who had kept away f the 1921 movement, "came to interview Deshabandhu Das in th Presidency jail with a message from the Viceroy", thus cle implying that it was the Viceroy who took the initiative. so rest may be stated in Bose's own words:

"The offer that he (Malaviya) brought was that if Congress agreed to call off the civil disobedience move immediately so that the Prince's visit would not be boyco by the public, the Government would simultaneously withd the notification declaring Congress volunteers illegal and rele all those who had been incarcerated thereunder. They wo further summon a Round Table Conference of the Governm and the Congress to settle the future constitution of India.

"The leader (Das) had a long discussion with Maulana A Kalam Azad, the outstanding Moslem leader of Calcutta, with Pandit Malaviya. Some other points had to be decid including the question of the release of the Ali brothers and t associates, who had been sentenced to two years' hard labou Karachi in September. On this point the official reply that since they had not been sentenced in connection with civil disobedience movement, the Congress should not press their release as a part of the terms of settlement. But Viceroy was prepared to give an assurance that they wo actually be released in due course. When Deshabandhu broached the subject to us and asked for our opinion, younger section, including myself, vehemently opposed the i of an armistice on those terms. Thereupon he entered into elaborate discussion with us and advanced the following arg ments in support of his contention that a compromise should made at once. Rightly or wrongly, he said, the Mahatma promised *Swaraj* within one year. That year was drawing close. Barely a fortnight was left and within this short per something had to be achieved in order to save the face of Congress and fulfil the Mahatma's promise regarding *Swa* The offer of the Viceroy had come to him as a godsend. settlement was made before December 31st and all the politi prisoners were released, it would appear to the popular imagi tion as a great triumph for the Congress. The Round Ta

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Conference might or might not be a success, but if it failed, and the Government refused to concede the popular demands—the Congress could resume the fight at any time, and when it did so, it would command greater prestige and public confidence.

"The above logic was irrefutable and I felt convinced. Under the joint signatures of Deshabandhu Das and Maulana Azad a telegram was sent to Mahatma Gandhi recommending his acceptance of the proposed terms of settlement. A reply came to the effect that he insisted on the release of the Ali Brothers and their associates as a part of the terms of settlement and also on an announcement regarding the date and composition of the Round Table Conference. Unfortunately, the Viceroy was not in a mood for any further parleying and wanted an immediate decision. All that the Deshabandhu could do in the circumstances was to send for his friends who were then outside prison and urge upon them that they should use all possible means to get the Mahatma to agree. These friends did so and many telegrams passed between Calcutta and Sabarmati. Ultimately the Mahatma did come round, but by then it was too late. The Government of India, tired of waiting, had changed their mind. The Deshabandhu was beside himself with anger and disgust. The chance of a lifetime, he said, had been lost. The feeling among the political prisoners, as also among the Congress rank and file, was that the Mahatma had committed a serious blunder. Only a minority, who had blind faith in him, refused to pass any judgment."[56]

The circumstantial character of the whole narrative leaves no doubt of its substantial authenticity. The reasoning of C. R. Das would also appear very strong indeed. It is not, however, quite so clear whether the whole thing had been put so logically and in such a lucid form before Gandhi. All his trusted lieutenants and advisers, who might have influenced his decision, were clapped in prison. So a terrible responsibility was thrust upon Gandhi's shoulders, and he was comparatively new in politics. His insistence on the release of Ali Brothers and their associates, after the assurance given by the Viceroy, was unnerous and tactless, and can only be accounted for by his undue and over-zealous solicitude for keeping the Muslims well hand. As regards the date and composition of the Round

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Table Conference Gandhi's insistence cannot altogether be bru
ed aside as impolitic, at least as a step in the negotiating sta
but this should not have created an insurmountable difficul
Unfortunately, the telegraphic correspondence between Das a
Gandhi is not available and it is not possible to form a fi
judgment on the conduct of the latter. But there is no do
that it was a great blunder to close the door of the negotiat
on this score, and Gandhi should have left a great deal of l
tude to Das, subject to his own general views. He does
seem to have done this until at a very late stage, and, if this
true, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Gandhi was gu
of a grave error of judgment.

Before concluding this section it is necessary to refer to
so-called changed attitude of the Moderates towards the ca
paign of repression launched by the Government. Their e
reaction has been mentioned above. According to the offi
report, the uncompromising attitude of Gandhi to the projec
a Round Table Conference and the conciliatory speech of
Viceroy to the deputation that waited on him for this pur
on December 21 "exercised a steadying effect on Mode
opinion",[57] and they supported and endorsed the Governm
policy. This is not, however, a fair inference from the re
tions passed at the annual meeting of the All-India Li
Federation at Allahabad. This is evident from the follo
which forms a part of the Resolution No. 7:

"But it views with great concern the inauguration of a po
of indiscriminate arrest and extensive application of the Crim
Law Amendment Act, and is strongly of opinion that suc
policy defeats its own object by alienating popular sympa
and aggravating general unrest. It also draws pointed atten
to the fact that some local Governments and local author
have acted with an excess of zeal and want of discretion in
matter of arrests, and with harshness and severity in regar
sentences, of which the Federation strongly disapproves,
the Federation therefore strongly urges on the Governmen
immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease
present situation."

It is true that the Federation, which met two days after
Ahmadabad Congress, strongly condemned the proposed

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paign of Civil Disobedience and earnestly appealed to the country not to follow a course which was fraught with peril and bound to lead to a deplorable set-back in the progress of the country. But this view was held by the Liberals from the very beginning and does not indicate any new change of policy in favour of the Government.

V. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

1. Ahmadabad Congress

Shortly after the failure of the negotiations, the annual session of the Congress was held in December, 1921, at Ahmadabad. As nearly 40,000 Congress workers were in jail, the session was attended by only 4,726 delegates as against 14,583 at Nagpur, a year ago. C. R. Das, the President-elect of the session, was in jail, and so Hakim Ajmal Khan presided. Das had already written a portion of his Presidential Address, and this was printed and distributed at the meeting. In his undelivered Address Das showed the 'hollowness of the Reforms Scheme which does not secure to the subject even the elementary rights which are possessed by every citizen under any civilised government.' He expounded the meaning and philosophy of Non-co-operation, and, challenging the view that it was a doctrine of negation, declared: "We break in order to build, we destroy in order to construct; we reject in order to accept." Referring to the disturbancces in Bombay, he said: "Bloodshed and disorder have been associated with every great movement, that has taken place, the spread of Christianity for instance..... the fact that disturbances have taken place is no argument against the essential truth of our movement. We must meet the situation with courage and devise means to prevent the recurrence of those disturbances; but I cannot and will not advise you to stay your hand from the Non-co-operation movement."

The main resolution adopted by the Congress was a fairly long one and consisted of several parts. It contained a review of the work of the past year and an enunciation of programme for the next. It claimed that by reason of the adoption of Non-violent Non-co-operation, the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice, and self-respect, that the movement

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"has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government," and th "the country is rapidly progressing towards *Swaraj*." Aft urging therefore to continue the movement with greater vigo in such a manner as each province may determine, it 'appeals all the students of the age of 18 and over, to become membe of the Voluntter Organisations by signing the required plec (which is reproduced) and to offer themselves for arrest.' It al 'advised all Congress workers and others...to organise individu civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the ma of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of no violence and otherwise, in terms of the resolution thereon of t AICC at Delhi; in order to concentrate attention upon it a other Congress activities should be suspended to the extent is necessary for this purpose.'

In view of the wholesale arrest of Congress leaders a workers the resolution provided for a possible contingency appointing "Mahatma Gandhi as the sole Executive autho of the Congress...with the power to appoint a successor emergency."

This resolution and the proceedings of the Congress le no doubt that, far from being cowed down by the repres measures of the Government, it was still on the war path decided to carry on the struggle with unabated zeal and gre daring, resorting to mass civil disobedience, if necessary. interesting interlude was provided by the resolution moved Maulana Hasrat Mohani that complete independence sho be adopted as the goal of the Congress. His impassioned e quence profoundly moved the audience and it seemed as if resolution would be carried. But Gandhi stood firmly agai it and it was rejected.

2. Reactionary Attitude of the Viceroy

The rejection of Hasrat Mohani's resolution and the reso tion passed by the Congress deploring the riots at Bombay November 17 and the following days, led the Government India to believe that Gandhi's views have changed for the be They telegraphed to the Secretary of State: "The resoluti of the Congress gave evidence of this, since they not only re ed the proposals which the extreme wing of the Khilafat P

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had advanced for abandoning the policy of non-violence, but, whilst the organization of civil disobedience when fulfilment of the Delhi conditions had taken place was urged in them, omitted any reference to the non-payment of taxes, and were worded in such a way as to suggest that for the present civil disobedience would be restricted to defiance of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act directed against unlawful associations." It was perhaps this feeling which prompted the Viceroy to reject the peaceful gestures of Gandhi.

Undeterred by the failure of his negotiations with C. R. Das mentioned above, Pandit Malaviya and others continued their efforts for a Round Table Conference, as they were particularly anxious to avoid the mass civil disobedience which the Ahmadabad Congress had decided upon. Pandit Malaviya and a few others issued a letter, in response to which about 300 eminent Indians, representing all shades of political opinion outside the Congress fold, met in political conference at Bombay on 14th January, 1922, in order to formulate terms upon which it would be possible to hold a Round Table Conference with Government. Although the Subjects-Committee of the Ahmadabad Congress rejected the proposal of such a conference, Gandhi not only attended the Bombay Conference, but induced the Working Committee to accept its recommendations by which the Congress agreed to suspend *hartal*, picketing and civil disobedience in case the Government agreed to withdraw the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and Seditious Meetings Act, release the persons convicted thereunder, and to submit to an arbitration committee the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land. As the Viceroy told the deputation that waited upon him on December 21, 1921, that the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the Non-co-operation party must be a fundamental condition precedent to the holding of a Round Table Conference, the political leaders assembled at the Conference at Bombay as well as Gandhi had every reason to believe that the decision of the Working Committee to accept the recommendations of the Bombay Conference had removed the difficulties in the way of a Round Table Conference. The Viceroy, however, thought otherwise, and rejected the idea of a Round Table Conference on the ground that "there was no

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suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than *hartals*, picketing and civil disobedience should cease." On January 26, the Private Secretary to the Viceroy wrote in reply to the letter of the Conference that "His Excellency was unable to discover in them (the proposals of the Conference) the basis for a profitable discussion in a Round Table Conference, and no useful purpose would be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms." No unprejudiced man would deny the force of the contention of Gandhi that the terms agreed to by the Congress Working Committee "were quite in keeping" with the requirements of the Viceroy, as enunciated by him in his earlier speeches. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the earlier conciliatory attitude of the Viceroy was prompted by a desire to make the Congress withdraw its boycott of the Prince's visit, and that as the Congress had already done its worst, there was no further need to placate it. Besides, as already mentioned above, the Government were encouraged by the resolutions of the Ahmadabad Congress to believe that Gandhi had decided not to carry matters too far.

3. Gandhi's Declaration of Non-violent War

This belief was, however, rudely shaken by a letter which Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy on first February, 1922, communicating the decision of Bardoli, a small *tashil* in the Surat District in Bombay Presidency, having a population of about 87,000, to embark on mass Civil Disobedience. In this historic letter Gandhi briefly traced the history of the movement,—how it was intended to launch the campaign at an earlier date but was suspended on account of the riots in Bombay on the occasion of the Prince's visit, how it was renewed on account of the repression of a virulent type resorted to by the Government since that event, and the summary rejection of the proposal to hold a Round Table Conference in order to arrive at a settlement. The specific instances of repression Gandhi referred to "the looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging," suppression of "the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press." "This lawless repression in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country," said Gandhi, "has made immedi-

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adoption of mass Civil Disobedience an imperative duty." Gandhi made a final appeal to the Viceroy to revise his policy, set free all the prisoners convicted for non-violent activities, to free the Press from all administrative control and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities undertaken for "the redress of the Khilafat or the Panjab wrongs or *Swaraj*." The concluding part of the letter reads as follows:

"If you can see your way to make the necessary declaration within seven days.....I shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character...If the Government make the requested declaration, I shall regard it as an honest desire on its part to give effect to public opinion and shall, therefore, have no hesitation in advising the country to be engaged in further moulding the public opinion without violent restraint from either side, and trust to its working to secure the fulfilment of its unalterable demands. Aggressive Civil Disobedience in that case will be taken up only when the Government departs from its policy of strictest neutrality or refuses to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India."[58]

Gandhi's letter was an ultimatum to the Viceroy, a procedure which has no precedent in the annals of India's struggle for freedom. It was a bold step which a man like Gandhi alone could think of, and he must have weighed very carefully all the pros and cons of Bardoli's "final and irrevocable choice," for which he was "chiefly responsible." The Government of India took up the challenge and their view is clearly reflected in the long telegraph sent to the Secretary of State on February 9. They did not 'minimise in any way the great anxiety caused by the situation,' but were "prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred," as they were "satisfied that the army and the great majority of the Police are staunch, there is no disaffection on the part of the majority of the population, and there are now more promising economic conditions with a bumper harvest in prospect." In reply to Gandhi's letter the Government of India issued on February 6 a Press Communique which may be virtually regarded as the Declaration of War. It began by pointing out "a series of mis-

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statements in the Manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi on the 4 February justifying his determination to resort to Mass Civ Disobedience", and ended with the following:

"The alternatives that now confront the people of India a such as sophistry can no longer obscure or disguise. The iss is no longer between this or that programme of political advan but between lawlessness and maintenance of civilised Gover ment. Mass Civil Disobedience is fraught with such dange to the State that it must be met with sternness and severity. T Government entertain no doubt that in any measures which th have to take for its suppression they can count on the suppo and assistance of all law-abiding and loyal citizens of H Majesty."

The last sentence was, of course, meant only for pub consumption at Home, like the observation in the telegraph the Secretary of State that "there is no disaffection on the part the majority of the population." These were 'white lies' in wh all belligerents freely indulge, and no one need take them seriou The Government never counted on the support and assistance the loyal citizens in India, for they knew very well that the num of such men, outside the rank of their own employees, wo be very small, almost insignificant. The utmost they could h for was the negative help in the shape of neutral inactivit the people, but their chief reliance was on the army and Police so pointedly referred to in the telegraph from the Vice to the Secretary of State.

Gandhi issued a long rejoinder to the Government Co munique of 6 February. He exposed the falsity of the Gove ment denial of lawless repression by citing a number of inst ces, which have been referred to in Section IV-7 of this Chap He also challenged the accuracy of many other statements assumptions in the Government Communique. Of course, one expected any change in the attitude of the Government a result of all this correspondence, and Bardoli in Bombay Guntur in Madras Presidency were making strenuous prep tions to launch the no-tax campaign. Similar preparations made in Chittagong, some parts of Assam, Bihar, Panjab, C. P., as well as in many districts of Southern India. Government also set in full motion their machinery of repress

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but it merely stiffened the spirit of the volunteers, thousands of whom suffered all kinds of oppression and went to prison with a smiling face.

The attention of the whole of India was centred on Bardoli. Gandhi himself went there to lead the campaign in person. On January 30, he addressed a big Conference of local people emphasizing all the preliminary requisites of the coming struggle. He went through every one of the conditions of the mass Civil Disobedience laid down by the Congress, and took the sense of the meeting on every one of the conditions. The Conference, attended by 4,000 *khaddar*-clad representatives, and 500 women adopted a resolution to begin a mass Civil Disobedience under the guidance of Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel. Gandhi was deeply impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and wrote a long account of the Conference in his paper *Young India*. He commenced by saying: "Bardoli has come to a momentous decision. It has made its final and irrevocable choice"; and concluded with the famous lines of Cardinal Newman:

"Lead kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on."

Next day the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Surat and congratulated the people of Bardoli. It, however, advised all other parts of India to co-operate with the people of Bardoli *taluq* by refraining from mass or individual civil disobedience of an aggressive character, except with the express consent of Mahatma Gandhi, previously obtained.

4. Retreat of Gandhi and the Collapse of N.C.O.

No words can adequately describe the intense animation and grave suspense with which India was looking forward to the impending struggle, swayed both by the hope of victory and fear of incalculable misery as the inevitable consequence of defeat. But no Indian could foresee that the great battle for freedom begun with such trumpet and fanfare, would be irrevievably lost even before it was begun. He could not imagine in his wildest speculations that the bold advance of the veteran General, the idol of the people, would be immediately followed by a precipitate retreat, one being as glorious as the other was

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humiliating. But the incredible did happen; and true to the oriental spirit, Gandhi's devoted followers, unwilling or unable to judge in a rational manner, attributed the humiliating retreat to the Divine Will. As the Congress Enquiry Committee put it: "The country was all agog to witness the final triumph of soul force over physical might. But the gods had willed it otherwise."

The Divine Will was evidently manifested through a horrible crime perpetrated on 5 February, by an excited mob at a small village called Chauri Chaura, near Gorakhpur, far away in U. P. The details of the tragic incident will be related later;[58a] it will suffice to state here that the Police opened fire on a procession, but when their ammunition was exhausted, and they shut themselves up inside a building, the excited mob set fire to it, and as the members of the Police force were thus forced to come out, they were all, twenty-two in number, hacked to death, and their bodies were thrown into the flame. There was another mob-outbreak at Bareilly, but it was easily suppressed. These incidents created a feeling of disgust, and about fifty prominent leaders of the U. P. at once issued a manifesto condemning the conduct of the volunteers. Pandit Malaviya urged Gandhi to call an emergent meeting of the Working Committee. Gandhi came to Bombay on 9 February to see Pandit Malaviya, Jayakar, Natarajan, Jinnah and other politicians who had been endeavouring to bring about a Round Table Conference. They strongly urged Gandhi to suspend Civil Disobedience, and Gandhi agreed to do so. Pandit Malaviya and others were invited to come to Bardoli. The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli and discussed the political situation for two days (11 and 12 February). The Committee resolved that mass Civil Disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended, and this suspension be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of atrocities like those of Chauri Chaura, or hooliganism such as took place at Bombay and Madras, respectively, on 17 November 1921, and 13 January 1922. All activities "specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment" and "all volunteer processions, public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings," were stopped till further instructions, and a programme of constructive work was laid down. This decision

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was confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, on 24 and 25 February.

It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that the news of the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement fell upon India as a bolt from the blue. Writing long after the event, a foreigner, Louis Fischer, correctly diagnosed the whole situation in a few words: "At a word from Gandhi India would have risen in revolt. That word was not said; instead all the enthusiastic and sacrificing efforts were wasted or thrown away at the altar of the doctrine of non-violence." Before proceeding to note the general reaction and the consequences of the suspension, it is necessary to make a few general observations. It would be an insult to the intelligence of Gandhi if it be supposed for a moment that he could not envisage the possibility of an outbreak of violence in some parts of India in course of the excited campaign, particularly in view of the grave warnings conveyed by the recent riots in Bombay and Madras mentioned a few lines above. As a matter of fact, Gandhi restricted the area to Bardoli for that very reason, and the site was selected to enable him to personally supervise the experiment by a tried set of people. To abandon the movement, so carefully planned and seriously undertaken, because something quite unconnected with it had happened nearly a thousand miles away, is an act which cannot be defended on any rational consideration, such as should normally determine the affairs of men. It is interesting to note that C. R. Das, in his undelivered Presidential Speech (Ahmadabad Session) quoted above, comtemplated such a situation and gave it as his definite view that isolated disturbance was no argument against the Non-co-operation movement. Reference may also be made in this connection to Gandhi's own view in 1919 regarding a situation exactly similar to this. Lajpat Rai quotes the following passage from a letter of Gandhi to one who advised him to give up the idea of Civil Disobedience completely:

"How can I abandon the idea of resuming Civil Resistance, because in April people in some parts of Hindustan, owing to special causes, resorted to violence? Must I cease to do right because some people are likely at the same time to do wrong? .....All action is controlled by a complexity of circumstances, some of which are under the doer's control and the others beyond

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his control. He can therefore restrain himself only till he h obtained the maximum of control over the surrounding circum stances, and then trust to the almighty to see him through. A that is exactly what I have done in suspending."[59]

The suspension of Non-co-operation was all the more re grettable as no one, least of all Gandhi himself, could fail t anticipate the disastrous effect of such frustration on the publ buoyed up to the highest enthusiasm by the prospect of a re test of the non-violent fight against the mighty Government. I is reasonable to conclude that this frustration was the main cau of the ensuing political inertia of the masses and as always ha pens, their pent-up energy found an outlet in the Hindu-Musli riots. On the whole, it is difficult to acquit Gandhi of a serio blunder which retarded the progress of the national movement a very considerable extent. If he could not foresee the possibil of violence in any part of this vast sub-continent during the ca paign, he must have been a very poor judge of human charac indeed. Either he should not have begun Civil Disobedie unless he was assured that above 300 millions of Indians h all been inspired by his precept and example,—though he wo have to wait till doomsday—, or having begun it without t assurance, he should not have been deflected from his cours a single incident of violence, however bad as that might be

We may now describe the reaction of Gandhi's action on fellow-workers. Subhas Bose represented the view of a la section when he observed as follows:

"The Dictator's decree was obeyed at the time but th was a regular revolt in the Congress Camp. No one could derstand why Mahatma should have used the isolated incider Chauri-Chaura for strangling the movement all over the coun Popular resentment was all the greater because the Mahatma not cared to consult representatives from the different provi and because the situation in the country as a whole was exc ingly favourable for the success of the civil disobedience c paign. To sound the order of retreat just when public en siasm was reaching the boiling-point was nothing short o national calamity. The principal lieutenants of the Maha Deshabandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat who were all in prison, shared the popular resentment. I

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with the Deshabandhu at the time and I could see that he was beside himself with anger and sorrow at the way Mahatma Gandhi was repeatedly bungling. He was just beginning to forget the December blunder when the Bardoli retreat came as a staggering blow. Lala Lajpat Rai was experiencing the same feeling and it is reported that in sheer disgust he addressed a seventy-page letter to the Mahatma from prison."[60]

Jawaharlal Nehru's outburst was more dignified and to the point:

"We were angry when we learned of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts.....The sudden suspension of our movement after the Chauri Chaura incident was resented, I think, by almost all the Congress leaders—other than Gandhiji, of course. My father (who was in jail at the time) was much upset by it.[60a] The young people were even more agitated. Our mounting hopes tumbled to the ground and this mental reaction was to be expected. What troubled us even more were the reasons given for this suspension and the consequences that seemed to flow from them. Chauri Chaura may have been and was a deplorable occurrence and wholly opposed to the spirit of the non-violent movement, but were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out-of-the-way place going to put an end, for some time at least, to our national struggle for freedom? If this was the inevitable consequence of a sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle. For it seemed to us to be impossible to guarantee against the occurrence of some such untoward incident. Must we train the three hundred odd millions of India in the theory and practice of non-violent action before we could go forward? And, even so, how many of us could say that under extreme provocation from the police we would be able to remain perfectly peaceful? But even if we succeeded, what of the numerous *agents provocateurs*, stool-pigeons, and the like who crept into our movement and indulged in violence themselves or induced others to do so? If this was the sole condition of its function, then the non-violent method of resistance would always fail."[61]

Although the Working Committee accepted the advice of

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Gandhi without demur, the All-India Congress Committee, whi met at Delhi a few days later to consider the question, prov less pliable. There was a strong opposition, and many consid ed Gandhi's action not only a great blunder but a severe bl to the national movement. Even when the heat of the exci ment subsided, opinions were sharply divided about the wisd of the decision, as the Enquiry Committee reported in 192 On the whole, quite a large section of the people felt what h been so aptly expressed by an impartial foreign observer, Roma Rolland, in the following words: "It is dangerous to assemb all the forces of a nation, and to hold the nation, panting, b fore a prescribed movement, to lift one's arm to give the fir command, and then, at the last moment, let one's arm drop, a thrice call a halt just as the formidable machinery has been in motion. One risks ruining the brakes and paralysing t impetus."[62]

The general feeling of repulsion against Gandhi's leaders was realized by the Government and fully exploited by th The Government had long been contemplating the arrest Gandhi, but stayed their hands for fear that his arrest would attended with bloody outbreak in numerous places. But t fear being removed by the growing unpopularity of Gan Lord Reading decided upon his arrest, and this was carried i effect by the Government of Bombay on 10 March. The offi chronicler, Rushbrook Williams, who records this view, obser "That the arrest, being well timed, passed off peacefully, sho not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have b effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an ear period. It came when Mr. Gandhi's political reputation was its nadir, when the enthusiasm of his followers had reached lowest ebb; when the public mind of India was engrossed w other issues."[63]

Gandhi was tried at Ahmadabad on March 18, 1922. pleaded guilty to the charge but made a statement, referred above,[64] explaining why he, a staunch loyalist and co-oper with the British Government, had turned into an uncompromi opponent and non-co-operator. The Sessions Judge, Mr. Bro field, sentenced him to six years' simple imprisonment.

The first phase of Non-co-operation movement en

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with Gandhi's cry of halt, and any chance of its revival at an early date was removed by his confinement behind the walls of prison. For, the whole movement centred round one person, and his disappearance gave a death-blow to it at least for the time being. It is not indeed a sign of healthy public life in any country that a great movement should rest upon the exertions and guidance of one man alone. But in the case of Non-co-operation movement, it was even worse still, for it depended wholly upon the personal whims and predilections of Gandhi which did not always appeal to his followers as based upon a clear process of reasoning intelligible to them. Nevertheless, he was obeyed without question, and retained the implicit confidence of millions, such as has never fallen to the lot of any other political leader before or after him. The secret of it lies in the combination of a saint and a political leader in his person. Gandhi, by his loin cloth and high ideals of an ascetic life of renunciation, succeeded in canalising the traditional reverence and unquestioning faith in a spiritual *guru* in India to the service of politics. Whether Gandhi was the most saintly politician or the most political saint, will ever remain a matter of opinion. But the combination of the dual capacity in him introduced a new element in Indian politics—the idea of a political *guru*—which worked wonders during his life and which he left as a legacy to this country.

In the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi Gandhi had tried hard to maintain that the resolution of suspension did not in any way nullify the resolution on Non-co-operation passed in the Nagpur session of the Congress. But neither his eloquence nor his prestige could conceal the fact that Non-co-operation was dead. This was fully admitted by the Congress Enquiry Committee, which observed: "There can be no doubt that the principle and policy laid down at Ahmadabad were completely reversed to the great disappointment of an expectant public", and the Congress "failed to create sufficient enthusiasm to carry on the constructive programme with the earnestness it deserved". The last is a very significant admission, and should be borne in mind in making a proper study of the Non-co-operation movement, both in 1922 and thereafter. It means that the enthusiasm which sustained the movement was

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really kept up by its fighting programme, and the constructi programme, such as weaving and spinning, removal of untouc ability etc., which was not likely to involve any collision wi the Government, really fell flat upon the masses who look upon them as merely of secondary importance, to be tolerate for the sake of Gandhiji, if not as an unnecessary hindrance the real fight.

The Congress Enquiry Committee had also the candour admit that "no man other than the Mahatma could lift the w blanket thrown upon most of the workers by the Bardoli a Delhi resolutions, or effectively divert the course of Congre activities into the channels marked out by these resolutions They believed that if Gandhi could "make one of his lightni tours through the country", the whole aspect of things wou have been changed. This may be seriously doubted in view the callous indifference with which Gandhi's imprisonment w looked upon by the public. As has been remarked, not a l stirred in this vast country on that occasion. The Congre Enquiry Committee and the orthodox followers of Gandhi h taken pains to explain this indifference as merely 'the hom of reverence which the people paid to Gandhiji by observi that exemplary self-restraint and perfect non-violence which w so dear to his heart'. One is constrained to observe that th were no less dear to his heart in 1919, when the mere rum of his arrest created serious troubles in the Panjab and Bomb in 1922, only a few months before, when Chauri Cahura incid took place; or in 1942, when Gandhi was again arrested and into prison. We must, therefore, look for some other reas to explain the all-pervading calm after Gandhi's incarceration 1922. That these included popular resentment at his action a the consequent waning of his popularity will probably be disp ed by none, except the blind followers of Gandhi.

The Congress Enquiry Committee rightly observed that would be "unprofitable to inquire what would have happe if Mahatma Gandhi had not been arrested and sent to priso What actually happened admits of no doubt. The first phase the Non-co-operation movement had ended and there was chance of its revival, so long at least as Gandhi was in prison.

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VI. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE DURING N.C.O.

The Non-co-operation movement brought into prominent relief the brute force of the British rule in India. This was neither unknown nor unexpected after the recent happenings in the Panjab. But, strangely enough, the movement made also an exhibition, side by side, of some of the best as well as the worst instincts of the Indian people.

1. The Oppression by the Government.

Reference has already been made above to the repressive measures adopted by the Government in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales. We may now make a rapid review of the general policy pursued by the Government throughout the campaign, and the measures adopted by them to put it down. On March 24, 1921, a full dress debate was held in the Legislative Assembly on Non-co-operation, in course of which Sir William Vincent outlined the policy of the Government. He declared that the object of the Non-co-operation was to paralyze the Government, and for this purpose "there is no source of discontent which they have not used," such as fomenting strikes of labourers, setting tenants against *Zamindars*, etc. The Government was therefore justified in taking repressive measures to put down the movement.

These measures consisted of terrorist activities and strict enforcement of the repressive laws already on the Statute Book, such as Section 144, preventing assembly of more than five persons, Seditious Meetings Act, etc. Directions were issued for an extensive use of these powers, and the District Officers were permitted to enforce the total prohibition of inflammatory meetings. But the Government also took resort to terrorism in various forms. The Non-co-operators were humiliated in various ways, brutal assaults were made on picketers, and 'mild' (?) *lathi* charge, i.e. merciless beating with iron-shod heavy bamboo sticks, became the order of the day. The Police, in the name or in the guise of house-searches, with or without warrants, acted like gangsters, breaking, looting, assaulting the inmates of the house, including the *zenana*, and putting them to all kinds of indignities. More excusable were the activities of the Government by way of counter-propaganda against the Non-co-

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operators. In U. P. the Government issued a Communique stating that the N. C. O. movement was revolutionary and anarchical, and that it was the duty of all servants of the Crown to counteract it. The existing prohibitions to Government officials in regard to participation in political movements were withdrawn, and they were encouraged to declare themselves openly and actively against the N. C. O. movement. The Collectors were instructed to attend and address meetings of Reform Leagues and Liberal Leagues designed to oppose the Non-operation movement.

But sometimes the counter-propaganda assumed a ludicrous form. Thus in Bihar the anti-drink campaign of the Non-operators was fought by a counter-propaganda which emphasized the "value of wine both as food and as a medicine." It was also added in the Government Manifesto that "many great men were wine-drinkers, such as Moses, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Watt, Gladstone, Tennyson, Bismark."

As noted above, the Government repression became more severe in consequence of the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The campaign of repression was most severe in Calcutta. More than three thousand volunteers were arrested during the ten days preceding the Prince's visit. Even respectable and inoffensive men like Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra suffered indignities in the hands of the custodians of law and order.

A unique feature of repression was added in the shape of Anglo-Indian Civil Guards, who, together with the Gurkha troops and Police, formed the veritable trio of oppression. One specimen of their brutality was witnessed in Entally, a suburb of Calcutta, on December 25, 1921. After a drunken brawl the Civil Guards assaulted the Muslims of the locality. They were soon reinforced by other Civil Guards and several European sergeants, "who madly roamed about the streets, revolver in hand, ready to shoot whoever interfered with their mad career. One man was killed outright and some twenty wounded. The same night the police raided a mosque." 'They entered with shoes on, and are alleged to have desecrated it.'[65]

In Bihar the European officer of the Police Station, Sonepur, snatched away from the Congress volunteers who were preaching

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hartal, flags, badges and even *khadi* clothes which they had on them, and tore everything to pieces. Immediately after, he raided the Congress office and ordered the constables to beat and plunder (*maro our looto* were the actual words used). The constables carried the order to the letter by assaulting the volunteers, breaking open boxes and almirahs, and even carrying away Rs. 120 in cash. Religious books like the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* were burnt.[65a]

Such instances of Government oppression can be multiplied to almost any extent. But it is unnecessary to refer to them in detail, particularly as it is not always possible to ascertain the exact truth. In their Communique dated February 6, the Government asserted: "There is thus no shadow of justification for the charge that their policy has been one of indiscriminate and lawless repression." Gandhi, who formally made this charge in his letter to the Viceroy, dated 4th February, 1922, gave the following reply to the above statement of the Government:

"Instead of an ample expression of regret and apology for the barbarous deeds that have been committed by officials in the name of law and order, I regret to find in the Government reply a categorical denial of any 'lawless repression'. In this connection I urge the public and Government carefully to consider the following facts whose substance is beyond challenge :—

(1) The official shooting at Entally in Calcutta and the callous treatment even of a corpse.

(2) The admitted brutality of the Civil Guards.

(3) The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca, and the dragging of innocent men by their legs although they had given no offence whatsoever.

(4) Similar treatment of volunteers in Aligarh.

(5) The conclusive (in my opinion) findings of the Committee presided over by Gokul Chand Narang about the brutal and uncalled for assaults upon volunteers and the public in Lahore.

(6) Wicked and inhuman treatment of volunteers and the public at Jullunder.

(7) The shooting of a boy at Dehra Dun and the cruelly forcible dispersal of a public meeting at that place.

(8) The looting admitted by the Bihar Government of

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villages by an officer and his Company without any permis
whatsoever from anyone, but, as stated by non-co-operators
the invitation of a Planter, and the assaults upon volunteers
burning of *khaddar* and papers belonging to the Congres
Sonepur.

(9) Midnight searches and arrests in Congress and Kh
offices.

"I have merely given a sample of the many 'infal
proofs' of official lawlessness and barbarism. I have menti
not even a tithe of what is happening all over the country.
I wish to state without fear of successful contradiction tha
scale on which this lawlessness has gone on in so many Pro
of India puts into shade the inhumanities that were practise
the Punjab, if we except the crawling order and the mas
at Jallianwala Bagh.....but as if this warfare against innoc
was not enough, the reins are being tightened in the jails...

Those who know the scrupulous regard for truth
characterised Gandhi throughout his life, would not hesitat
a moment to accept his statement in preference to the Go
ment version. There were many allegations of inhuman cru
behind the bars of prison, but for obvious reasons no d
were available. But narratives of many prisoners who cam
of jail at a later period leave no doubt of the cruel treatme
the helpless victims who incurred the wrath of the autho
for not following the humiliating practices meant for and
forced upon ordinary criminals of low classes.

An impartial testimony to the lawless and repressive
vities of the Government is afforded by the vigorous denunci
of their measures by the Moderates, who cannot be accus
having any partiality for the Non-co-operators. Reference
been made above[67] to the general condemnation of the Go
ment repression by various individuals and organizations
Moderate Party. Some specific allegations were made b
Indian Association of Calcutta, the central organization
Bengal Moderates, dominated by veterans like Surendra
Banerji who was then a Minister of the Governor of B
They addressed two letters to the Viceroy. In one of thes
observed:

"The Indian Association have always supported and

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support Government in all attempts to put down lawlessness and intimidation, but when Government in the name of preserving peace and order allow their own officers to exceed the bounds of law and to create a general state of terrorism, they feel bound to enter their emphatic protest".

In another letter they specially invited the attention of the Viceroy to the following:—

1. The wide-spread impression, confirmed by newspaper reports of trials, that persons are being arrested and convicted simply for selling or wearing *khaddar,* crying *Bande Mataram* or *Gandhi Maharaj ki jai,* or for asking people to close their shops on the 24th December.

2. Assaults and rude behaviour by the military, the Police and the Anglo-Indian Civil Guards on unoffending persons.

3. Indiscriminate arrests.

4. Arrests of ladies.

5. Maltreatment of arrested persons.

6. Reported forcible seizure and removal of *"Khaddar"* from shops and other places.

7. Trial of persons *in camera* and in jail; information in some cases not being given even to Counsel desirous of appearing for, or watching proceedings on behalf of, accused persons.

8. Severity of the sentences passed on persons accused of political offences or offences of a technical or trivial character.

9. The detention of persons in custody without any charge being formulated against them.

10. The stationing of military pickets in various parts of the city (in some cases with machine guns).

The letter concludes with a reference to the great excitement caused by the assault on Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra.[67]

Reference may be made to some grave instances of oppression.

A. Two cases of unprovoked assault authenticated by non-official Committees who made a careful inquiry into them.

i. Chittagong Gurkha Outrage.

On October 20, 1921, Sri J. M. Sen Gupta, the Congress leader of Chittagong, along with 17 others, were sentenced to

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rigorous imprisonment for three months. This created great commotion, and a large crowd gathered outside the jail precincts and spread all along the road towards the Railway Station where it was reported, the prisoners would be taken that very evening. The people formed a procession, with torchlights, bands, *sankirtan* parties and display of firework. The procession peacefully followed the prisoners' carriage up to the approaches of the Station, though it was alleged that there was picketing and burning of foreign clothes on the road by some street boys. When the head of the Procession reached within fifty yards of the main entrance to the Station, a large number of people had already proceeded by short cuts to the Railway compound which was also full of peoples who had already gathered there since early hours of evening. There was no disturbance of any kind but suddenly a band of Gurkhas began to assault the people right and left indiscriminately, mainly with the butt end of their rifle." As the people fled on all sides, the Gurkhas chased them all along and struck them all the way. The Gurkhas also attacked several carriages and struck severe blows upon their occupants including a Zamindar who was also an Honorary Magistrate. One Gurkha party also fell upon the Processionists and struck them. Altogether more than 100 persons were wounded, some of them very severely.[68]

ii. Matiari Firing.

On July 21, 1921, a disturbance took place at the village Matiari, in Hyderabad District (Sindh), in connection with a meeting of the Aman Sabha, in course of which the Police fired upon the crowd and inflicted one fatal and twelve other casualties. According to Official Report the disturbances were due to the attempt of the Khilafatists to wreck the Sabha and molesting those who participated therein. According to the official inquiry the Khilafatists did try to persuade the people not to attend the Sabha, but did not molest anybody for doing so. But even the Official Committee unanimosuly held that there was no justification for the police firing. No warnings were given to the crowd before the order to fire was given and, that even after the first shots the crowd had dispersed, firing was unnecessarily continued." No attempt was made to render medical

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to the injured either by Mukhtiarkar (First Class Magistrate) or by the Police Sub-Inspector. The Official Committee also held that responsible Police officials like the District Superintendent were guilty of making false statements and many of the allegations against the Khilafatists "had been shamelessly fabricated by the Matiari Police." "The Government of Bombay dismissed Mukhtiarkar and censured the conduct of the Police Sub-Inspector."[69]

There is no reason to disbelieve these specific events or to doubt the general accuracy of the accounts of these Committees. Special importance attaches to the allegations of oppression and ill-treatment recorded in the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee which was composed of Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, M. A. A. Ansari, V. J. Patel and S. Kasturiranga Iyengar as members, and Hakim Ajmal Khan as Chairman. The illegal and repressive acts of the Government have been summarised by them as follows:

B. Wholesale arrests of the leaders and workers of the Congress.

Many districts particularly in the Panjab, U. P., Bengal and Assam were from time to time practically denuded of the more active of their Congress and Khilafat workers by wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and prosecutions. A few examples may be quoted as specimens to show how the authorities acted in the name of law:

(i) Fifty-five members of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee were discussing a resolution on volunteering at an emergent meeting at Allahabad. The Police entered, seized the draft resolution, asked every individual present whether he approved of it, and on his replying in the affirmative, sent him to the Police van downstairs. Those who did not move quickly enough had some gentle pressure applied to them from behind, and the progress of at least one was accelerated by a mild assault. They made no defence in the Court and were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment each, which was simple or rigorous according to the personal whim of the Magistrate. The Government, as advised by a special judge appointed by it, had to admit that the convictions were illegal, but the men were still kept in prison. One of them died in jail, and as he was a strong young man, a public inquiry was demanded, but was not allowed.

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(ii) C. R. Das was arrested on 23 December, on the eve his departure to Ahmadabad to attend the session of the Congr of which he was the President-elect. The case was adjourn from time to time till 12th February, as it was necessary for Government to prove his signature on the appeal, for iss which he was prosecuted. At last the handwriting expert of Government swore that the handwriting was that of Das, who accordingly convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonm after being detained for nearly two months as undertrial priso

(iii) Lala Lajpat Rai was convicted under the Seditio Meetings Act and sent to jail, when the Law Officer of Government, who was not consulted before, gave his opin that the conviction was illegal. Lalaji was released, but as s as he stepped out of the prison gate, he was arrested and sente for another offence to two years' imprisonment.

(iv). Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to 18 mo rigorous imprisonment for two offences: 1. Declaring his tention to picket foreign shops in a public speech; 2. Presi at a committee meeting which decided to send letters to cer cloth merchants calling upon them to pay the fines impose the cloth merchants' own association under their own rules. was construed as an abetment of extortion.

C. Lawlessness outside the Courts

Appalling lawlessness prevailed outside the Courts. It be broadly stated that causing injury to the person, propert reputation of a Non-co-operator not only ceased to be offence, but came to be regarded as an act of loyalty to the G ernment of a specially meritorious character. Specific refere may be made to a few typical varieties of oppression:

"Taking the country as a whole, a general summary o various kinds of anti-Non-co-operation activities may be giv a few short sentences. Gandhi caps and *Khaddar* dress anathema to the officials generally throughout India, and m out the wearer for all kinds of insults and humiliations, as als false prosecution. Assaults on volunteers, stripping them of clothing, and ducking them in village tanks in winter months some of the 'innocent' practical jokes designed by the Polic their own amusement. Confiscation of licenses for arms

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feiture of *jagirs, watans* and *inams,* withholding of water-supply for irrigation, and refusing *takavi* advances were some of the milder punishments for those who were not charged with specific offences. Destruction of Congress and Khilafat offices and records and of national educational institutions, burning of houses and crops and looting property were resorted to in the case of the more obstinate recalcitrants. Several cases of forcible removal of jewellery from the persons of women and of indecent assaults and outrages committed on them, as well as the burning and trampling under foot of religious books and other sacred objects, have also been brought to our notice. The estate of an extra-loyal Zamindar in Utkal (Orissa) has gained a wide notoriety in that Province for cases of shooting, assaults on women and a novel method of humiliating and insulting high-caste people by sprinkling liquor on them and compelling them to carry night-soil on their shoulders."

2. The Excesses Committed by the People

The Enquiry Committee claimed that the people bore all these with admirable patience and self-restraint. That this was not due to cowardice or want of strength was, according to the Committee, demonstrated by the fact that it was the martial races of the Panjab and U. P. who, while smarting under brutal treatment, maintained the most wonderful self-restraint. This may be generally correct, but there is no denying the fact that excesses were also committed by overzealous Non-co-operators, and sometimes it fully resembled the atrocities of the Police. The Committee admitted some sporadic cases of outbursts of violence, but refused to believe that the Non-co-operators were to be held responsible for the few sad incidents that occurred. While one may readily admit that these cases were few and far between, it is difficult to exonerate the Non-co-operation movement from all blame in this respect, whatever we might think of the actual perpetrators of the crimes. Reference has been made to the tragic occurrences in Chauri Chaura and the brutal nature of the crime will be described later. A few other instances alleged by the Government may be mentioned below :

A. Picketing

Peaceful picketing was one of the methods usually resorted

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to by the Non-co-operators to prevent the purchase of foreig goods and liquor, and attendance at schools, colleges and Unive sity classes and examinations. But like the 'mild' *lathi* charge the Police, picketing was often far from 'peaceful'. Non-c operators usually stretched themselves on the ground before t gates of educational institutions so that no one could get in wi out trampling upon their bodies. Sometimes young boys we specially employed for the same purpose.

B. Intimidation

Intimidation was used to force shop-keepers to close sho and make the drivers of carriages cease to ply on the occasi of the *hartals*. There is hardly any doubt that the charge w not altogether unfounded.

C. Agrarian Riots in U. P.

Early in 1921, there were great agrarian troubles in the d tricts of Rae Bareilly and Fyzabad in U. P. Troubles were d to the refusal of the tenants to pay some of the illegal and oppr sive cesses which were imposed by the landlords, and often r lized with the help of the Police and the Magistrate, who, addition to their natural sympathy with the landlords scented the opposition of the tenants the influence of the Non-co-o ration movement. A great riot raged in many villages fr January 2 to 7. A scuffle between the peasants and the Po at Fursatganj on January 5 led to a gathering, two days later about 10,000 people before the jail at Munshigunj. Tho dispersed by Police fire, the mob looted the *bazar*, and some p perty of the landlords. On January 23, a serious riot took pl at Rachrawan in which several Constables were killed. In co of another peasant rising on the 29th at Gosaigunj, about 1 men lay flat on the railway line on hearing that their leader being carried away in the incoming train. The train had to for three hours until the police cleared the line by buckshot To relieve the situation, the N.C.O. leaders organized a Kis (peasant) League under the guidance of Pandit Motilal Nehru Purushottamdas Tandon, and the troubles gradually subside

The Government believed that these agrarian troubles created, or at least exploited, by the Non-co-operators in var

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parts of U. P. and Bihar. It was alleged that the mob, armed with *lathis* and sticks, shouted *Mahatma Gandhiki Jai, Shaukat Ali Muhammad Aliki Jai, etc.*, and attacked petty as well as substantial *Zamindars*, and *Talukdars*. The leaders of the mobs moved about the country collecting cesses. "Short of taking life they resorted to every form of intimidation, including the defiling of wells, the destruction of crops, and the burning of houses." The ryots were promised *Swaraj* if they would refuse payment of rent to the *Zamindars*.[70]

D. Malegaon

A serious mob-outbreak at Malegaon in the Nasik District (Bombay) caused considerable loss of lives and property. The population, predominantly Muslim, was largely affected by the Khilafat agitation. The conviction of several Momins in April 1921, for carrying arms at a mass meeting in contravention of an order by the District Magistrate, created great commotion, and a Police constable was roughly handled. Thereupon the City Sub-Inspector with a few officials and a dozen armed constables proceeded to the town. Being attacked by the mob, his men fired some rounds of small shots, but as the mob did not disperse, they took refuge in a Hindu temple. The mob brought fuel and kerosene and set fire to the temple, which was burnt along with several neighbouring houses. The Sub-Inspector, while trying to escape in the guise of a woman, was caught, beaten to death, and thrown into the fire. One or two constables were also killed and burnt, while the other officials escaped, though badly injured. The mob cut the telegraph wires and stopped the mail tongas from running. The unarmed Police on town duty were driven out of the town. Some were beaten and some were killed. It was alleged that the mob burnt the Hindu temple, because the Inspector had taken refuge there and the inmates of the temple refused to surrender him.

Next day the mob plundered the houses of some Muslim leaders who had counselled moderation regarding the Khilafat agitation. They then forced the Mamlatdar to release the convicted Momins from the jail, and for the next three days they burnt houses and committed other outrages. Peace was not

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restored till the arrival of the troops from Ahmadnagar on Ap 29, 1921.[71]

E. Giridih

There was a violent outbreak at Giridih (Santal Pargan Bihar) on April 25. It arose out of the refusal of a person accept the decision of the Non-co-operation *Panchayat* (arbitrati tribunal, replacing the regular courts) of Bishnupur. The offend was socially boycotted, and when his daughter went to the villa well to draw water, a Khilafat volunteer is alleged to ha assaulted her and broken her pitcher. The voulnteer was proc cuted, and when the trial was going on, about ten thousand peop surrounded the court building. They stoned the Police, inflicti severe injuries, and damaging the jail building. In the afterno a mob of about 5,000 appeared in front of the *thana*, pelted t Sup-Inspector with stones and brickbats, and wrecked and loot his quarters. Armed Police and the Gurkhas arrived the next d and order was restored.[72]

F. Aligarh

There was a riot at Aligarh on July 5, 1921. The offi version is as follows :

On July 5, 1921, when a political agitator, Malkhan Sin was being tried by the Magistrate, a crowed endeavoured to r the court. They were driven by the Police with the help batons, and were also unsuccessful in their attempt to att Police buildings. Later on a mob attacked and burned c tain buildings in the Police quarters, including the Treas The armed guard fired on them. One constable was killed a three dangerously wounded. A number of rioters were woun No attack was made on the houses of Europeans.[73]

G. Picketing of liquor shops

This often led to violent acts such as snatching away of li bottles and assaulting the purchaser, burning of liquor shops More serious charges were brought against the volunteers by Hammond, the officiating Chief Secretary to the Governmen Bihar and Orissa. He cited the three following cases: (1) Muslim vendor in Ranchi died, and the Khilafat party trie

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obstruct his funeral rites. After he was buried, his corpse was exhumed, thrown upon the public road and the face beaten in with a brick. (2) Gopi Kahar of Chatra was beaten and, with his face blackened, paraded through the town because his wife sold food to those who visited liquor shops. (3) A woman of Kateya, near Siwan, named Musammat Paremia Koerin, was, for similar offence, stripped naked and driven through the country by a howling mob. When a Police officer went to hold an inquiry he was attacked by a mob.

Similar incidents were also reported from other places. At Dharwar in Bombay, while volunteers were picketing liquor shops, the mob tried to murder a Sub-Inspector of Police and to set fire to certain buildings.

H. Chauri Chaura

The most deplorable outbreak occurred at Chauri Chaura, a Police-Station, 15 miles from Gorakhpur in U.P. As a result of vigorous picketing there was hardly any customer of foreign cloth or liquor in the local *bazar*. On February 1, a zealous police officer was alleged to have beaten some volunteers engaged in peaceful picketing. In consequence of this, all the volunteers of the neighbouring villages, numbering about 500, accompanied by a large crowd, went to the *thana* and asked for an explanation of the conduct of the police officer. Some neutrals pacified them and the whole party moved on. After they had proceeded to some distance there was a hue and cry in the rear. It was alleged that the Police roughly handled some of the stragglers in the rear. In any case, the mob returned and began to throw brickbats. The armed Police fired on the mob. How long the firing lasted is not known, but dead bodies of only two rioters were later found near the *thana*. It is not unlikely, however, that some wounded persons were removed by the mob. After some time the firing ceased, presumably because the Police had exhausted their ammunitions. As soon as the crowd reailzed this, they rushed towards the *thana* building, shouting: "through Gandhiji's kindness even the bullets have turned to water". On their approach the policemen went inside and bolted the door. The mob then set fire to the building. Some perished and those who were driven out by the heat and smoke were thrown back into the fire after being

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besmirched with kerosene.

It should be pointed out that the allegations against the No co-operators, including those mentioned above, were not inqui into by any reliable committee and rest solely upon official st ments whose accuracy may justly be challenged in the ligh many serious charges brought by officials which later proved be without any foundation or highly exaggerated. In the c of Chauri Chaura, however, we possess a statement signed by t President of the District Congress Committee and others who w not likely to err against the popular side. In view of t horrible nature of the crime and the role it played in the susp sion of the Non-co-operation movement,[73a] part of this authen statement is quoted below :

"The scene presented a most horrible and gruesome appe ance. Two buildings were still burning. The roofs of almost the buildings had been burnt down. Some boxes and tru belonging evidently to the members of the police force were fo lying open without their contents. Twenty-two corpses, more less burnt and disfigured, were lying there, seven having b almost completely burnt.....Besides these burnt corpses, t were two corpses, apparently of men of the mob, which were burnt, one of them clothed in khadder which had a gun wound.....There was a very large number of brickbats *kanker*, evidently used in attacking the police, found in the c pound. On our return to the Railway station at 2 P. M., found three wounded men two of whom were police chowki and one a *bannia* of the *bazaar*. The last had a gunshot wo in the thigh and the chowkidars had brickbat wounds on t heads and bodies. It is said that all the police force static there, including the armed guard which had been sent there a before, as some trouble was apprehended, has been murd except two who were out on duty elsewhere, and one cons who managed to escape.'"[74]

It is likely that the provocations by the Police were m graver than the Government version admitted, but still there not be any excuse for the demoniac brutality displayed by people. Further, although many bad characters must have t part, probably the main part, in enacting the tragedy, it is possible to believe that the Non-co-operators were not at all

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volved in the series of events leading to the gruesome tragedy. Chauri Chaura definitely proves two things. First, it is idle to expect that in the excitement caused by Non-co-operation movement it would always retain its character of *ahimsa* or non-violence; and secondly, there is no limit to the excesses of a mob once they are roused to a frenzy of passion.

Apart from these specific instances, the Government brought general charges against the National Volunteers for inciting the masses to violence and disorder. There is no doubt that it was through the Volunteer organizations that the message of *Swaraj* by Non-co-operation was spread among the masses, and this constituted the chief characteristic, and the principal success, of the whole movement. It is idle to expect that the masses, or even the Volunteers who guided them, would always remain faithful to the cult of non-violence. It is, therefore, not unreasonable that the Government viewed it as pregnant with possibilities of serious disorders. According to the official Report, "the members of the Volunteer organizations spread themselves over the countryside, inspiring rustics, only a shade more credulous than themselves, with contempt for constituted authority." The Government, therefore, held the Non-co-operation movement directly or indirectly responsible for all the disturbances in the country during 1921, including industrial and railway strikes, and attributed them more specifically to Volunteer organizations and the doctrine preached by Gandhi and Ali Brothers during their joint country-wide tours. This is undoubtedly an exaggerated statement, but there is no denying the fact, that the Non-co-operation movement made the people politically self-conscious and infused them with an enthusiasm for redressing the wrongs which they had so long patiently borne, either in silence or with mild ineffective protest of a passive character. The agrarian riots in U.P. or the Akali movement, to which reference will be made later, and many other riots and disorders—though not all—cannot be directly traced to the Non-co-operation movement, but may be regarded as a consequence of the new spirit engendered by that movement. In spite of obvious exaggeration it is not possible to deny that there was a great deal of truth in the following allegation of the Government:

"In Bihar, there was a strike, complicated by non-co-opera-

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tion activities, in the East Indian Railway Collieries, leading a riot at Giridih. Another strike, also accompanied by disord broke out on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At Nagp in the Central Provinces, the intimidation practised by "Natio Volunteers" against persons resorting to liquor shops, led serious disturbances. In Assam, inflammatory appeals to ig rant tea-garden labourers, began to produce their inevitab effects in riot and disorder. In the Madras and Bombay Pre dencies mobs of hooligans, with the name of Gandhi upon th lips, practised subtle terrorism and intimidation of a sort wi which the authorities found it most difficult to cope, while Khil fat preachers roused the frenzy of poor and ignorant Muslim with the cry of "Religion in danger". Everywhere through the masses of combustible elements, moved the emissaries of non-c operation, preaching, it is true, non-violence, but coupling wi this admonition fervent exhortations as to the necessity "passively" defying the authority of the State, and inflammato appeals for the rectification of the Panjab and Khilafat grievanc and the acquisition of immediate Swaraj. Everywhere they voked the magic of Gandhi's name thereby strengthening, whet consciously or unconsciously, the belief of the credulous mas in his miraculous powers. Thousands of ignorant and humi persons, whether dwellers in the city or countryside, were f with enthusiasm for the great "Mahatma" whose kingdom, wh it came, would bring them prosperity, affluence, and a resp from labour. Little wonder that while eagerly drinking in t tales of the Government's iniquity and oppression, they set sm store by admonitions against the use of violence."[75]

The charge contained in the last sentence, and that o general 'non-violent' coercion, were also brought against followers of Gandhi by eminent political leaders. The follo ing extract from a speech of Mrs. Besant during Non-operation movement reflected the opinion of a large body of n "Under the Gandhi Raj there is no free speech, no open meet except for Non-co-operators. Social and religious boycott, thre of personal violence, spitting, insults in the streets, are methods of oppression. Mob support is obtained by wild p mises, such as the immediate coming of Swaraj, when there be no rents, no taxes, by giving to Gandhi high religious nat

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such as Mahatma and Avatara, assigning to him supernatural powers and the like."[76]

The historian has not sufficient data to enable him to pass a final judgement on the allegations of either the brutality of penal measures adopted by the officials or the violent character of the non-violent Non-co-operation movement. There seems to be no doubt, however, that there is a great deal of truth in the charges and counter-charges by the Congress and the Government. The Non-co-operation movement was both directly and indirectly responsible for much violence, and sometimes even serious crimes, and the Government measures were often unnecessarily cruel and harsh, deliberately designed to terrorize the people. To argue that they were necessary to maintain law and order, is but a tacit admission that the Government was based on force, pure and simple, and not on the willing allegiance, far less loyalty, of the people at large, as the Government of India claimed in season and out of season. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that few, if any at all except Gandhi himself, were inspired by the true spirit of *Satyagraha* or non-violence, as expounded by him and accepted by his followers in theory.[76a] Most of the people, including leaders, had really no sincere faith in this cult; they looked upon it as a useful political expedient, but did not accept it as a creed.

VII. THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF N.C.O.

Before concluding this Chapter, it is incumbent upon the historian to inquire, how far the Non-co-operation movement was a success or failure. It has been argued that it must be pronounced to be a failure, because it failed to achieve *Swaraj* within a year as was promised to the people by Gandhi, and no conspicuous success attended the efforts to carry out the different items of Non-co-operation as laid down in the resolution of the Calcutta Congress in 1920 and endorsed by the Nagpur session. Fortunately for the historian, there is not much dispute about the main facts assumed in the above argument. All the facts in connection with the movement were reviewed by a responsible committee consisting of eminent persons, though naturally they all belonged to the Congress Party. But the general impartiality of this committee, so far as the ascertaining of facts is concerned,

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must be recognized by all. This is admitted even by an emine veteran of the Moderate Party, though not without an unchiva rous fling. He observes: "The Report of the Civil Disobed ence Enquiry Committee was quite instructive. It was certain a one-sided document, as it was bound to be in the nature things. But there was in it enough to enable uncommitted m to draw non-partisan conclusions."[77] The conclusions which has drawn as a non-partisan—a claim which many would be di posed to challenge—do not materially differ from what has be stated above regarding each item, and it is only fair to add th the Committee itself admitted the failure, in a manner which 'partisan' Committee has seldom done or is likely to do in futur Whatever may be the difference between an impartial critic a the Committee, one may venture to assert, that it would be c of degree and not of kind, and that also not of a very substanti character.

But even admitting all this, it is difficult to concede that t Non-co-operation movement was a failure. There is a great d of truth in the claim made by C. R. Das in the following pass in his Presidential address at the Gaya session of the Congr held in December, 1922.

"It is assumed that a movement must either succeed or f whereas the truth is that human movements—I am speaking genuine movements—neither altogether succeed nor altogeth fail. Every genuine movement proceeds from an ideal and t ideal is always higher than the achievement...Was the Non-c operation movement in India a success? Yes, a mighty succ when we think of the desire for *Swaraj* which it has succeeded awakening throughout the length and breadth of this vast coun It is a great success when we think of the practical result of s awakening, in the money which the nation contributed, in enrolment of the members of the Indian National Congress in the boycott of foreign cloth. I go further and say that practical achievement also consists of the loss of prestige su ed by Educational Institutions and the Courts of Law and Reformed Councils throughout the country.....Yet it must admitted that from another point of view, when we assess measure of our success in the spirit of Arithmetic, we are fac face with "the petty done" and the "undone vast"....I say to

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critics: I admit we have failed in many directions, but will you also not admit our success where we have succeeded ?"

A similar claim is put forward in the following passage of the Report of the Congress Enquiry Committee:

"Witnesses from all parts of the country speaking from direct local knowledge have testified to the outstanding features of the crisis through which the country is passing. There are: (1) the general awakening of the masses to their political rights and privileges, (2) the total loss of faith in the present system of Government, (3) the belief that it is only through its own efforts that India can hope to be free, (4) the faith in the Congress as the only organisation which can properly direct national effort to gain freedom, and (5) the utter failure of repression to cow down the people. Our own personal observation in the course of our tour round the whole country fully corroborates the evidence on these points. We have found the general population permeated with the indomitable spirit of a great national awakening unprecedented in the history of the human race for its wide sweep and rapid growth. The great bulk of the people showed complete lack of confidence in the Government and were found to be firm believers in non-co-operation and all that it stands for. Repression, where it had done its worst, had no doubt left behind it a trail of sorrow and suffering, but failed to crush the spirit of the people."

Although stated with some amount of pardonable exaggeration, the claims made by the Congressmen, as illustrated in the above passage, cannot be lightly brushed aside. Even the Government was forced to admit that in spite of its impracticable nature, the Non-co-operation movement was engineered and sustained by nationalist aspirations. In the statement submitted to the Parliament, the Government of India made the following observations regarding the general results of the Non-co-operation movement :

"But when we turn to consider the campaign as a whole, it would be idle to assert that it was infructuous. Whether the results obtained are desirable or undesirable will be demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt by the passage of time. But that these results are real is no longer open to question. Mr. Gandhi's intensive movement during the years 1921 and 1922 has diffused

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far and wide, among classes previously oblivious to politic considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of race hatred the foreigner. The less prosperous classes both in the town a the countryside have become aroused to certain aspects—ev though these be mischievous, exaggerated and false—of existing political situation. On the whole, this must be pr nounced, up to the present, the most formidable achievement the non-co-operation movement. That it has certain potentialiti for good will be maintained by many; that it will immens increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can denied by few."[78]

Making necessary allowance for a foreign Governmen view about what constitutes true patriotism, and what is m chievous, on the part of the Indians, the above lines may jus be regarded as an indirect admission of the great success of Non-co-operation movement.

The most outstanding feature of the Non-co-operation mo ment was the willingness and ability of the people in general endure, to a remarkable degree, hardships and punishments flicted by the Government. This is the reason why, though Non-co-operation movement collapsed, the memory of its gre ness survived, and was destined to inspire the nation to lau a more arduous campaign at no distant date. For, the mo ment served as a baptism of fire which initiated the people t new faith and new hope, and inspired them with a n confidence in their power to fight for freedom. Any who reviews the whole course of events during the moveme must be struck with two undeniable facts. First, that Congress movement had, *for the first time*, become a really m movement, in the sense that national awakening had not penetrated to the people at large, but also made them ac participants in the struggle for freedom. The second, whic no less important, but generally ignored by friends and alike, is that the Indian National Congress was, almost overn turned into a genuine revolutionary organization. It was longer a deliberative assembly, but an organized fighting p pledged to revolution. Its weapons were different, but its objects and animating spirit closely resembled those of the tant nationalism of the early years of the century, represente

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the so-called terrorist party. But there were two significant differences. It did not work in secret, and it was widely accepted almost all over India as the only party which could achieve the independence of the country. Henceforth the national energy was directed to a revolutionary programme,—non-violent, if possible, violent, if need be.

VIII. OFFSHOOTS OF NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT.

A. Moplah Rebellion

The Moplahs are a band of fanatic Muslims, poor and ignorant, about a million in number. They are descended from the Arabs who had probably settled in the Malabar coast,[79] about the eighth or ninth century A. D. and married mostly Indian wives. They lived in Malabar along with about two million Hindus, and had acquired an unenviable reputation for crimes perpetrated under the impulse of religious frenzy. They were responsible for no fewer than thirty-five outbreaks, of a minor nature, during the British rule. But their most terrible outbreak, mainly due to the Khilafat agitation, took place in August, 1921, and is described in the official report as follows :

"During the early months of 1921, excitement spread speedily from mosque to mosque, from village to village. The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers, the early approach of Swaraj as foretold in the non-co-operating press, the July resolutions of the Khilafat Conference—all these combined to fire the train. Throughout July and August innumerable Khilafat meetings were held, in which the resolutions of the Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. Knives, swords, and spears were secretly manufactured, bands of desperados collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of Islam. On August 20, when the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police, attempted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi, a severe encounter took place, which was the signal for immediate rebellion throughout the whole locality. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines cut, and the railway destroyed in a number of places. The District Magistrate returned to Calicut to prevent the spread of trouble northwards, and the machinery of Government was temporarily

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reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations whic were attacked by the rebels in detail. Such Europeans as did n succeed in escaping—and they were fortunately few—were mu dered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administratio had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that Swaraj w established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raj Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad we declared Khilafat kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocit was borne, not by Government, but the luckless Hindus wh constituted the majority of the population.....Massacres, forcibl conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon wome pillage, arson and destruction—in short, all the accompaniment of brutal and unrestrained barbarism,—were perpetrated free until such time as troops could be hurried to the task of restorin order throughout a difficult and extensive tract of country.

"As the rebellion had spread over a wide area, the troop available in the Malabar District were unable to cope with th situation, and strong reinforcements had to be sent; and by th middle of October these amounted to four battalions, one pa battery, a section of armoured cars, and other necessary ancill services. As the rebels took to the hills, it was some time b fore they could be caught in appreciable numbers. By the e of the year 1921 the situation was well in hand, and the ba of the rebellion was broken. An idea of the fierceness of so of the fighting may be gained from the night attack at Pandik on which occasion a company of Gurkhas was rushed at da by a horde of fanatics who inflicted some 60 casualties on th Gurkhas and were only beaten off after losing some 250 kill Throughout the campaign casualties among the Governm troops totalled 43 killed and 126 wounded; while the Mopl lost over 3,000 in killed alone. A great tragedy marked the e of the rebellion. On November 19, 1921, a batch of seve Moplah prisoners was being conveyed by train, but through neglect of the guards there was no arrangement for ventilat in the closed coach in which they were put, and all of them d by asphyxiation."[80]

The Muslim leaders put the number of Moplah martyrs as 10,000 and they also referred to the desecration of mosq and other outrages perpetrated by British troops while suppress

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the revolt. They as well as Gandhi and his blind followers ignored the terrible outrages upon a large number of Hindus, but these described above in the Government version, have been corroborated by independent testimony. It will suffice to refer to a few documents out of a mass of materials collecetd on the subject.

1. A statement signed by the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, Secretary, Calicut District Congress Committee, Secretary, Ernad Khilafat Committee, and K. V. Gopala Menon refers to the following misdeeds of the Moplahs: "Their wanton and unprovoked attack on the Hindus; the all but wholesale looting of their houses in Ernad and parts of Valluvanad, Ponnani, and Calicut taluqs; the forcible conversion of Hindus in a few places in the beginning of the rebellion, and the wholesale conversion of those who stuck to their homes in later stages; the brutal murder of inoffensive Hindus, men, women, and children, in cold blood, without the slightest reason except that they are "kaffirs" or belong to the same race as the policemen, who insulted their Tangals or entered their mosques; the desecration and burning of Hindu temples; the outrage of Hindu women and their forcible conversion and marriage by Moplahs".

The signatories add: "These and similar atrocities (were) proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the statements recorded by us from the actual sufferers who have survived".[81]

2. The memoial of the women of Malabar to Lady Reading contains the following: "It is possible that your Ladyship is not fully appraised of all the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by the fiendish rebels; of the many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead, bodies of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant women cut to pieces and left on the roadsides and in the jungles, with the unborn babe protruding from the mangled corpse; of our innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes and of our husbands and fathers tortured, flayed and burnt alive; of our hapless sisters forcibly carried away from the midst of kith and kin and subjected to every shame and outrage which the vile and brutal imagination of these inhuman hell-hounds could conceive of; of thousands of our homesteads reduced to cinder-mounds out of

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sheer savagery and a wanton spirit of destruction ; of our plac of worship desecrated and destroyed and of the images of de shamefully insulted by putting the entrails of slaughtered co where flower garlands used to lie, or else smashed to pieces. We remember how driven out of our native hamlets we wandere starving and naked, in the jungles and forests....."[82]

(This is only a short extract from a long harrowing tale misery).

3. Proceedings of the Conference at Calicut presided ov by the Zamorin. "Resolution VI. That the Conference vie with indignation and sorrow the attempts made in various qua ters by interested parties to ignore or minimise the crimes co mitted by the rebels such as

a. Brutally dishonouring women ;
b. Flaying people alive ;
c. Wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children ;
d. Burning alive entire families ;
e. Forcibly converting people in thousands and slaying th who refused to get converted ;
f. Throwing half-dead people into wells and leaving victims for hours to struggle for escape till finally released fr their sufferings by death.

(Two other items refer to looting and desecration of tem as described in the above memorial of the ladies).[83]

4. Typical instances of horrible outrages on women w described in detail in the *New India* edited by Mrs. Annie Be and the *Times of India*.[84] A sense of decency forbids us to produce them. Reference may be made to the brutal treatm of a respectable Nair lady at Melator and the way a large nu ber of Hindu girls were outraged. Inquisitive readers wo find these and other incidents in the Appendix of Sankaran Na book *Gandhi and Anarchy*. Sankaran Nair has referred to "three narratives out of literally hundreds that might be sele from the English and vernacular papers."

5. Sankaran Nair points out that 'in addition to those t tioned in these articles two other forms of torture were cre reported as having been resorted to in the case of men, na skinning alive, and making them dig their own graves before slaughter.[85]

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The Congress leaders at first disbelieved the stories. Gandhi himself spoke of the "brave God-fearing Moplahs" who were fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious." Little wonder that Khilafat leaders passed resolutions of congratulations to the Moplahs on the brave fight they were conducting for the sake of religion. But when hundreds of Hindu refugees arriving at Calicut confirmed the most terrible stories of barbarous and fanatical cruelty, a wave of horror passed over those Hindus who were not blinded by Gandhi's new-fangled ideas of Hindu-Muslim unity at any cost. Local members of the Congress and Khilafat asked for, and obtained, permission to enter the disturbed area in order to pacify the Moplahs, but they speedily returned with frank admission that they could effect nothing. When truth could not be suppressed any longer, and came out with all its naked hideousness, Gandhi tried to conciliate Hnidu opinion by various explanations, denials, and censure of the authorities which were crystallized in the follwing resolution passed by the Congress at Ahmadabad:

"The Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat Movement,[85a] specially as the Non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destructions of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Moulana Yakub Hassan and other Non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised."

This resolution is unworthy of a great national organization, which launched the Non-co-operation movement as a protest

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against the Panjab atrocities. Its deliberate attempt to min the enormity of the crimes prepetrated by a band of fa Muslims upon thousands of helpless Hindus betrayas a mem which is comparable to that of the Government of India i case of the Panjab atrocities in 1919, and must be strongly demned by any impartial critic. It is interesting to compare words—almost apologetic in tone—condemning the Moplahs those which are used against the Government for the fa severe though they are—of some officials. It is nothing sho ridiculous to maintain that the Moplahs would not have guilty of inhuman cruelties towards their Hindu brothers on the message of non-violence had been allowed to reach them is quite clear that they had heard of the Non-co-operation slo and Khilafat cries, but we are to presume that the 'non-viol part of it was carefully withheld from them. It is tacitly assu that these fanatic Moplahs were more amenable to the cu non-violence than hundreds of people—men of Chauri Ch for example—who had broken into violence even though the sage of non-violence was preached to them. Is it for this re one might ask, that while the excesses of the mob at C Chaura induced Gandhi to suspend Civil Disobedience, hundred times more heinous crimes of the Moplahs were allowed to disturb his equanimity—they did not raise ev ripple on the placid water of the Hindu-Muslim unity and N co-operation movement. The fact seems to be that Gandhi his blind Hindu followers were prepared to go to any lengt order to nurse the tender plant of Hindu-Muslim unity w had been grown by him, and had willy-nilly to be preserved a cost during the campaign against the Government, as success otherwise impossible. It is not necessary to imagine that Ga or his devoted Hindu followers were callous to the incre sufferings that the Moplahs had inflicted upon the Hindus. they perhaps thought that they had to swallow the bitter pil the sake of the greater good of the country as a whole.

There is no doubt that it was a great tactical blunder on part of the Government not to allow Gadhi to visit the lan the Moplahs. It might possibly have some good effect, and any case could not have worsened the situation. But the ref of such permission, six months before the outbreak, can hu

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e regarded as a conducive factor, far less the cause of it. It ill also be generally admitted that though the Moplah rebellion ay or may not be the direct outcome of the Non-co-operation ovement—available materials are, however, sufficient for pre- uming that it was—, it is impossible to dissociate it altogether om the spirit of defiance engendered by the Khilafat movement the very moment.

Mrs. Besant has definitely connected the Moplah rebellion ith the Non-co-operation and Khilafat movements, and many her eminent men have expressed similar opinion. Even Muslim aders indirectly supported this view. Thus Hasrat Mohani, in s Presidential speech at the annual session of the Muslim eague, held at Ahmadabad on December 30, made the following bservations about the atrocities of the Moplahs:

'The Moplahs justify their action on the ground that at such critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the nglish, their neighbours (Hindus) not only do not help them observe neutrality, but aid and assist the English in every way. hey can, no doubt, contend that while they are fighting a defen- ive war for the sake of their religion and have left their houses, roperty and belongings and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it s unfair to characterise as plunder their commandeering of oney, provisions and other necessaries for their troops from the nglish or their suppoters,"

In characterizing the Moplah action as a religious war against he British, Hasrat Mohani definitely regards it as a political ovement which cannot be dissociated from the Khilafat gitation.

His justification of the atrocities of the Moplahs is not only uerile in the extreme, but directly contrary to facts. He ignores he patent fact that in the majority of cases, the almost wholesale ooting of Hindu houses in portions of Ernad, Valluvanad and Ponnani *taluqs* was perpetrated on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of August before the military had arrived in the affected area, i.e. ong before the Moplahs had betaken themselves to hills and ungles. It would be interesting to know whether Hasrat Mohani egarded the forcible mass conversion and inhuman outrages on Hindu women by the Moplahs also as dictated by military ecessity ?

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The levity with which the Muslim and Congress le treated the Moplah outrage is nothing short of scandalous. Moplah outrages far exceeded in enormity those perpetrated ing the Martial Law in the Panjab. If the action of the B Cabinet and the Viceroy in condoning or ignoring those ou was considered by Gandhi as *raison d'etre* of the N.C.O. paign, what are we to think of the remissness of Gandhi an followers in respect of instituting a proper inquiry and taking per steps to punish the delinquents in Malabar ? By their tude towads the Moplah outrages Gandhi and the Congress feited their moral right to criticize the action of the British a rities in respect of the outrages in the Panjab. Gandhi's eja tions about the "God-fearing Moplahs" and the congratula showered on them by the Congress and Muslim leaders, remin of O' Dwyer's telegraphic approval of Dyer's action. The sa part of the whole episode is that the two great virtues which vated Gandhi above every other politician, viz., an unflin regard for truth and a high sense of morality and justice sacrificed at the altar of the Hindu-Muslim unity, which w the best, a pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp, and at the wo political expediency.

In view of the callous attitude of the Hindu leaders condoning of the conduct of the Moplahs by the Muslim le can scarcely be a matter of surprise. Reference has been m above to the views of Hasrat Mohani—the great 'national' ch pion of Indian independence and 'the intrepid Muslim par as Muhammad Ali called him in his Presidential Address a annual session of the Khilafat Conference at Ahmadabad the session of the Conference at Cocanada held in 1923, all the woeful tales of barbarous outrages committed by Moplahs were widely known all over the country, the other national leader, Shaukat Ali, President of the session, mov resolution for the provision of Moplah orphans and fam "Thousands of Moplahs", he said, "had been martyred (sic they owed a duty, both on religious and humanitarian gro to these brave Moplahs". While conceding that some H had suffered at the hands of the Moplahs, he said the w chapter was a closed book to them ; but they had a duty t brave Moplahs. He announced that he and his brother w

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each provide for the maintenance of one Moplah orphan. Member after member rose to narrate the sufferings that the Moplahs had endured in the hands of the Government, but there was no reference to the inhuman barbarities committed by them upon the Hindus. The Khilafat Conference adopted the resolution moved by Shaukat Ali, and funds were collected for the maintenance of the Moplah orphans. One looks in vain for a similar action on the part of Gandhi and the Congress leaders to help the victims of the Moplah outrage.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference, held at Cocanada on December 28, 1923, proceeded further still. It passed a resolution condemning the atrocities committed on the Moplahs and decided to raise a fitting memorial to perpetuate the memory of the Moplah martyrs![86]

B. Satyagraha for Reforms in Religious Institutions.

The two notable incidents under this head were the *Satyagraha* movement at the temple of Tarakesvara in Bengal, and the Akali movement in the Panjab ending in the Nankana tragedy. Both the movements originated in an effort to remove the glaring abuses in the management of old religious institutions, with rich endowments, and received their inspiration from the political movement launched by Gandhi.

The *de facto* proprietor of the temple at Tarakesvara was the *Mohant* or the resident abbot. Though supposed to lead the life of an ascetic and religious teacher, persons holding the post were known to be of vicious character and lax morality. Serious allegations were made against Satis Giri who was the *Mohant* in 1924. C. R. Das, the leader of the Swarajya Party, first attempted to negotiate a settlement with him, but it proved unsuccessful. So Das launched a *Satyagraha* movement in 1924 for taking peaceful possession of the temple. But as soon as the volunteers began to move towards the temple, the Police appeared on the scene. "The usual Satyagraha scenes were re-enacted at Tarakeswar—peaceful volunteers moving up from one side and the Police attacking them mercilessly on the other and occasionally making arrests." The movement became very popular all over Bengal and the *Satyagraha* campaign went on for several months. Ultimately the *Mohant* was forced to come to a compromise with

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Das and an agreement was drawn up whereby the temple and major portion of the property attached to it was to be placed under the administration of a public committee. It involved the creation of a Trust approved by the High Court. But at this stage a third party raised some objections, and while the matter was under consideration Das suddenly died, and the *Mohant* ratified the agreement. Thus the whole thing ended in a lamentable failure.[87]

Far greater interest attaches to the Sikh movement on the same line which commenced at an earlier date and undoubtedly inspired the movement against the *Mohant* of Tarakesvara. The Sikh League, inaugurated in 1919 with the avowed object of safeguarding the political and religious interests of the Sikh people, turned its attention to the mismanagement of the Golden temple at Amritsar. Under the influence of the prevailing spirit of non-co-operation, resolutions were passed at a Sikh Conference in 1920, demanding control by the Sikhs themselves of their religious and educational institutions without interference of any kind from the Government. As a result of their efforts the Sikhs secured full control over the Golden Temple and the Khalsa College. Encouraged by this success a Committee, called the 'Gurudwara Prabandhak' or the Reformed Sikh Committee was formed in November, 1920, to undertake the management of the Sikh Gurudwaras and other religious institutions. The Sikh shrines, many of which enjoyed considerable revenues, were hitherto under the *Mohants,* or resident abbots. These were generally of licentious character, and were accused of malversations and abuses of every kind. As a result of the agitation some shrines voluntarily surrendered their control to the reforming party, and a few were occupied by force, leading to fracas. The reformers now planned to take possession of the Nankana Gurudwara, the wealthiest of the Sikh shrines, with an income of several lakhs of rupees. They proposed to hold a grand *Diwan* or session of the Khalsa at Nankana Sahib to inquire into the administration of the shrine.

The body of Puritan Sikhs, known as the Akalis, formed the vanguard of the reforming party. They used to form *jathas* or companies which travelled from shrine to shrine in their work of reformation. On February 23, an Akali *jatha* appeared at Nan-

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kana Sahib, but was refused admission inside. A second company of 150 appeared and quietly entered the temple. The doors of the temple were shut after they had entered, but when the doors were opened again, there was no trace of the *jatha*.

The chief *Mohant* of Nankana, Narain Das, had engaged a body of five hundred hooligans and Pathans, and as soon as the *jatha* had entered, the doors were closed and the Akalis were attacked with rifles, revolvers, and other missiles. All the Akalis were killed and their dead bodies were burnt with wood and kerosene oil. Evidently their bodies were cut to pieces, for traces of different parts of the bodies, chopped off into bits, were found in the burnt heaps.

This grim tragedy stirred the whole country and eventually the management of the shrine was made over to the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. After a protracted trial, the *Mohant* and seven others were sentenced to death.

C. The Assam Coolie Exodus and the Chandpur outrage.

Early in May, 1921, there was a stampede of labourers from tea plantations in Assam. The lot of these coolies has always been very miserable, as mentioned above,[88] and owing to a slump in tea trade there were great reductions and wholesale dismissals in some gradens managed by Europeans. There was also probably the indirect influence of the Non-co-operation movement which generated a belief in the minds of the coolies that Gandhi was a divine incarnation and *charka* was remedy of all the evils they were suffering from. In any case, about 12,000 men and women left the garden and walked towards their distant homes with the cry of *Gandhi Maharaj ki jai* on their lips. A large number of them reached Chandpur and was halted there as they had to cross the mighty river Padma in order to proceed to their destination. At first Mr. Sinha, the Sub-Divisional Officer (S. D. O.), spent some money to facilitate their transportation, but this was stopped by the Bengal Government, presumably under the influence of the tea-planters. Mr. Macpherson, a representative of the European Tea Association of Assam, came to Chandpur and, with the help of the S.D.O., tried to induce the coolies to return to the gardens. This alarmed the

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coolies who rushed towards a steamer lying by at the ghat. S. D. O. ordered the gangway between the steamer and the ceiving flat to be removed and several coolies were reported have fallen into the river. The coolies were then driven to Railway station. In course of the melee the S. D. O. is alleged to have been struck by some coolies. Thereupon the Divisional Commissioner, Mr. K. C. De, who was at Chandpur, wired a batch of armed Gurkhas from Narayangunj. Next night about 10-30 P. M., when the coolies were peacefully resting the Railway shed, they were asked to remove themselves immediately, but some of them refused or delayed. Thereupon Gurkhas fell upon these coolies—men, women and children and by kicks, and beating with sticks and butt-ends of their forced them to leave the Railway station and take refuge in open ground even though it was raining. Mr. C. F. Andrews who visited the place next day, has given a heart-rending account of the persecuted and oppressed refugees—poor, feeble, emaciated women, with their babies, dragging wearily along by the hand their little children, who were quite unable to move quickly, while all the time the Gurkha soldiers kept beating them with the butt-ends of their rifles in order to force them to move faster. For the next few days there was a complete *hartal* in the town and the local leaders fed and looked after nearly 4,000 stranded coolies. From this time the Non-co-operation leaders were at work. There was a Railway strike followed by a Steamer strike organized by C. R. Das and J. M. Sen Gupta. The strike began on May 24 and lasted till the middle of September. For more than three months the whole land and water traffic route to Chittagong Division was in complete deadlock. Even C. R. Das had to risk the crossing of the Padma river in a country boat when he went to Chandpur to organize the strike. Sir Henry Wheeler, a member of the Executive Council, inquired into the matter and submitted a long report, justifying the action of the officials.[89]

A non-official Inquiry Committee was appointed by the Tippera Congress Committee with J. M. Sen Gupta as Chairman. The report of the Committee fully endorses the story of brutal assault as given above. Wheeler held that the injuries were inflicted on a small number of coolies and these were of very mi-

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nature, and not at all serious. He also denied that the bayonets were used. According to the non-official Committee the evidence of the station staff who were present at the time of the occurrence prove that "injuries were inflicted with *lathis*, butt-ends of guns and bayonets", the number of injured coolies was very large, and many of them received very serious injuries. According to the non-official Committee the assault was serious and a premeditated one. Mr. K. C. De, the Commissioner, admitted that the assault was begun almost immediately after the Gurkhas had arrived, and there was hardly any interval between the moment when the coolies were asked to clear and the moment when the beating actually began.[90]

D. The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha

On 1 May, 1923, the police authorities at Nagpur objected to a procession carrying the National Flag, and promulgated section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to prohibit it. The volunteers disobeyed the order and were arrested and sentenced. The Movement received the blessings of both the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. It soon developed into an All-India Movement and volunteers poured in from different parts of India. It was guided and inspired by the two Patel Brothers—Vitthalbhai and Vallabhbhai—, and Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was also arrested in connection with it. The Government demanded that the processionists should apply for permission, but the Congress claimed the right to proceed along any public road without let or hindrance. A big procession was taken out on the 18th March and it was intended to be a trial of strength between the Government and the volunteers. But, curiously enough, the procession was allowed to pass. The Government gave out that the Congress had asked for permission, but the Congress contended that it never did so.[91]

E. Bardoli No-Tax Satyagraha (1928).

In order to complete the picture we may mention here a remarkable case of *Satyagaraha*, though it took place somewhat later, in 1928. Reference has been made above to Gandhi's decision to launch a mass Civil Disobedience movement in the *tahsil* or *taluk* of Bardoli in 1922, and his sudden abandonment of the project in view of the tragic happenings at Chauri Chaura.

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In 1928 Bardoli launched the no-tax campaign which consti a landmark in the history of *Satyagraha* movement in India arose out of the periodical revision of assessment of the revenue in Bombay after every thirty years. As a result of revision the revenue of two neighbouring *taluks* of Bardoli Chorasi was raised by 30 per cent and later, as a result of test, reduced to 22 per cent. But the peasants regarded this increase as too high and demanded an open inquiry w was refused. After much deliberation the peasants proposed withhold payment of revenue in case the Government stuck its decision. Gandhi studied the situation and blessed struggle, which was carried on under the leadership of Sa Vallabhbhai Patel.

Patel organized the *taluk* by setting up about twenty ca in convenient centres placed in charge of 250 volunteers. February 12, 1928, a representative conference resolved that revision settlement was arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive, called upon all landholdrers to refuse payment of revenue the Government accepted it at the old rate or appointed an partial tribunal to settle the whole question of revision by vestigation and inquiry on the spot.

Men, women and children attended the meeings called the Sardar, and took pledge to remain non-violent, to suffer the utmost, and cheerfully lose everything they possessed. new spirit pervaded the whole *taluk* which was almost conver into a military camp, where fighting, sacrifice, and defiance w on the lips of everyone.

"The Government tried its best to compel payment. It t flattery, bribery, threats, fines, imprisonment, forfeiture, *lathi* charges. It attempted to divide the communities. Prop on a large scale was attached and sold for a song to outside as no local buyer came forward. They attached about 1 acres of land and sold it by auction. Pathans were emplo to threaten people and create an atmosphere of fear. But this only infused more solidarity in the *taluk*. A strong so boycott was imposed on all Government representatives against those who bought the attached property. But phys necessities were never denied even to the opponents.

"The whole of India sympathised with the struggle,

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looked with admiration on the heroes of Bardoli. Women, no less than men, took part in the struggle. Several members of the Legislature resigned as a protest against the repressive policy of the Government. The matter was also discussed in the Parliament. The peasants stood firm and non-violent. After five and a half months' struggle, the Government yielded and the Governor appointed a Committee of Inquiry. All property that had been attached was restored, and village officers who had resigned were reinstated. The Committee found that the complaints of the peasants were substantially true and instead of 22 per cent they recommended only 6 per cent increment."[92]

IX. NON-CO-OPERATION AFTER GANDHI'S ARREST

1. Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee

The general situation, as it developed after the arrest of Gandhi, was reviewed by the All-India Congress Committee at Lakhnow on June 7-9, 1922. The Committee noted that in spite of the suspension of all aggressive activities by the Congress Committees, repression in a severe form was resorted to by the Government in several parts of the country, and that in consequence of this there was a widespread feeling that the country should be advised to resort to some form of Civil Disobedience to compel the Government to abandon their present policy and to concede the triple demand of the Congress. The Committee postponed the consideration of this question till the next meeting to be held in Calcutta on August 15, and requested the President to nominate a few gentlemen to tour round the country in the meantime and report on the situation to the next meeting. This is the genesis of the "Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee" to whose Report frequent references have been made above. The Committee, as finally constituted, consisted of Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, M. A. Ansari, V. J. Patel and Kasturiranga Aiyangar. Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Acting President of the Congress, was the ex-officio Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee made an extensive tour almost all over India in order to study the political situation. They issued a questionnaire and received written replies from 459 witnesses, of whom 366 were also orally examined. The Report of the Committee was submitted in October, 1922.

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The Committee made a general review of the success failure of the Non-co-operation movement, item by item, their findings have been referred to in the preceding sections. noted above, the Committee found a lack of faith in, and e siasm for, the constructive programme of the Congress on the of a large number of workers. At the same time the Comm held that the country was 'not prepared at present to em upon general Mass Civil Disobedience.' They, however, rec mended that the Provincial Committees be authorized to sanc limited Mass Civil Disobedience as contemplated by the India Congress Committee in its meeting at Delhi on Nove 5, 1921.[52] But it is clear from the whole Report, that altho this was the specific question which led to the appointment of Committee, it had ceased to be of any practical importance, the most engrossing topic which agitated the Congress lea was the question of entry into the Legislative Councils.

2. The Council Entry

It appears that as soon as the militant phase of the N co-operation movement was suddenly brought to an end February, 1922, and the first outburst of rage, resentment protest at the unexpected action of Gandhi had passed away, leaders set their heads together to devise the programme of w for the future. They knew full well that the country had great enthusiasm for the constructive programme chalked out a substitute, and the arrest of Gandhi left no hope for the rev of the fighting programme in its old form. Some of them the fore hit upon the idea of carrying on the fight inside the legislat set up by the Government of India Act, 1919. Of course would mean going back upon the Congress resolution carried a a keenly contested fight in the Calcutta session of Septem 1920, and almost unanimously passed in the Nagpur Session the end of the year. The Congressmen therefore at first some hesitation in giving public expression to this view, a would tacitly imply a confession of defeat in respect of an portant item of the programme. But gradually, the idea deve ed and assumed a new form which might, in the opinion of so be made to fit in with the basic idea of Non-co-operation. the majority were in a hesitant mood, and it is significant

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his all-important question was not specifically referred to the Enquiry Committee, though it looms large in their Report and may be said to be its chief topic for discussion.

There is no doubt that the idea was agitating the Congress leaders long before the Equiry Committee was appointed at the beginning of June in 1922. Subhas Chandra Bose tells us that the idea struck C. R. Das shortly after the Bardoli resolution, even when he was in the Alipore Central Jail, and he elaborated to his co-workers, then in prison along with him, his plan of non-co-operation within the legislatures. The idea was opposed by many and "discussions regarding this new plan were carried on vigorously from day to day in the Alipore Central Jail." "As these discussions went on for some weeks, two parties crystallized among the political prisoners in the Alipore Jail and they proved to be the nuclei of the future 'Swaraj' and 'No-change' parties." Perhaps the first hint of this new policy was given to the public in the Address of Srimati Basanti Das, wife of C. R. Das, in her Presidential Address at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Chittagong in May, 1922. "She stated that the Congress might have to consider a change in tactics and suggested, among other things, that the policy of non-co-operation within the legislature was worth considering." As Subhas Bose pointed out, "it was not difficult to guess who had inspired her speech, and taking it as a feeler sent out by her husband, a storm of controversy was at once let loose all over the country."[93]

The Enquiry Committee examined a large number of witnesses, and an overwhelming majority were against any change in the Congress programme of boycott of Councils. It is evident, however, that many of them did not grasp the full significance of the new idea of wrecking the Reforms from within, as it was gradually developed. But although a very strong majority deprecated the idea of Council entry, the members of the Committee were equally divided. Three of them, M. A. Ansari, C. Rajagopalachari and S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar were against, while the other three, Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru, and V. J. Patel, were in favour of it. Each group put its views separately in the form of minutes, and the elaborate arguments and counter-arguments cover nearly fifty printed pages, comprising about two-fifths of the whole Report. The main arguments, advanced by each may

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be summarised as follows. Those who were against Co entry urged:

1. The proposal involves a distinct violation of the princ of Non-co-operation and a clear departure from the policy o Congress.

2. It will mean an admission of the failure of Non operation, for even the particular form of Non-co-operation the Councils, which the other group proposes, was discussed rejected by the Congress in the Special session held at Calcu

3. That the country is definitely against the view, is pro by the evidence given before the Committee, for the Cou entry, as proposed by the other group, is supported only b negligible number of Congressmen. Although there is a str section in favour of entering the Councils, they are against t obstruction, but would rather follow a policy of responsive operation.

4. A campaign of entry into Councils would mean a di sion of the public attention and energy from the constructive p gramme and would have the certain effect of relegating it to cold shade of neglect.

5. It is absolutely impossible to secure a majority in Councils sufficient to create deadlocks in the manner contem plated.

6. As a large number of Non-co-operators, including most eminent leaders, are disqualified from membership of Council by reason of sentences of imprisonment for over months passed against them, it will be inconsistent with respect and dignity for other Non-co-operators to think of enter into the Councils. Babu Rajendra Prasad voiced the pub opinion, when he said: "It would be cowardice to go and I the word for want of a stronger term."

7. As Mahatma Gandhi pointed out it 1920, in the Calcu session of the Congress, it was not a good and honest policy enter into an institution in order to wreck it. Besides, indis minate obstruction will be a manifest violation of the oath allegiance which every member has to take before accepting a s in the Council.

8. Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to Council Entry grounds which still hold good.

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9. The chances are remote for obtaining such a majority the elections as is one of the essential conditions of the success the scheme.

10. Even if there be such a majority the Government will ot be brought to its knees through the Councils deadlock, for overnment have many weapons like veto.

The arguments put forward by the groups favouring Council-try may be summed up as follows :

1. Political tactics are never immutable. They must hange with the change of conditions. As Mahatma Gandhi had xpressed it, when he defended himself for suspending Non-co-peration, "consistency is a desirable quality, but it becomes a obgoblin', when it refuses to see facts." Gandhi's whole poli-cal career illustrates this. He adopted *Satyagraha* in March 919, abandoned it after the disturbances in April, at the Amritsar ongress pleaded for co-operation ;—"from one pole to the ther, all in the brief space of eight months." After another hree months he began a march back from co-operation. Six onths later, Non-co-operation became the accepted creed of the ongress ; after a year's working it was extended by the All-India ongress Committee to include Civil Disobedience. Though, as ahatma Gandhi himself declared, the two movements were adically different in character, the change was effected without ny authorisation by the Congress. The Ahmadabad Congress ut its seal of approval on this change and laid down that "Civil isobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for rmed rebellion." The country was asked to suspend all other ctivities and concentrate on Civil Disobedience. Then at Bardoli, he Working Committee, under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, sked the country to suspend all agreessive activities and concen-rate on the constructive programme. In view of these sweeping hanges, suited to the altered circumstances, one need not attach much importance to arguments Nos. 1, 2, and 8.

2. We have failed to bring about such a complete boycott of the Councils as was contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi. The Nationalists being out of the way, it was a walk-over for the Moderates, and they took full advantage of the opportunity to fill the Councils. Mahatmaji hoped that the Moderates would resign as an overwhelming majority abstained from the polls. But in

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spite of a resolution to this effect in the Nagpur Congress, numerous meetings, and even special Conferences, the Moderates clung to their seats. The keeping of the Council chamber empty which was the real object in view, was not only not achieved, but was virtually defeated by the entry of the very persons who ought not to have been there. We made the co-operation of Ministers easy. To repeat it will be suicidal. For assuming that the Council cannot do any good, it cannot be denied that it can and is doing immense harm.

3. As to the item 7 above, the objections do not apply to merely contesting the elections and effectually preventing the co-operators from coming in. This question may be considered apart from the policy to be adopted after election. If we do not contest, we shall be out again for three years, in course of which many repressive measures affecting the daily life of the people will be enacted with the help of the so-called representatives of the people. Under these circumstances, it is a question for consideration how far the hold of the Congress over the masses can remain unaffected.

4. The policy of abstention seems to have lost its charm and it is not at all unlikely that a greater percentage of voters will poll at the ensuing elections, thus rendering nugatory the success of the Non-co-operation in 1920.

5. The oath of allegiance to the sovereign of England is incompatible with Congress creed, so long as we do not definitely lay down "independence" as the goal of the Congress. A Non-co-operator, who secures his election to the Council with a distinct mandate from his constituency to obstruct the proceedings at every step, does not act improperly if he enters the Council with the avowed object of paralyzing it after giving an undertaking in the form, "I will faithfully discharge the duty upon which I am about to enter." For he can faithfully discharge the duty only by acting strictly in accordance with the mandate.

6. The proposed entry into Councils involves a change in the programme and should therefore obtain the sanction of the Congress. But it is not inconsistent with the principles of Non-co-operation. As a matter of fact it was not included in the original programme of Non-co-operation, and was not considered as an essential feature of it at the beginning.

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7. The argument No. 6 would be valid if we intended to co-operate with the Government; rather it furnishes the strongest reason for our recommendation. We have silently watched the incarceration of our leaders and thousands of workers. An opportunity now presents itself to vindicate our national self-respect. We can carry the fight into the camp of the Government and tell them plainly that so long as our men are in jail, and other wrongs are not redressed, we refuse to co-operate with you. This would be the only dignified reply to terrorism and repression of the Government.

8. As regards objections Nos. 5 and 9, the evidence adduced before us strongly supports the belief that we shall be in a very substantial majority in all the Provinces if the Congress and Khilafat declare in favour of entering into the Councils.

9. The objection No. 10 ignores the elementary fact that there can be no greater paralysis of the system than Govenment by veto.

10. We are not only not making any progress in respect of constructive programme, but we are actually going backwards. But even if the constructive programme be pushed in right earnest, a substantial success, such as would win *'Swaraj'*, would take a long time to come, and in the meantime 'the nation will have gone completely under.' Realizing this, the Ahmadabad Congress advised a resort to Civil Disobedience. That has failed; nor is the country now prepared to embark upon general Mass Civil Disobedience. There is thus a stalemate. We must therefore have something else as nearly approaching Civil Disobedience as possible. While there is a general desire for that 'something' among those who are against entering into the Councils, no definite and workable suggestion has been made by any of them.

The publication of the Report of the Enquiry Committee in October, 1922, was followed by an acrimonious discussion all over the country between the orthodox section of the Congress and those who favoured the entry into Councils. C. R. Das put his whole weight on the side of the latter and, with Pandit Motilal Nehru, became the recognized leaders of the new movement. The whole question was discussed at length in the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, held in Calcutta

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on November 20-24, 1922. "At the end of five days' criticism, invective and diatribe, the Committee resolved the country was not prepared for Mass Disobedience", authorised P. C. C's to sanction limited Civil Disobedience. harder question of Council-entry was held over for decis the next session of the Congress.[94]

The annual session of the Congress was held in Gaya tense atmosphere (December 26, 1922). C. R. Das, Presidential Address, made a vigorous plea for Council- "These Councils must," he said, "be either mended or Hitherto we have been boycotting the Councils from ou We have succeeded in doing much— the prestige of the Co is diminished, and the country knows that the people who those chambers are not the true representatives of the p But though we have succeeded in doing much, these Co are still there. It should be the duty of the Congress to bo the Councils more effectively from within. Reformed Co are really a mask which the Bureaucracy has put on. I co it to be our clear duty to tear this mask from off their The very idea of boycott implies, to my mind, something than mere withdrawal. The boycott of foreign goods mean such steps must be taken that there may be no foreign goo our markets. The boycott of the Reformed Councils, t mind, means that such steps must be taken that these Co may not be there to impede the progress of *Swaraj*. The successful boycott of these Councils is either to mend the a manner suitable to the attainment of *Swaraj* or to end completely. That is the way in which I advise the nati boycott the Councils." Das then elaborated his views, answ the arguments against Council-entry. These more or les lowed the line of discussion in the Report of the Enquiry mittee mentioned above. He emphasized the twofold asp the Non-co-operation movement. One was destructive an other constructive, complementing each other and always hand in hand ;—such as the boycott of schools and colle the one hand and establishment of national schools and c on the other ; the boycott of foreign goods and the sp wheel and the looms on the other. "Judged by this prin asked he, "what is wrong about the desire either to conv

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uncils into institutions which may lead us to *Swaraj*, or to stroy them altogether? The same twofold aspects of creation d destruction are to be found in the boycott of Councils in e way I want them to be boycotted."

The question was hotly debated both in the Subjects Committee and in the open session of the Congress. Rajagopalachari oved the resolution against Council-entry to which there were veral amendments in the Subjects Committee. There were two fferent sections among the supporters of the Council-entry. oth agreed to contest the election, but while one held that the ected members should refuse to take the seats, the other wished leave the question open to be decided by the next Congress. he first view was sponsored by Srinivasa Aiyangar, and the cond by Motilal Nehru. After all the motions were moved, adan Mohan Malaviya made a brilliant address lasting for an ur. He considered that the best way of proceeding forward as to enter the Councils solidly and using that weapon to break e citadel of Bureaucracy.

Srinivasa Aiyangar's motion of contesting elections but not tering Councils was first put to vote but was lost, 107 voting r, and 139 against it. Rajagopalachari's motion that all voters all abstain from standing as candidates for the Council and om voting for any such candidate was pressed to a division. It as carried by 203 votes against 87. In the open session of e Congress the resolution of Aiyangar was defeated by 1740 tes against 894 votes and Rajagopalachari's motion was carried a large majority.

To complete the no-change programme, the Congress passed solutions maintaining the boycott of Government and Governent-aided and affiliated educational institutions, as well as the oycott of law-courts by lawyers and litigants. More important ill was the following resolution: "The Congress calls upon l Congress-workers to complete the preparations for offering ivil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the national rganisations and to take immediate steps for the collection of least Rs 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolent of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the condition of hmadabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya".

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The success of the orthodox or no-changer party seemed to be complete and there was a great jubilation in the Gandhian camp. But it was shortlived. For it was soon apparent that the Swarajya party would not take the defeat lying down and was determined to continue the fight.

3. Split in the Congress

The Congress concluded its session at Gaya on December 31, 1922, and the All-India Congress Committee met next on January 1, 1923. Before the business commenced, C. R. Das announced his resignation of the office of Congress President and made a statement in explanation or justification of his action. The proceedings of the Congress, said he, convinced him that there are at least two schools of thought with fundamental differences. I cannot accept and cannot associate myself with some of the resolutions passed in the last session of the Congress. I must therefore work with those who believe in my programme. He therefore considered it to be his duty to resign the Presidentship. But, he added, "I am not leaving the Congress in the conviction that I shall be able to convert the minority into majority at no distant date."

Shortly after this the pro-Councillors issued a manifesto forming and constituting themselves into a party within the Congress, called the Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party. It accepted the creed of the Congress, namely the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means, and also the principle of non-violent Non-co-operation. C. R. Das was elected the President and Motilal Nehru, with three others, as Secretaries. The manifesto announcing the formation of the party was assented to by more than 100 persons including, among others, Hakim Ajmal Khan, V. J. Patel, N. C. Kelkar, Satyamurti and Jayakar.

The open defection of so many eminent leaders, including two stalwarts like Das and Nehru, marred the jubilation of the orthodox party over their triumph, for all reasonable men could foresee a split in the Congress camp. It was not long before this fear was realized. What was worse, the fight degenerated into an ignoble squabble. The gulf between the two parties, already wide enough, was further widened by intemperate and irresponsible utterances of the press. "Mutual recrimi-

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ame the order of the day and motives concocted in editorial laves were gratuitously fathered upon the leaders." The rness engendered by the party quarrels filtered down to all ions of the people. The result was that very little was done arry into effect the constructive programme adopted by the gress. The orthodox party only agreed in opposing the ncil-entry, but were sharply divided in their opinions Some hem aimed at mass civil disobedience through constructive gramme, while others preferred the *khaddar* and national edu- on programme for its own sake. "It was soon found that y quarrels were much better employment for the leaders than active effort to carry out the Congress resolutions."

In spite of the party squabbles, the leaders of the Swaraj y showed great activity in organizing their newly formed y. They conducted a vigorous propaganda all over the ntry,—Nehru in Upper India, Patel in Bombay, and Das in gal, C. P. and South India. After this preliminary propa- das all over India they summoned a conference at Allahabad March, 1923, and drew up the constitution of the Party and plan of its campaign. The conference was followed by ther series of propaganda tours by the leaders. Das stormed citadel of orthodoxy in Madras, and his success there, while ravating the bitterness between the two sections of the Con- ss, had its repercussions in other parts of the country. The cess of the Swaraj Party spurred the orthodox party into acti- y, but they were seriously handicapped by the series of com- nal riots to which reference will be made later.

Early in February, 1923, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad made attempt to bring about a compromise between the two sec- ns of the Congress, and, after repeated failures, succeeded in king them agree to a truce till April 30. The Council propa- nda was to be suspended on both sides during the period, d both parties would be at liberty to work out the remaining ms of their respective programmes. The compromise did not isfy the extremists on either side, and at the end of the period h party accused the other of violating the terms of the com- mise.

There was no doubt, however, that due to the propaganda the Swarajists or other causes, the no-changers were gradually

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losing their hold over the country. Although the Working mittee consisted entirely of no-changers, the All-India C Committee passed a resolution in Bombay, in May 192 no propaganda be carried on amongst voters relating to t cott of Councils. This raked up the bitter controversy earlier part of the year, and six prominent members of the ing Committee, including Rajendra Prasad and Rajagopa tendered resignation. The new members of the Working mittee, who took their place, did not belong definitely to of the two parties. They represented a fairly large body partisan congressmen who were seriously perturbed by the between the two warring sections within the Congress an to remove it by some sort of compromise. This party w to assert itself at the meeting of the AICC at Nagpur. The decided to suspend the operation of the Congress resoluti cotting the Councils and hold a Special session of the C to discuss the issue.

4. Rise of the Swaraj Party within the Congress

The Special session of the Congress was held at D September 15, 1923. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who p advocated the policy of the Council-entry. But the real the meeting was Muhammad Ali, who, after his two years was released on August 29, 1923. He was the most leader next to Gandhi, and all the parties looked towar for support. An orthodox Non-co-operator though he realized the growing strength of the Swaraj Party led by D Nehru, and felt that the only statesmanlike policy was to the Swarajists to follow their own course to wreck the C without any hindrance from the Congress. It was a great matic manoeuvre on his part to announce in the Congre he had received a wireless message from Yeravda (the prison where Gandhi was confined) in favour of lifting t on Council-entry. This had undoubtedly a great effect up audience, though it would perhaps be too much to ass it alone decided the issue. Both the groups had mustered in the Congress meeting and indications were not wantin the chances were in favour of the Swarajists. In any compromise resolution was adopted without any difficu

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was worded as follows :

"While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of Non-co-operation this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections, and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering Councils. The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to double their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and by united endeavour to achieve *Swaraj* at the earliest possible moment."

It may be added, by way of anticipating events, that this resolution was reaffirmed at the regular annual session of the Congress held at Cocanada in December, 1923, though by that time the elections were over. The reversal of the Gaya resolution at Delhi reflects great credit upon the leadership of Das and Motilal Nehru and great tribute must be paid to the energy and tenacity with which they carried on what appeared to many at the time to be a hopeless campaign. The action of Das, Nehru and their followers offers a striking contrast to that of the Moderates who seceded from the Congress on less vital issues and on less justifiable grounds.

Mohammad Ali's reference to the wireless message from Mahatma Gandhi roused a great deal of controversy, particularly after Srinivasa Sastri had announced that he had it from Gandhi himself that no such message was sent. Muhammad Ali, being accused of playing a hoax upon the no-changers and even of having deceived them, made a long statement to justify himself. It seems that Muhammad Ali told Devadas Gandhi, the son of the Mahatma, that the great leader being in prison and unable to address the nation in favour of his views, for this reason, if for no other, there should not be any change in the Council-entry programme. Devadas reported this to the Mahatma when he interviewed him later in jail. The Mahatma said that he was still in favour of continuing the triple boycott, but added that if, in the changed circumstances of the country, Muhammad Ali was himself convinced that a change of any sort was necessary, he was to follow his own convictions and must not permit any loyalty to him (Gandhi) to weigh with his decision.

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After Devadas reported this to Muhammad Ali, the latter confirmed in his interpretation of Mahatmaji's message by article contributed by Mahadev Desai in the *Young I* Muhammad Ali added: "Subsequently when I moved in Subjects Committee the resolution for the removal of the ba Council-entry, I repeated almost word for word what I h from Devadasji."[95]

Even making due allowance for all the facts and circ stances, Muhammad Ali's explanation does not appear to quite satisfactory. In particular it is difficult to follow him w he says: "I certainly do not know of anyone who voted my motion or abstained from voting against it because he un stood that Mahatma Gandhi had sent a message asking people to do so." What other consequence could possibly fo from his words, it is not easy to imagine.

After the ban on Council-entry was lifted by the D Congress the real importance of the Non-co-operation move centred round the Swaraj Party whose history will be discu in the next Chapter. In the meanwhile we may trace the a vities of the other section of the Congress who was ag Council-entry and pinned its faith in the constructive program The activity of this section revived with the release of Ga early in 1924. Gandhi presided over the Belgaum Congress 1924, and brought about a final reconciliation between his f lowers and the Swarajists. But he laid emphasis on the boy of foreign goods, specially cloths traffic, based, as it was, on ruins of India's millions. As an 'ancillary' to this he stres the necessity of promoting hand-spinning and hand-weaving. had no animus, he said, against the Swarajists and was re to cling to them as a child clings to the mother. There wa frank and complete understanding between the two. T Swarajists agreed to his constructive programme and he agr to their work in the Councils.

But Gandhi kept himself severely aloof from any act political work. He devoted his whole energy to the construct programme. In addition to spinning, Gandhi directed his m attention to the uplift of Harijans (untouchables) and promot of Hindu-Muslim unity. His sincere efforts and perso example removed the thousand-year-old inertia of the Hin

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ciety, and a genuine movement to improve the condition of e lower classes and abolish untouchability stirred the whole untry. No other single man had ever done so much to wash f this black stain from the Hindu Community, and the move- ent made remarkable progress.

In one respect, however, the constructive programme com- etely broke down. This was the Hindu-Muslim Unity which, ong with the spinning and removal of untouchability, formed e three main planks of the constructive programme. The old ud between the two communities appeared again with renewed gour, after the brief interlude of Non-co-operation-cum- hilafat movement. Indeed the suspension of Non-co-operation ovement almost immediately broke open the dam which had opped the flow of communal passions, and they now swept in rrents the whole country for the next quarter of a century. his will be described in another Chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL EVENTS (1921—1928)

1. REFORMS AT WORK

The new constitution was brought into operation in Ja February, 1921. The Duke of Connaught, a son of Quee toria, was sent from Britain to inaugurate the Reform accordance with the Congress resolution at Nagpur, his vis boycotted by the people and placards were posted on the side carrying such words as "Boycott Connaught", "Rem Jallianwala," etc. On 9 February, while inaugurating th imperial legislatures the Duke, made a passionate appeal following words: "I have felt around me bitterness estrangement between those who have been and shou friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over th face of India.....No one can deplore those events mo tensely than I do myself.....I appeal to you all, Britis Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistake misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have t give, and to join hands and to work together to realise the that arise from today." Such an appeal was bound to fa had not the least effect on the Indians.

The New Reforms could not be wrecked by the N operation movement, for the Moderates who were electe not resign their seats on account of the smallness of the n of voters, as Gandhi hoped.[1] The Non-co-operators were, ever, right in their assessment of the real value of the Ref For it did not take the Moderates long to realize that n the popular Ministry nor the Legislature with elected m could exercise any effective authority in the administrati the country. Even after less than a year's experience, th organization of the Moderates, the Liberal Party, in their conference described the Reforms as unsatisfactory and for full autonomy in the Provinces and popular control ov Central Government in all subjects except defence, fo

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affairs, relations with Indian States, and ecclesiastical affair, at the end of two years. They also reiterated the view that India would not be satisfied unless adequate punishments were meted out to the Panjab delinquents. In these and other matters, such as the redress of Muslim grievances, condemnation of the repressive policy of the Government, etc., there was hardly any perceptible difference between the Moderates and the Non-co-operators.

Hemmed in between a hostile public and unsympathetic and unresponsive Government, the Liberal leaders would have found it hard enough to execute the task entrusted to them, namely to sow the seed of Responsible Government on Indian soil and nurse the tender plant, when grown, into maturity. But their task was made harder by the undisguised hostility of the Bureaucracy in India and the die-hard elements in England.

Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain, revealed the real British policy in his famous speech in the Parliament on 2 August, 1922. He made it quite clear that "Britain will in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India," and that 'the British Civil Service must remain as the steel frame on which the whole structure of British administration in India must rest for ever.'

This gave a clear indication of the kind of Responsible Government which the British had in view for India. Lloyd George's speech created almost a consternation in the ranks of the Moderates and strengthened the influence of the Non-co-operators. A resolution was moved in the Indian Legislative Assembly requesting the British Government to repudiate the statement of Lloyd George. The fact that in spite of the strong opposition by the Government such a resolution was passed in an amended form by 48 votes to 34, is an indication of the change effected by the Reforms. But the fact that it had not the least effect upon the British policy shows their hollowness.

Even apart from the utterance of Lloyd George, the Moderate leaders had already been disillusioned about the character of the Reforms by realizing the unpalatable truth that the I. C. S. still reigned supreme, and even the ministers had little or no control over them. One of the ministers very tersely explained their position in the following words : "Ministers occupy a

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position of responsibility without the power of freedom of act
The Act and the Rules made thereunder give power to
Secretaries and the Heads of Departments to take cases di
to the Governor who may overrule the Minister on the re
sentation of the Head of the Department or the Secretary."
Section 52(3) of the Government of India Act lays down
"in relation to Transferred Subjects, the Governor shall be gui
by the advice of his ministers unless he sees sufficient caus
dissent from their opinion." This clearly implies a consultat
with the whole body of ministers and the Joint Parliament
Committee emphasized the corporate responsibility of the mi
ters. But under the Rules which were prepared by the I. C.
and not by the British Parliament, the Governor could viol
the section 52(3) both in letter and spirit. He could, and as
general rule, did, consult the ministers individually. The mi
ters complained bitterly how they were overruled by the G
ernor even on petty matters. The ministers were comple
under the control of the Governor, and as one of them put
"it came to this that while the minister was responsible to
Legislative Council for his administration, it was the Gover
who had the final decision on almost all questions, though
was very little in touch with the Council."[2]

It is thus quite clear that contrary to what was intended a
expected, the Reforms gave the Governor more autocratic pow
than before, and the ministers could only exercise as little
as much authority as the Governor allowed them at his disc
tion. But it was soon apparent that even apart from the ille
timate interference by the Governor, the ministers had no reas
to feel that they were responsible to the people, through th
representatives in the Council. As a substantial number of me
bers in the Legislative Council were either officials or nomina
by the Government or returned by special constituencies un
the influence of the Government, the ministers could get a ma
rity of votes in the Council even though a clear majority of
elected members was against them. It has been calculated,
instance, that in Madras if ministers could secure the votes
only 23 out of 86 members elected from General Constituenc
(Hindu, Muslim and Christian), they would secure a majority
votes in the Legislative Council, if the Government wanted

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retain them in power. Thus the ministers were really responsible, not to the people, but to the Government, through the Council which could maintain them in power even against the popular will. A glaring instance was furnished by a vote of Censure moved against the ministers in the Madras Council in 1927. The motion was defeated and the ministers continued, but the Division list showed that a clear majority of elected members voted against the ministry. As far back as 1923 it was admitted by the Government that whips were issued to the officials and the supporters of the Government to vote for the Government and thus save the ministers. No wonder, therefore, that even the ministers themselves did not always recognize their responsibility to the Council. The Raja of Panagal gave out the bare truth when, opposing the vote of Censure in November, 1923, he said that 'he was responsible only to the Governor'. However amazing and incredible such a statement might appear, particularly when it comes from the Chief Minister of a Province, it serves to show that the so-called Parliamentary responsibility of ministers was nothing but a sham, at least in actual practice, as the effective authority rested not with the ministers but with the Governor whose actions could not be criticized by the Council.

Even the ministers, in their evidence before an official committee to inquire into the working of the Reforms, admitted that the system of Dyarchy had failed. There were, however, two redeeming features of the new constitution. In the first place, many of the ministers, even though severely handicapped, did their work with great ability and thus demonstrated, if such demonstrations were at all necessary, that the Indians were fully capable of carrying on the work of administration efficiently and with a full sense of responsibility.

Secondly, full use was made of the Legislatures by the elected members to elicit facts of public importance, and give forceful expression to public views and grievances. Although most of the important proposals could not be carried on account of the opposition of the official bloc, and even if carried, were vetoed by the Governor and Governor-General, it would be idle to deny that some grievances of the people were redressed. Reference may be made to the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923

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which restored the democratic character of the Calcutta Co
ration after nearly a quarter of century; the abolition of
special privileges enjoyed by the Europeans in criminal
against which the Indians carried on violent but unsucce
agitations in 1849 and 1883;[3] modification of the repressive
including the harsh press law; adoption of a scheme for im
ing military training to Indian youths leading to the estab
ment of a military college at Dehra Dun; laws for the amel
tion of the lot of Industrial workers, and Indian labourers in
British Dominions and Crown Colonies; and some meas
though inadequate, for improving trade and industry.

It is also significant that the political demands of the nat
alists were now made from the floor of the Legislative Asse
Hall.

It is thus quite clear that contrary to expectations, and
haps, also the intention, of the frames of the Government of I
Art of 1919, the Legislative Assembly exercised a great dea
effective influence on the Government of India and proved
far the most successful feature of the Reforms of 1919. Str
though it may appear, this was partly, if not mainly, due to
Non-co-operation movement, which exercised a great dea
indirect pressure both on the Government and on the Lib
Party which co-operated with it. In order to take off the
of the criticism that Reforms were a mere sham, the Governm
deliberately yielded on important demands, such as the revi
of the repressive laws. As mentioned above,[4] the Governm
admitted to have adopted this policy as a measure of cou
propaganda against the Non-co-operation movement. T
Liberal Party also had to stiffen their back and raise dem
partly to rehabilitate themselves in the good opinion of t
fellowmen, and partly to take the wind out of the sails of the N
co-operators. But for the spectre of the Non-co-operators sw
ing the whole country into a solid opposition bloc, the Gov
ment would not have gone out of its way to rally the Moder
and placate the people, extending the limits of concession as
as possible.

II. THE SWARAJYA PARTY

The victory of the Swarajists at Delhi in September, 19

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ame not a moment too soon. The elections were due to be
ld in November and they had barely two months' time to make
reparations. They issued a manifesto from Allahabad on
ctober 14, 1923, explaining the policy and programme of the
arty. They made it clear at the very outset that the Swarajya
arty was an integral part of the Congress and always kept in
iew the essential principles of Non-violent Non-co-operation as
ey understood them. The Party, on entering the Legislative
ssembly, would demand the right of framing their own consti-
ution, and if this be refused, and they constitute a majority,
ey would resort to a policy of "uniform, continuous, and con-
istent obstruction with a view to make Government through the
ssembly and Councils impossible." The manifesto made it
uite clear that for achieving their purpose they would try to
ecure the co-operation of the Nationalist members of the Legis-
atures who "without agreeing with the principles of non-co-
peration, are in sympathy with the Party programme so far as
t relates to Councils." The Party would also readily accept the
nvitations of other parties to join with them "for the purpose of
efeating the Government on any non-official measure opposed
y the Government or on an official measure opposed by the
nviting party or members."[6]

The election broke the spell of inertia that had seized the country as a consequence of the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement in 1922. The whole country rang with the exultant battle-cry of the Swarajists, and their success at the elections must be regarded as phenomenal in view of the very short period of time they had for preparation. The Swarajists practically routed the Moderate or Liberal Padty. Even veteran leaders of this party like Surendra Nath Banerji in Bengal, Sheshagiri Iyer in Madras, and Paranjpye in Bombay were thoroughly beaten at the pools. The defeat of S. R. Das (Calcutta), Mr. Chintamani (U. P.), Hriday Nath Kunjru and others completed the debacle of the Moderates who henceforth ceased to count as an effective factor in Indian politics. The utter disorganization of the Party was clearly reflected in the poor attendance at the session of the National Liberal Federation held at Poona on December 26. The President of the session, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ascribed the debacle of the Party at the recent

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election to lack of organization and failure to educate opinion. But the plain truth seems to be that they had fo the confidence of the educated classes and had no influence the masses.

The success of the Swarajya Party varied in d Provinces. It had captured the majority of seats in C. very few members of the Party were elected to the Leg Councils of Madras and the Panjab. In Bengal the Sw formed the single largest party, though they did not co an absolute majority of votes. In Bombay, U. P., and A the Swarajists were fairly strong; no member of the Sw Party was set up for election to the Legislative Council in and Orissa, but the Nationalists were returned in large nu

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the total numb officials and non-officials nominated by the Government respectively, 25 and 14, forming practically a solid block votes under the control of the Government. Of the 150 me elected by the people, the Swarajists numbered 48 and the a group, under the leadership of Jinnah, consisting of 24 bers, who called themselves Independent.

They held the key position as without their help neith Swarajya Party nor the Government could hope to g majority. The Swarajists therefore, at the very outset, can negotiations with the Independents which led to the for of the coalition that went by the name of the Nationalist The coalition was based on the programme of presentin national demand to the Government and to pursue a pol obstruction and refusal of supplies in the event of the G ment not making a satisfactory response thereto. This party programme was laid down definitely as follows:

"'If the Government do not make a satisfactory re to the resolution demanding reforms within a reasonable the Party (Joint Party) will then be bound to a policy of ob tion and will put the policy into operation at the earliest when the demands for grants are made by the Governme refusing supplies, provided the party decide by a major three-fourths, at a meeting specially to be convened fo purpose, that the response, if any, made by Government satisfactory."

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This policy worked remarkably well and the Joint Party chieved remarkable success. But the Independents soon hanged their mind and were not prepared to join the Swarajists, o the full extent, in the policy of obstruction. The result was hat though on some important occasions the Swarajists, with the elp of the Independents, inflicted defeat upon the Government, hey were defeated on many occasions when the Independents emained neutral, or some of them voted with the Government gainst the Swarajists.

When the fourth session of the Assembly opened in Delhi January, 1925, a revised rule was introduced by the Independ- nts to the following effect: "In the event of the Party desiring resort to a policy of obstruction including refusal of supplies rejection of Finance Bills, no such decision shall be taken in e Nationalist Party unless both the Swaraj and Independent arties have separately met in the first instance and decided at eir respective meetings to make it a party question. If either roup does not desire to resort to a policy of obstruction or of fusing supplies, the Nationalist Party shall not make it a Party uestion. In that event either group will be free to act as it may etermine."

This practically meant a definite end of the coalition and ade it impossible for the Swarajists to follow effectively their olicy of obstruction. This was undoubtedly the main cause of eir final decision to walk out of the Assembly, as directed by e Congress at the end of 1925.

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the proceedings f the Legislative Assembly; but a few facts may be noted to dicate the new spirit that animated the elected members.

On February 8, 1924, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of e Swarajya Party in the Assembly, moved by way of amend- ent to a motion already pending before the House that:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in ouncil to take steps to have the Government of India Act revis- d with a view to establish full Responsible Government in dia and for the said purpose (a) to summon at an early date representative Round Table Conference to recommend with e regard to the protection of the rights and interests of import- nt minorities, the scheme of a constitution for India, and (b)

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after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said sc... before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval, p... submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied ... statute."

The matter was discussed for full three days, namely, ... 13th and 18th February, and Nehru's amendment was carri... 76 to 48 votes. This was the first great victory—an a... historical one—of the Nationalists or Swarajya Party-cum-... pendents. This was shortly followed by other triumphs. ... the Budget debate on the voting of demands was held on M... 10, Nehru moved for the total omission of the grant u... Customs. It was carried by 63 to 56 votes. Similarly the Asse... refused the demands under the heads Income-tax, Salt ... Opium.

Next day Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Independent P... made it clear that they refused grants only to record their p... against, and condemnation of, the Government for refusi... grant reforms. But they had nothing to do with the wre... programme of the Swarajists, and so, after having estab... the principle, they would discuss the other grants in the ord... way. Nevertheless, the Finance Bill was thrown out by 60 ... against 57. Of course, the grants and Bills were certified b... Governor-General.

In the September session of the Legislative Assembl... Independent members were organised into a regular par... 28 members under the leadership of Jinnah. So the positi... the Nationalist party formed by an alliance between the S... jists and Independents became more secure and stable. ... most imporatnt subject that came up for discussion befor... Assembly was the consideration of the Report of the R... Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India, gen... known as the Lee Commission from the name of the Chai... Lord Lee.

On September 10, 1924, the Home Member moved a r... tion to give effect to the chief recommendations of the ... mission. The more important among these were the follow...

1. That while the existing system of appointment and ... trol of the All-India Services should, in present condition... maintained in Reserved fields, the Services operating in ...

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rred fileds should, so far as future recruits are concerned, be pointed and controlled by Local Governments.

2. The recruitment of Indians for the Services in Reserved eds should be increased as recommended (direct recruitment 40 Europeans and 40 Indians out of every hundred, the re- aining being promoted from the Provincial Service so that ere will be a half and half composition in 15 years).

3. The Constitution of a Public Service Commission.

4. That pay, passage, concessions and pensions be granted the officers on the scale recommended (increase of basic pay the Indian Police Service and the Indian Service of Engineers, ivilege granted to European officers to remit his total overseas y at two shillings to the Rupee, grant of four return passages the European officers and their wives and one passage for ch child, increased pension for the members of the I. C. S. ving as Member of Council or Governor).

Motilal Nehru moved a long amendment to the Govern- nt resolution of which the principal points were the following :

1. That the recommendations of the Lee Commission be t accepted.

2. That all further recruitment in England for the Civil rvices in India be stopped.

3. That the powers of appointment and control of the rvices now vested in the Secretary of State be transferred to e Government of India and the Local Governments, such wers to be exercised under laws to be passed by the Indian d Local Legislatures.

4. That a Public Service Commission be established in dia and the constitution and functions of that Commission be termined on the recommendation of a Committee elected by s Assembly.

5. That instead of accepting the recommendation number of the Home Member's resolution, a Committee elected by s House should go into the entire question so far as the present umbents are concerned.

There was a heated discussion in course of which Mr. ngachariar pointed out that there was a revision of pay on ground of high prices in 1919-20, when the prices had eady reached the highwater-mark, and there was a total

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increase of over a crore in emoluments. Now that prices fallen, they were asked to sanction a further increase of another crore and a quarter. Col. Crawford remarked that the House was representative to some extent of the intelligentsia India but it did not represent the voice of the people of India who desired to retain the European element in the Services the Pandit's amendment were carried, the House would still it was not a civilised body. More than one speaker pointed out that the Services should be in the real sense Services they were in other countries, but must not be masters.

After two days' debate the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru was put to vote and carried by 68 votes against 58 on September 12.

On September 16. Dr. Gour's Bill to repeal Part II of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1908 was passed by 71 votes against 31.

Although the Labour Government in Britain rejected the demand of the Swarajya Party for revision of Constitution it was evidently at their instance that a Committee was appointed in February, 1924, to inquire into the working of the Reforms. The Committee could not come to any agreement and there were two Reports. The Majority, consisting of five members recommended only a few minor adjustments. The Minority Report, signed by four members, held that Dyarchy had failed and should be replaced by a Unitary and Responsible Provincial Government.

The Committee had verbal and written evidence from past and present Ministers and Executive Councillors from the Provinces. With the exception of three disgruntled Ministers of Bengal who were driven out by the Swarajists in 1924, they expressed the view, supported by reasons, that the experiment of Dyarchy has already taught all that it can be used to teach, that it is impossible to work it satisfactorily, that it is condemned not only by themselves, who have tried to work it, and by politicians of all Indian parties, but by an increasingly pronounced popular feeling, due to its failure to fulfil popular expectations.[7]

The Labour Government which was responsible for appointing the Committee fell before the Report of the Committee

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bmitted, and a Conservative Government took its place. It is nificant to note in this connection that the Labour Party, at Conference in Liverpool, in September, 1925, declared "its reement with the conclusions of the Minority Report of the lian Reforms Inquiry Committee," and that Lord Olivier, iting in December, 1925, associated himself entirely with the olution passed by the Conference of the Labour Party at verpool.[8]

The Majority Report was condemned by all political parties l the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay, C.P. and the njab.

On September 7, 1925, the Report was discussed by the gislative Assembly. After Sir Alexander Muddiman moved the acceptance of the Majority Report, Motilal Nehru moved ong amendment. After reiterating the demand contained in resolution of February 18, 1924, it recommended some funda-ntal changes in the present constitutional machinery and ad-nistration of India. The more important of these were as lows :

1. The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall introduced in the Central Government subject to some reser-ion of Powers to the Governor-General.

2. Unitary and autonomous Governments shall be estab-ed in the Provinces.

3. The Central and Provincial Legislatures shall consist y of members elected on a wide franchise.

4. The Indian army shall be nationalised within a reason-y short and definite period of time.

Finally, the Amendment recommended the appointment of Convention, Round Table Conference, or other suitable agency frame a detailed scheme on the above principles. After a full-ss debate for two whole days, the Amendment was carried on tember 9.

The Government of Bengal as well as the Government of ia also suffered many defeats in connection with the notorious gal Ordinance issued in October, 1924, and the Bengal Crimi-Law Amendment Bill of 1925 which replaced it. Patel's Bill amend the Code of Criminal Procedure was passed on 19 rch, 1925.

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The coalition of the Swarajists and the Independents inflicted so many defeats on the Government in the Le Assembly broke down in the Budget Session of 1925, as n ed above.

On 25 February, 1925, Nehru moved the rejection demand for the grant re expenses of the Railway Board, old principle that there should be redress of grievances supply. Jinnah, the leader of the Independent Party, ann that his party discussed the question and thought that the of supplies was not a proper course.

On March 14, Motilal Nehru moved the omission whole demand for the Executive Council. It was, he motion of censure on the Government of India, and th rajya Party would vote for it on the principle of the ref supplies before redress of grievances. After a prolonged sion the motion was carried by 65 to 48 votes.[9] Bu demands were granted though the Swarajists opposed them. Pandit Motilal also opposed the Finance Bill and was a passage at arms between him and Jinnah, who c the Swarajist "purpose of wrecking the present constit The Bill was passed.

Nevertheless, the Swarajya Party scored a few more v with the help of the Independent members.

On January 26, 1926, the Assembly discussed the q of the release of political prisoners and the treatment ac to them in jails. The main resolution was moved by Muh Shafi, but T. C. Goswami, a Swarajist member from moved the following amendment :

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-G in Council—

(a) forthwith to secure the immediate release of all cal prisoners detained without trial ;

(b) to take steps to remove all difficulties in the the return to India of Indian exiles in foreign countri may be or may have been suspected of being concerned revolutionary or other activities regarded by the Governm prejudicial to the interests of India; and

(c) to bring to trial under the ordinary law of th

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such persons against whom the Government think that they have sufficient evidence to go to court."

The Government opposed the amendment but it was carried by 53 against 45 votes.

On February 26, the Assembly passed a motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the situation created by the hunger-strike among the Regulation and Ordinance prisoners in Mandalay jail, by 57 votes against 40.

This was the last victory of the Swarajya Party in the Assembly. For, the Congress in its Kanpur session, held in December, 1925, had decided to boycott the legislature. So, after the Budget was introduced on March 1, 1926, Pandit Motilal got up and announced that his party was under a mandate to walk out in view of the Government attitude over the Reform issue. He referred to the resolutions of the Kanpur Congress in December, 1925, and the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on March 6 and 7, to which reference will be made later.[9a] He gave a short history of the demands for constitutional reforms made by the Assembly and the refusal of the Government to make even any conciliatory gesture. The Government passed repressive laws in the teeth of opposition of the Assembly by powers of certificate and there was also the Lee loot. "The co-operation we offered", said Motilal, "has been contemptuously rejected, and it is time for us to think of other ways to achieve our object". In conclusion he said: "There is no more use of us here. We go out into the country to seek the suffrage of the electorates once more. We do not give up the fight.....We feel that we have no further use for these sham institutions, and the least we can do to vindicate the honour and self-respect of the nation is to get out of them and go back to the country for work in the country. We will try to devise those sanctions which alone can compel any Government to grant the demands of the nation. We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands, and will send us again, in larger numbers with a stronger mandate, and God willing, with the mission of fulfilling its aspirations and enforcing its commands."

After Motilal's speech was over, he and all the Swarajist members walked out of the House in a body. It must be said

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that the concluding part of Motlial's speech, quoted abo... not only vague but somewhat self-contradictory. If there no further use of these sham institutions, one might ask, why again seek for election to them? Nor is it easy to u... stand what is meant by a stronger mandate, or "those sanct... which will compel Government to grant the demands o... Swarajya party. It is not, perhaps, an unreasonable conje... that Motilal deliberately chose these vague expressions a... future course of action was not finally decided.

It was soon apparent that the interest, importance, e... siasm, and excitement walked out of the Assembly along... the Swarajist members. Mr. Jinnah moved for the omissio... the demand for the Executive Council in order that the H... might record its unequivocal vote of censure on the Goverm... policy with regard to the Reforms. Both he and Rangach... denounced the Government for their policy in regard to Refo... and the refusal to accept the hand of co-operation which... Swarajists had extended to them. But Jinnah's motion... defeated by 47 to 31 votes in spite of his pathetic appeal to... nominated and non-official European members.

In spite of the unfortunate end of the Swarajya Party's... vity in the Assembly there cannot be two opinions on the s... service they had rendered to the country. For the first time... Legislative Assembly wore the appearance of a truly nati... Assembly, where national grievances were fully voiced, nati... aims and aspirations expressed without any reservation, and... character of the British rule through sham legislatures ruthl... exposed. The British autocracy and Indian bureaucracy, in t... naked form as agencies of tyranny and repression, stood exp... to the whole world. This, by itself, was no mean achieve... even though the Party could not continue this useful fun... during the whole life of the Assembly owing to the secessio... the Independents. The stewardship of Pandit Motilal N... was fully vindicated, and the aims and aspirations of the Swar... Party were fulfilled to a very large degree.

So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned... Swarajya Party had an absolute majority of votes in the Co... Council. The Swarajists there, however, refused to accept... Ministry and forced the Ministers, appointed by the Gover...

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resign by the wholesale rejection of the Budget. In Bengal e Swarajists had not an absolute majority in the Council, but rmed the largest single Party. The Governor, Lord Lytton, ked C. R. Das, the leader of the Swarajya Party, to form the inistry; but he declined and the Ministers were selected from nong the non-Swarajist elected members of the Council. On nuary 24, 1924, J. M. Sen Gupta moved the resolution that ll political prisoners of and belonging to Bengal, detained der Bengal Regulation III of 1818, be forthwith released." fter a heated debate the resolution was passed by 76 to 45 tes. A similar resolution for releasing other political prisoners d another for repealing all repressive laws were also passed. he Swarajya Party, helped by some Independent members, th Hindu and Muslim, inflicted many defeats upon the Govern- ent, both in respect of demands for Grants, including Minis- rs' salary, and unofficial resolution for extending the scope of eforms. The Government, however, managed to win over me of the opposing members and thus thwarted the Swarajya rty. But the Ministers' salary being refused twice, they had to sign and the Governor assumed charge of the Transferred epartments.

No spectacular successes attended the efforts of the Swarajya rty in any Province, other than C. P. and Bengal. Still they casionally scored some significant victories against the Govern- ent.

In accordance with the directions of the Kanpur Congress December, 1925, the Swarajist members walked out of the ouncils.

Almost immediately after the Swarajya Party joined the egislature, Gandhi was released from prison on February 5, 24, on grounds of illness. He made no secret of the fact that e looked upon the Council-entry as incompatible with Non- -operation. Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das saw him, but he was t convinced by their arguments. He issued a statement on May , 1922, refusing to help the Swarajists, but in view of the ongress resolution in favour of the Council-entry advised the -changers to keep themselves absolutely neutral and prove eir own faith by prosecuting the constructive programme. Das nd Nehru issued a counter-statement saying that they did not

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consider Council-entry as inconsistent with Non-co-op but even if it were so, they would sacrifice even Non-co tion to serve the real interests of the country."[10]

But Gandhi was soon on the war path. He is statement to the effect that those who did not strictly the Congress resolution on boycott and Non-co-operatio members of legislature, practising lawyers, persons using or mill-made cloth, teachers of Government schools, etc. not be members of any Executive Body of the Congre A.I.C.C. and any local Executive Committee though they become ordinary members of the Congress. "The most thing for the Swarajists, therefore, is to work the const programme through their own organizations."

This very frank statement threw the country into a of heated controversy which was brought to a head b publication, on June 19, 1924, of the four resolutions Gandhi proposed to move in the next meeting of the A.I.C order to give effect to his idea of the reconstitution Congress organization.

The A.I.C.C. met at Ahmadabad on June 27, and af unsuccessful effort to arrive at a compromise, Gandhi mo first resolution to the effect that "all members, of vario presentative Congress organisations shall regularly spin least half an hour and send a specified quantity of yar month". There was a penal clause to the effect that any ber failing to do so shall be deemed to have vacated his o

As soon as Gandhi moved his resolution, Nehru ra point of order and argued that the resolution was agai Congress constitution. A heated debate took place an President, instead of giving a ruling on the point of order left it to the house to decide by vote. As 68 voted for and 82 against him, the discussion on Gandhi's resolutio taken up after the House re-assembled next day. Gan course of his speech while moving the motion, made the ing significant observation, presumably with reference to point of order. "If we feel", said he, "that we cannot p bring about Swarajya without trampling under foot the constitution, it becomes our sacred duty to override and sc

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that constitution. This is a time when we are justified in committing this breach in the constitution."

Pandit Motilal opposed Gandhi in a vigorous speech. "The Charka programme", he said, "was not going to bring them any the nearer toward Swaraj". He asked the supporters, of Gandhi to tell him how much they worked his 'Constructive Programme' during his imprisonment. He asked them to put their hands on their hearts and 'tell us honestly' if they believed in the Charka programme during the Mahatma's absence. Continuing in the same strain, Motilal said: "We believe in the Constructive Programme, but we do not believe that by itself and without any other activity it will, or can, lead to Swaraj within a reasonable period of time.....The Indian National Congress belongs as much to us as to the opposite party. We will not allow, if we can help it, the constitution to be changed according to the caprice of a narrow majority whenever it may think necessary to crush the minority. The demand that the Swarajists should go out of the Executive is, under the circumstances, an unreasonable demand, and it is only due to our self-respect that we must resist it."

In conclusion Motilal said : "We declare that the resolution under discussion is an unconstitutional contrivance, and we go away today only to return with a majority whose duty it will be to refuse its sanction to such unconstitutional attempts." With these words Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and their supporters, including Srinivas Iyengar, left the Hall in a body as a protest against the resolution of Gandhi.

The discussion continued, some opposing and some supporting the motion. An amendment to delete the penal clause was defeated and the main resolution was then put to vote. It was carried by 67 votes against 37.

The fact that even among the non-Swarajists there were 37 members who were opposed to him, had a great repercussion on the mind of Gandhi. Its immediate effect was the deletion of the penal claluse of the resolution. Gandhi himself proposed that "in view of the fact that the penalty clause of the resolution was carried only by 67 against 37 votes, and in view of the fact that the said clause would have been defeated if the votes of those who had withdrawn from the meeting were given against

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it, this Committee considers it proper and advisable to re... the penalty clause from the resolution, and to reaffirm the ... resolution with the introductory clause.

This conciliatory gesture paved the way for an amic... settlement, and when the A.I.C.C. met next day, the third re... tion of Gandhi was moved in a modified form. The original ... tion accepted by the Working Committee ran as follows: "In ... opinion of the All-India Congress Committee it is desirable ... Congress electors do not elect to the Congress organisati... practising lawyers, those who deal in or wear mill-spun c... parents and guardians sending their minor children to ed... tional institutions under Government control, holders of Gov... ment titles, and members of legislative bodies, and the A.I.C... therefore requests such persons who are now members of ... various Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

The compromise resolution which was actually moved ... thus :

"The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention ... the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts, namely, ... all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, educational ins... tions, titles and legislative bodies, except in so far as they ... have been affected by the Cocanada resolution, are still part ... the Congress programme and, therefore, considers it desira... that those Congress voters who believe in the Congress p... gramme do not elect to the various Congress organizations t... who do not believe in carrying out, in their own person, the ... five boycotts, except where affected by the said Cocanada res... tion, and the A.I.C.C. therefore requests such persons who ... now members of the Congress elective organisations to re... their places."[11]

In spite of the efforts of a class of no-changers to delete ... reference to the Cocanada Congress resolution, the compro... resolution was passed.

The difference between the two resolutions shows ... Gandhi had practically given up the fight against the Cou... entry, so far at least as it had any bearing on the Cong... organization.

There was a strenuous fight over two other resoluti... moved by Gandhi, one condemning the action of Gopinath S...

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who had murdered a European, and another proposing that the resolution No. 3, already passed, should not apply to litigants before a Court. In the first case C. R. Das moved, by way of amendment, the resolution passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference at Sirajgunje on June 1, 1924, which was denounced by the Englishmen in India and even in the House of Commons. It ran as follows: "This Committee, while denouncing and dissociating itself from violence and adhering to the principle of non-violence, appreciates Gopi Nath Saha's ideal of self-sacrifice, misguided though it is, in respect of the country's best interest, and expresses respect for his self-sacrifice." The amendment was lost by only eight votes,—78 votes against 70.[12] As regards the second, the motion was ruled out of order by the President, at the instance of Dr. Choitram.

The proceedings of the A.I.C.C. meeting moved Gandhi to the depth of his heart and proved a great shock to him. He was grieved, he said, "to see his own immediate followers so shaky and so hypocritical". He observed that 'when Dr. Choitram rose to a point of order it was like a thrusting of dagger in his heart'. According to a contemporary account, "with these words the great leader collapsed, and after recovering consciousness spoke of retiring from the Congress."

Gandhi wrote two articles in the *Young India* under the captions "The A.I.C.C." and "Defeated and Humbled". He summed up the lessons of the A.I.C.C. meeting as follows:

"I had a bare majority always for the four Resolutions but it must be regarded by me as a minority. The House was fairly evenly divided. Gopinath Saha Resolution clinched the issue. The speeches, the result and the scenes I witnessed afterwards—all was a perfect eye-opener. I undoubtedly regard the voting as a triumph for Mr. Das although he was apparently defeated by eight votes. That he could find 70 supporters out of 148 who voted had a deep significance for me. It lighted the darkness, though very dimly as yet."

But the articles also broadly hinted that Gandhi would not give up the fight against the Swarajists and "must strive for a majority in the next Congress".

But suddenly Gandhi's ideas underwent a radical change. He felt an imperative need of closing the ranks not only within

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the Congress but also outside it among all other political pa
He evidently realised the serious consequences of the divi
in the country, among no-changers and Swarajists, among Hi
and Muslims, and between the Congress and the other po
parties. "Our non-co-operation," said he, "has taken the
of non-co-operation in practice with one another instead of
the Government." In a speech at the Excelsior Club, Bomba
August 31, 1924, he said: "There was no reason why we c
not find a common denominator of action. There must be s
things on which we could all unite and for the prosecutio
which we could all meet under the same roof."

Gandhi began his work by arriving at a settlement with
Swarajists. This was hastened and facilitated by the ter
campaign of repression in Bengal inaugurated by the
Ordinance of October. After three days' discussion in Cal
an agreement was reached between Gandhi on one side
Das and Nehru on the other. Its chief provisions were
follows:

1. The Congress should suspend the programme of N
co-operation except in so far as it relates to the refusal to
or wear cloth made out of India.

2. Different classes of work of the Congress may be d
by different sections within the Congress.

3. Spinning and weaving, removal of untouchability
promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity should be carried on by
sections within the Congress, and the work in connection w
the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried o
the Swarajya Party on behalf of the Congress and as an int
part of the Congress organisation, and for such work the S
rajya Party should make its own rules and raise and admi
its own funds.[13]

The change in Gandhi's attitude was shortly followed
that of C. R. Das. On March 25, 1925, he issued a state
condemning all acts of violence for political purposes, wit
reserve, and in words which even Gandhi could hardly impr
upon.

This manifesto was acclaimed as a new gesture not only
the Anglo-Indian Press, but even by the Government. In co
of the debate on the Bengal Ordinance in the House of Lo

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March 31, the Secretary of State, Lord Birkenhead, referred it in appreciative terms and observed: "I invite Mr. Das—d I have not used in the course of this debate a harsh word out him—to take a further step. I ask him to go forward and operate with the Government in repressing the violence which deprecates." On April 3, Das issued a statement regarding ord Birkenhead's remarks. He was not only willing but xious, said he, to devote the rest of his life to eradicate olence, but his efforts were bound to be ineffective unless a vourable atmosphere was created by the Government, by re-oving those deep-rooted causes of political and economic dis-ntent of which the revolutionary and violent activities are re symptoms. The moment the revolutionaries feel "that at y rate the foundation of our freedom is laid by the Govern-nt, I venture to assert that the revolutionary movement will a thing of the past. I suggest in all humility that there ould be a distinct and authoritative declaration by the Govern-nt at the earliest opportunity."

On April 6, it was stated by the Under-Secretary in the House Commons that "if, as he (Lord Birkenhead) hopes, Mr. Das w makes constructive proposals which obtain the support of e Government of Bengal and the Government of India, His ajesty's Government, so far as they are concerned, will give ch proposals their sympathetic consideration."

On May 2, Das outlined his policy in his Presidential speech the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Faridpur. He fended the ideal of Dominion Status as against independence. e also offered co-operation with Government on the following rms:

"In the first place, the Government should divest itself of s wide discretionary powers of constraint, and follow it up by roclaiming a general amnesty of all political prisoners. In the ext place the Government should guarantee to us the fullest cognition of our right to the establishment of Swaraj within the ommonwealth in the near future, and that in the meantime, till waraj comes, a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj ould be laid at once."

It is evident that Das extended the hand of fellowship to e Government even by sacrificing some of the cherished princi-

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ples of his party. As a matter of fact, the speech of Das c great discontent among a section of his followers and openly talked about that it was the result of a secret nego between Das and the Government. Even Gandhi had to p defend Das against all such accusations, and was at pains to out that "if they scratched Mr. Das, he knew they would fi same man desiring deliverance for his country." observed: "After they had made the choice of their leade Sita they should fall into the fire with him and all wo well."

It is very likely that some activities were going on b the scene. Fortunately Subhas Bose, who was in the confi of Das, has thrown some light on the whole episode. He defi states that Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, opened tiations with Das, and "these negotiations went on for months" on the basis of Dominion Status. In view of the importance of the matter we may quote a long extract fro account of Subhas Bose.

According to Bose, Das attended the Bengal Provincial ference at Faridpur in order to demonstrate to the Gover that he would be able to rally the Congressmen round him. in his Presidential speech, Das "discussed the question of D nion Status *v.* Independence as the goal of the Congress, declared that he stood for the former. Moreover, he spok condemnation of terrorism. The speech as a whole appear be an appeal to the Government and to the more extrem ments among the Indians to adopt a compromising attitu that the ground could be prepared for a settlement. It however, not welcomed by the youthful section of the aud and there was a possibility that he would be defeated whe matter was put to the vote. Nevertheless, so great w personal influence at the time and so transparent his sin of purpose that he carried the day. The deliberations o Faridpur Conference were on the whole satisfactory to authorities with whom the Deshabandhu was engage negotiating.

"Soon after this, Lord Reading left India for London, a Conservative Cabinet and the Secreatry of State for India, Birkenhead, wanted to consult him. By that time it was i

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ir that negotiations had been going on between Deshabandhu as and the Government, though hardly anyone knew any etails. It was announced that after consulting Lord Reading, ord Birkenhead would make an important pronouncement bout India. Everyone in India awaited his speech with the reatest interest and eagerness."[14]

Then there was a bolt from the blue. In June Deshabandhu as, who was having a rest in the hill-station of Darjeeling, fell eriously ill. After a brief attack he suddenly died on 16 June, 925.

According to Subhas Bose, the death of Das induced the ritish Government to change its mind; the official pronouncement, carefully prepared by Birkenhead on behalf of the Cabinet, nd announced to be made on 7 July, 1925, was suppressed, and non-committal speech was made instead on that day. The overnment of London, relieved for the time being by the death f their chief adversary, refused to grant concession in a hurry nd once more fell back on the policy of 'watch, wait and see.'[15]

The death of C. R. Das and the speech of Birkenhead rought about further reconciliation between Gandhi and the warajists. This was indicated by the following resolution of he A.I.C.C.:

"That the Congress now take up and carry on all such olitical work as may be necessary in the interest of the country, nd for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and unds of the Congress...provided that the work in the Legislaures shall be carried on by the Swarajya Party under the constitution framed by the party and the rules made thereunder, ubject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be ound necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying ut the said policy." There was, however, one important eparture. A separate autonomous organization was set up nder the name of All-India Spinners' Association for the development of hand-spinning and *khaddar*. It was a permanent rganization under a Council of its own with a constitution laid own by the A.I.C.C.; and funds and assests of the Congress, hich were earmarked for this body, were specifically excluded n the above resolution from those availalble for political urposes. In other words, the position of the Swarajya Party

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vis a vis the Congress was now reversed; the party a politics now became the main concern of the Congress, a constructive programme was relegated to a separate non-p cal organization within the Congress. This was further e sized by changing the franchise of the Congress membersh annual subscription of four annas being restored as an native qualification to spinning, in modification of the de of the Belgaum Congress.

But ere long there was a split in the Swarajya Party, prominent section of it was in favour of adopting the poli Responsive Co-operation—the old policy of Tilak.

In the annual session of the Congress, held at Kanp 25 December, 1925, Sarojini Naidu presiding, Pandit M Nehru moved a resolution outlining the future political gramme of the Congress which now meant, of course, al the Swarajya Party. It sought to confirm the decision o A.I.C.C. at Patna, and reiterated the faith in Civil Disobe as the only effective weapon; but in view of the fact th country is not now ready for it a comprehensive program work both inside and outside the Legislatures was lalid d The directions to the Swarajya Party were as follows:

'The party shall wait tilll the end of February for a da of the Government on the demands for constitutional re set forth in the resolution passed by the Assembly on Feb 18, 1924. If no satisfactory reply be received by that dat Swarajist members of the legislatures shall walk out, t provision was made for attendance on special occasions.'

Malaviya moved an amendment to the resolution sought to omit the clause relating to Civil Disobedience an down the following programme. "That the work in the L latures shall be so carried on as to utilize them to th possible advantage for early establishment of full respo government, co-operation being resorted to when it m necessary to advancement of the same cause."

Jayakar, who seconded this amendment, dramat announced at the very outset that he, Kelkar and Moonj resigned their seats in the Legislatures as they could not cribe to the policy of the Swarajya Party. He said that they must come out of the Councils altogether, or, bei

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take the last juice out of it by occupying every place of power, itiative and responsibility and would give no quarter to the ureaucracy."

The amendment was, however, lost and Nehru's resolution as passed by a large majority.

The All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi on March and 7, 1926. As no satisfactory response was made by the overnment to the demands for constitutional reforms the Swa-ajists members in the Assembly were directed to leave their eats on March 8, after moving for the rejection of the first emand for grant. The A.I.C.C. then laid down the programme nd principles for the next general election, more or less on the ame lines as before.[16]

In the meantime the revolt of the Responsive wing of the warajist Party was complete. The resignation of Jayakar, elkar, and Moonje was followed by an open declaration of the warajist members of the Bombay Council against the pro-ramme of the Party, and the Berar members resigned from the warajya Party as a whole. The Responsive Co-operators held Conference at Akola on February 14 and 15, under the chair-nanship of Jayakar, formed a new party named "The Responsive Co-operation Party", drew up a manifesto, and adopted a resolu-ion expressing disagreement from the policy laid down at the Kanpur Congress as it was ineffective either to obstruct the machinery of the Government or to advance the interests of the people.[17]

The revolt of Jayakar and his followers against the Swarajya Party soon merged itself into a general rally of all political parties outside the Congress round "Responsive Co-operation." Malaviya, who unsuccessfully opposed the walk-out resolution at he Kanpur Congress in December 1925, resigned from the Independent Party on 22 February, 1926, in order to bring toge-ther all Nationalists under a new party with the programme of Responsive Co-operation, and expounded his views in public meetings held at Delhi on 25 March, and at Lahore on the next day. About the same time, more than one hundred persons belonging to all political organizations, except the Swarajya Party, issued a manifesto on 24 March, 1926, inviting all to attend a Conference in Bombay on 3 April, in order to inaugurate

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a new organization to be called the Indian Nationalist which will follow the method of Responsive Co-oper The Conference was attended by about 125 members rep ing Liberals, Independents, Responsive Co-operati Nationalists and Conventionists. It brought into exist new party called 'Indian National Party'. It adopted Do Status as its goal, excluded mass civil disobedience and g non-payment of taxes from its programme, and laid down ponsive Co-operation as its method of work in the Legisl

On 23 June, 1926, a meeting was held in Calcutta to nize a party within the Congress which would work the R sive Co-operation programme. The meeting was presided by B. Chakravarti and addressed by Malaviya. A confre the party was held on 28 August.[19]

By the end of July, 1926, the most influential section o members of the Legislative Council in C. P. seceded from Congress and a statement was issued under the signatur Raghavendra Rao, Leader of the Swarajya Party in the Legislative Council, that unless and until Congressmen ar turned in a majority in at least two of the major Provinces, alone should not be harnessed to a programme of obstruct

Lajpat Rai tendered resignation from the Swarajya on 24 August, 1926. Malaviya made a last effort to unit different sections of the Congress and called a Conference the purpose at Delhi on 11 September, 1926. Motilal's wanted both Responsivists and Independent Congressmen accept the Congress pledge and thereby enable the forthco elelctions to be run by one united party leaving the questio policy and programme to be adopted in the Legislatures decision by the next Congress in Assam in December. The ponsivists and Independent Congressmen did not agree to they formed a coalition party known as the Independent Co Party, formed of those members who did not agree wit Congress policy and programme within the Legislature. It decided to form a central board which would define a co policy and run candidates for election to the Legislatures. Party issued a manifesto on 28 September, 1926, laying the policy and programme on the basis of Responsive operation.

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For the Swarajya party the hour was dark indeed, and the sition was rendered worse by the communal dissensions to hich reference will be made later. The election of 1926 was ld under the shadow of grave communal disturbances and eir political reaction went definitely against the Congress. A rong section of the Muslims made a propaganda against Non-operation, and a section of the Hindus felt that if the Hindus n-co-operated while the Muslims co-operated with the Gov-nment, the Hindus would be placed at a great disadvantage. e inordinate length to which leaders like C. R. Das and ijpat Rai were prepared to go to propitiate the Muslims, as idenced by their proposed pacts, to be mentioned later, gave e to a general feeling that the Hindu interests were not safe Congress hands.

The Congress, i.e. the Swarajya Party, suffered heavy losses the election of 1926. In the Legislative Assembly they gained table successes only in Bengal and Madras. Most of the embers, returned in Bihar and Orissa on the Congress ticket, re really Responsivists. In C. P. and U. P. the Swarajists got ly one member each, and in Bombay, two.

The results of elections to the Provincial Councils were ually or still more disastrous to the Swarajists. In U.P., their mber went down from 31 to 19, and in C.P. from 44 to 15. e Panjab had only two Swarajist members, and Bombay, even.

The election results had evidently some effect on the ongress. In the Gauhati session the walk-out policy of Kanpur s given up and the old policy was resumed. It was, however, finitely laid down that "the Congress-men shall refuse to cept Ministership or other offices in the gift of the Govern-ent and oppose the formation of a Ministry by other parties til a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the ational Demand." The result of the election showed that hile among the Hindus the loyalty to the Congress generally umphed over communal interests, the Muslims had, generally eaking, returned reactionary elements dominated by communal nsiderations, and not nationalists, as they had done in 1923. e strength of the Congress Hindu bloc was, however, weakened the success of the Responsivist Party. Thus the United

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Swarajya Party in the Legislatures of 1923 gave place to distinct groups, namely, the Swarajists, Responsivists and munal Muslims. Its effect was clearly perceptible in Provinces and Bengal where Swarajya Party in 1924 had its greatest triumphs by forcing the Ministers to resign. to the Responsivist Party in C. P., and the Muslim memb Bengal, the Ministries in both these Provinces were kept saddle by 1926 election. In some Provincial legislature those of Bihar and Madras, the number of Congress memb 1926 showed an increase over those of 1923, but nowhere they gain sufficient strength to inflict defeat upon the G ment. As a political power, the Swarajya Party proved to spent force.

In the Budget session of the Legislative Assembly for Mr. Jayakar renewed the old campaign by moving reject the demand for grant under the head—Expenses of the ernor-General's Executive Council. But though the motio carried, it failed to receive solid support from the M members. It was clearly evident from the debates th nationalist ideas had been sacrificed to communal interests. Muslim members veered round more and more to the com electorate and even held the view that Swaraj without com representation and adequate safeguarding of Muslim interes not worth having. On the other hand, even progressive na list Hindus firmly refused to have Swaraj at the cost of con excessive and unreasonable concessions to communal de which cut at the very root of nationalism. This fundam difference broke down the common national front which co-operation movement had brought into being. The l politics lost life and vigour and once more flowed in narrow groove of communal channels.

The British Government correctly gauged the situatio no longer felt any need to placate public opinion.

III. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE CONGRESS

1. Different Political Parties

Reference has been made above to the complete re the Moderate or National Liberal Party at the election h

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the end of the year 1923. The number of delegates at the two annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation showed that the Party as such had little following in the country. But the Party counted among its members a very large number of eminent political leaders who still exercised great influence on the political movement of the country. These included, among others, Srinivasa Sastri, Annie Besant, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Khaparde, Dr. Gour and B. C. Pal.

There were two Hindu organizations which, but for their communal character, might have been regarded as branches of the Congress and the National Liberal Party. These were, respectively, the Hindu Mahasabha and the All-India non-Brahmin Federation. The non-Brahmins formed the Ministry in Madras and successfully carried on the administration. Their political views coincided more or less with those of the Moderates or Liberals. The Hindu Mahasabha started as an organization for social reforms but gradually drifted into politics in order to safeguard the interests of the Hindus as against Muslims, and combat the tendency of the Hindu leaders to appease the Muslims by surrendering the legitimate right of the Hindus.[19a] They held very strong views against the communal electorate and weightage given to the Muslims. Padit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the great representative of the Hindu community, and the ablest spokesman of the Mahasabha, referred to its activity in another direction which irritated the Muslims and gave rise to great misgivings even in the mind of the Hindu leaders. "For centuries", said Malaviya, "Muhammadans had been converting Hindus, and the majority of the Muslims of India were converts. Numerous Christian missions were also carrying on a campaign of proselytisation. Therefore the question of having a Hindu Mission for proselytisation had become a very pressing necessity in the situation created in this country by the activities of Muslim and Christian Missions."

The All-India Khilafat Committee became *functus officio* after the Turkish Government of Kemal Pasha deposed the Sultan, abolished the institution of the Caliphate, and declared Turkey a secular State in March, 1924. So the All-India Muslim League again entered the political field.[19b]

The beginning of the Communist Party may also be traced

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to this period. Although the influence of Communist idea itself felt in India shortly after the Russian Revolution and attempts were made to organize a Communist Party in by M. N. Roy and others since 1921, no conspicuous attended their efforts till the Communist Party of Great took up the matter and sent some agents to India in 1926.

Philip Spratt was the most successful among these agents. When he arrived in India in December, 1926, there hardly a dozen members of the Communist Party, though been formally started about a year and a half before. But worked with great vigour. The following lines fairly sum activity.

"During those early days Spratt's hand was everyw He planted the seeds of revolt in the Punjab. It was untiring energy that brought into being a Workers' and Pea Party in the United Provinces, which held its inaugural ference at Meerut in October 1928. Within a month, bra had been formed in Delhi, Meerut, Gorakhpur, Jhansi Allahabad. Spratt worked in 1927 mainly with the Bo group, in 1928 with the Bengal Party. He played a large in uniting the Punjab groups into one Party, and in the fo tion of those in the United Provinces, into another."

The activity of the Communists was, however, cut sho the wholesale arrest of their leaders on 20 March, 1929. following findings of the Court fairly sum up the history activities of the Communists in India :

"It has been definitely proved that (1) the Communist I national was founded in 1919, with its head-quarters at Mo as the supreme head of all Communist organisations throug the world ; (2) its chief aim is to establish Workers' Republi every country ; (3) for this purpose it has as its fixed policy exciting of violent revolution in all countries ; (4) in particul has turned its attention to India and determined to cause a re tion which has for its immediate object the overthrow o sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India ; (5) with object it has formed a conspiracy with persons and bodi Europe and India and elsewhere to excite the Indian workers peasants to revolution ; (6) these persons and bodies, who be called conspirators, have laid down a general plan of

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ign under the direction of the Communist International; (7) is plan includes the formation of such bodies as a Communist arty of India and Workers' and Peasants' Parties; (8) the mediate work of these parties is to gain control of the work- g classes by organising them in Unions, teaching them the inciples of Communism, inciting them to strikes in order to ucate them and teach them solidarity, and in every way to use ery possible method of propaganda and instruction; (9) the orkers are thus to be taught mass organization with a view the declaration of a general strike followed by revolution; 0) the peasants are to be organised in a similar manner so as form an effective reserve force for the proletarian masses d to effect an agrarian revolution; (11) in pursuance of these ms a Communist Party of India and four Workers' and asants' Parties, in Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab and the United ovinces, were formed; (12) these bodies were given financial d from Moscow and their policy was dictated from Moscow, rectly and via England and the Continent, through communi- tions conducted in a secret and conspiratorial manner; (13) in dition to this, several persons, such as Allison, Spratt and adley were sent out to India for the express purpose of or- nising the work and fomenting revolution; (14) in pursuance these directions and with the financial help thus obtained, ese bodies have organised unions, conducted demonstrations, ited papers, instituted youth movements, initiated and conduct- strikes, and used all possible methods of propaganda; (15) these activities all the accused, with the exception of Dharam- Singh, are shown to have taken part with full knowledge and proval of their aims and objects and directly or indirectly in gue with the conspirators outside India."

There is a general consensus of opinion that these findings ke a fair approximation to truth. Even Communist leaders not dissent from them except on one point. Spratt dissented m the last finding, no. 15. "According to him, almost half accused were nationalists or trade unionists who were largely orant of the real nature of the conspiracay and of its under- nd methods. When those were revealed during the trial, they re taken aback. The demoralisation and quarrels among the soners during the later stages of the trial could partly be

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attributed to this factor."[20]

After a protracted trial 27 accused persons were found and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment on 16 J 1933. The High Court considerably reduced the sentence by 1935 all the accused were set free.

2. The Commonwealth of India Bill.

The most important political activity, outside the Co was the Conference of the elected members of the Centr Provincial legislatures in February, 1923, at Delhi, which up the outline of a constitution for India on the basis of nion Status. A second Conference in February, 1924, ap of it and merged itself into a Convention which met in 1924. It consisted of members and ex-members of the L tures, Central and Provincial (231), the members of the C of the National Home Rule League (19), the elected repre tives of the political sections of the 1921 clubs in Bombay and Calcutta (3), the co-operated representatives Indian Women's Association (2), and the late Law Mem the Governor-General's Council,—256 in all. The Con drafted the Commonwealth of India Bill. A Deputation sisting of Mrs. Besant and Sastri, left for U.K. on 26 April and another on 10 May, to press the Home Rule campaign on behalf of the National Convention. The members of the tation and several other eminent Indians who were alre London, carrying on propaganda on behalf of India, sub a memorandum to the Secretary of State.

The Deputation addressed several meetings and then select gatherings, private dinner to the Secretary of State fully representative gathering of Indians, and various functions. Speeches were made by Sastri, Besant, Lajp and others. The Prime Minister saw Lajpat Rai, Har Lal, and Besant, and had long talks with them. There crowded meeting at the Queen's Hall presided over b Robert Smillie, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Comm the Parliamentary Labour Party. He believed, he said, at last the majority of British people believed in India of self-government. He knew that the majority of the

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le of the supporters in the House of the Government desired to onfer that right upon India and he believed that the majority f the Cabinet agreed with them." Another successful demonation was held in Birmingham on 27 June, and there were any other meetings in which Indian leaders spoke. At a eeting at the Caxton Hall, attended mostly by Indian students, Mrs. Besant, the speaker, was questioned about the right of erself and Sastri to represent any considerable section of the ndian people. The interrogators advocated armed force as the nly effective method of turning the British out of India, notithstanding Besant's protest.[21]

On her return from England, early in September, 1924, Mrs. esant made an attempt to establish unity among different olitical parties in India. Gandhi had also realized the need f such unity and already made up his differences with the warajists and restored the unity of the Congress. He also elorated his ideas in a long article in the *Young India* on 11 eptember. To give a definite shape to this idea Muhammad li, as President of the Congress, invited representatives of all arties to meet the A.I.C.C. at Bombay on November 21 and 2. There was a good response to this invitation and nearly our hundred delegates representing different shades of public pinion met at the Muzaffarabad Hall, Bombay. It was a great actical move on the part of Muhammad Ali to resign his claim o preside and propose instead that Sir D. M. Petit should take he chair. In his opening speech Gandhi said that they had athered together not to emphasize points of difference but to nderstand and find out points of agreement. One of these was some action in connection with the extraordinary Bengal Ordinance. He thought there should be no difficulty in coming o a unanimous decision on the repression that was going on in Bengal. He therefore proposed that the Conference should ppoint a representative Committee to draft a resolution for its iscussion. Mrs. Besant spoke at great length justifying the Bengal Ordinance, but Gandhi's resolution was passed by an verwehlming majority.

The draft of the resolution prepared by the Committee ran s follows: "A. While firmly of opinion that anarchical rganisations can never secure Swaraj to the people of India,

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and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisations, if any, this Conference, representing classes and communities in India and every variety of opinion, views with the strongest disapproval and condemnation action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature and as it easily lends itself at the hands of the Executive to gross abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated. B. This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance and the trial, if necessary and in accordance with ordinary law, of the persons detained under it. C. This Conference further urges that Regulation III of 1818 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of political crimes without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn. D. The Conference records conviction that the present political situation in India is due to denial of justice long overdue to the people and that the speedy establishment of Swaraj is the only effective remedy therefor."

The resolution was moved by Chintamani an eminent leader of the Moderate Party, and for some time a Minister of U.P. It was a unique occasion, since the split of 1918, for once more India placed her political demands from a common platform. The first two parts— A and B of the resolution being put to vote were carried by an overwhelming majority there being only four dissentients, namely, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Emily Lutyens, Jamnadas Dwarakadas, and Ratansi Dharamsi Morarji. The other two parts— C and D were carried unanimously.

Gandhi then moved for the appointment of a Committee consisting of a number of representative leaders named by him to consider the best way of reuniting all political parties in the Indian National Congress, to prepare a scheme of *Swaraj* including the solution of Hindu-Moslem and like questions in their political aspects, and to report not later than 31 March, 1925.

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e Conference to meet not later than April, 30. It was nanimously carried.

The Committee met at Delhi on January 23, 1925. Gandhi, ho presided, explained at the outset that the objects of the nference were to explore the avenues of communal and litical unity and to formulate a scheme of *Swaraj*. He sug- sted the appointment of a sub-committee to formulate the es of agreement. This was objected to by a large section but s agreed to after a long discussion. A fully representative b-Committee, consisting of forty members, was appointed :

(a) to make such recommendations as would enable all rties to join the Congress ;

(b) to frame a scheme for the representation of all com- unities, races, and sub-divisions on the legislative and other ective bodies under *Swaraj*, and recommend the best method securing the just and proper representation of the communities the services with due regard to efficiency ; and

(c) to frame a scheme of *Swaraj* that will meet the present eds of the country.

This Sub-Committee divided itself into two groups, one to al with the Hindu-Muslim union and the other to outline a heme of *Swaraj*.

The group dealing with the scheme of *Swaraj*, presided er by Mrs. Besant, took the Draft Bill prepared by the ational Convention in December, 1924 (The Commonwealth of dia Bill),[22] as its basis and submitted a report on 23 February, ying down certain general principles. The other group held few meetings but could not arrive at any agreement on the ain question of the revision of the 'Lucknow Pact'[23] and the ethod of representation on legislative and other bodies. It was erefore adjourned *sine die*. The consideration of the *Swaraj* heme was therefore dropped, for no such scheme could be nsidered without a basis of communal agreement.

The efforts of the All-Parties Conference having failed, rs. Besant felt herself free to push the Commonwealth of dia Bill sponsored by her. She incorporated in the Bill certain atures suggested in the Report of the *Swaraj* Group of the b-Committee, and the Bill reached its final form during the

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three days' sitting of the National Convention at Kanp
April 11-13, 1925. In May, 1925, it was sent to Ma
Graham Pole, the Hony. Secretary of the British Commo
Indian Affairs in England. He laid it before the leading
bers of the Labour Party and it was backed by them,
first time in the House of Commons, and ordered to be
It then went before the Executive Committee of the Par
tary Labour Party that examines every Bill before it is
up by the Labour Government or Opposition, as the cas
be. It was closely examined, clause by clause, and
passed unanimously as embodying the resolutions passed
Labour Party from time to time respecting India. I
passed into the hands of the future Labour Governmen
was put on the list of Bills balloted for as an official me
A brief memorandum explaining the imperative need of
the Commonwealth of India Bill, signed by over forty
leaders of various political parties, was issued on 29 June.
It contains a scathing condemnation of the British rule a
attitude of the British Government by the most moderate
eminent Indian leaders.

After making an extensive tour and propaganda throughout India, Mrs. Besant proceeded to England on 3 to influence the members of Parliament, some of whom already supported her Bill.

On Mrs. Besant's return from England two Commonw of India Bill Conferences were held, one in Karachi on Fe 14, and another at Bombay on May 7, 1926. Both the ferences supported the Bill and Mrs. Besant proceeded, after, to America, to place India's case before its publ thereby counteract the anti-Indian propaganda of Lord S ham and his group.

IV. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATION.

The Hindu-Muslim unity brought about by Gan 1920-21 was artificial in character and did not produce a change of heart. It was based on the common hostili hatred entertained, for quite different reasons, by the Nationalists and the Khilafatists towards the British, a

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stained by the militant programme of Non-co-operation and vil Disobedience. The suspension of the Civil Disobedience d Non-co-operation programme chilled the enthusiasm of the hilafatists, and as Gnadhi was shortly after removed to prison ere was no one to keep up the show. Then the Khilafatist ovement itself was blown out of existence by the action of emal Pasha, who had liberated Turkey but showed no concern r the holy places of Islam, and finally abolished the Caliphate. us the ground was cut from under the feet of the Khilafatists d the movement died a natural death. The need for a com- on front against the British having thus disappeared, the uslim politics again resumed its communal character. The vival of the old Muslim outlook was signalized by the renewed tivity of the Muslim League in 1924 and a series of communal ots after 1923.

1. The All-India Muslim League

The activities of the League had been suspended for four ars, and the 15th adjourned meeting was held at Lahore on May, 1924. Mr. Jinnah, who presided, in reviewing the olitical activity of the preceding four years in India, pointed ut that though the Non-co-operation movement was a failure, nd much harm was done, a great deal of good had also come ut of it. "There is", he said, "an open movement for the hievement of *Swaraj* for India. There is a fearless and esistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate tablishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India he ordinary man in the street has found his political conscious- ss and realised that self-respect and honour of the country mand that the government of the country should not be in the nds of any one else except the people of the country".

As the speedy attainment of *Swaraj* was one of the declared jects of the League it proceeded to lay down some basic and ndamental principles in any constitution for India acceptable the Muslims. The main points stressed were the following :

1. There shall be a Federal Constitution for India with ll autonomy for the Provinces, the functions of the Central overnment being confined to matters of general and common ncern.

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2. The mode of representation in the Legislatures and other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every Province, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality. The representation shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present.

3. No Bill or resolution shall be passed in any elected body if it is opposed by three-fourths of the members of any community which feels itself affected by it.

4. The Reforms of 1919 are inadequate and unsatisfactory and immediate steps should be taken to establish full Responsible Governmenment.

The League deprecated communal dissensions and, in order to establish inter-communal amity, recommended the establishment of conciliatory boards with a central board in each Province. The Chairman of the Reception Committee gave an economic interpretation of the communal discord by saying that the "majority of the Muslims is poor and the majority of the Hindus is in better circumstances, the poor Muslim is ready to rob the rich Hindus at the slightest provocation".

Almost as soon as the Non-co-operation movement broke down there was a recurrence of the old feuds between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslim support to that movement was dictated by the policy of deriving advantages by co-operating with the Hindus against the British. That policy having no longer any incentive the Muslims followed the traditional policy of seeking to derive advantages by supporting the British against the Hindus. It is very significant that when in 1923, there was a general feelng among the Muslims against further co-operation with the Hindus, Muhammad Ali, in his Presidential Address at the annual session of the Congress at Cocanada in December, 1923, tried to combat it, not by appealing to the national feeling of the Muslims and their patriotism to India, but by pointing out the comparative advantages of co-operation with the Hindus and the British Government in attaining Pan-Islamic objectives. He appealed to the "Muslims who are being asked today to discard the policy of co-operation with England to confront facts before they reach a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation

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ngland had driven them." After explaining why the Muslims' yalty to the British Government is incompatible with their yalty to Islam, he continued: "And if we may not co-operate ith Great Britain, is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, ent to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam that we must ase to co-operate with his co-religionists?"[25]

But in spite of the earnest appeal of Muhammad Ali there as no possibility of reviving the communal co-operation of 20-1 which was but a passing phase in Indian politics. The vival of the old communal feelings resulted in discords over tty issues such as music before mosque, cutting down the anches of pipal tree, held sacred by the Hindus, which structed the very long pole carried in the Muslim Tajiya ocession, killing of cows in public places during Id ceremony, d things of this sort. Referring to this lamentable state of ings Muhammad Ali said in his Presidential Address in ecember, 1923: "I know that Hindu-Muslim relations today e not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it ossible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that ther community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is en- rely one community's?.....Most regrettable events have un- rtunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Shaha- npur and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two mmunities."[26] This was an eminently wise suggestion, but ough it was mooted at a conference held at Delhi, the idea as not carried into effect. Early in 1923 there were serious mmunal clashes in Multan and Amritsar. Later in the year e Muslims started a definite communal movement called *anzeem* and *Tabligh* in order to organize the Muslims as a rile community. As a counterpart to this the *Sangathan* ovement sprang up among the Hindus for promoting physical ulture and removing social abuses. Swami Shraddhananda gorously carried on the *Sudhi* (purification) movement, initi- ed by Dayananda Swami more than half a century before, th a view to bringing back within the Hindu fold those who d renounced Hindu faith and were converted into Islam. In

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particular he tried to reconvert the Malkana Rajputs who originally Hindu, but had embraced Islam, and were willing to come back to their ancestral faith. The *Sangathan* and *Suddhi* movements were denounced by the Muslims caused a serious rift between the two communities.

The Muslims even suspected that the object of the re of untouchability, emphasized by the Hindus under the gui of Gandhi, was not the removal of a great social evil by ab tion of the suppressed classes into Hindu society, but mer use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affra tween the Hindus and Muslims. The promotion of ph culture among the Hindus was also suspected on the ground. As regards the *Suddhi* movement there were tions of coercion, intimidation and undue pressure by Zam and moneylenders and by a numerical majority of neigh in the surrounding area. In view of such allegations b Muslims, and the denial and counter-allegations by the H the Congress decided to appoint a Committee of Inquiry nothing came out of it. Muhammad Ali's observation o sudden manifestation of zeal by the Muslims and Hind conversion and reconversion to their faith is worth qu "My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye more on the next decennial census than on heaven itself, frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rathe counting them."[27]

The Hindus naturally resented the attitude of the M towards the *Suddhi* movement and felt themselves pe justified in converting or reconverting others to their own —a right which the Muslims had fully exercised all along out any restraint, and which alone accounted for their n in India. They also could not find any justification f Muslim interpretation of the *Sangathan* movement. But is no doubt that the whole Muslim community was excited.

In the Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference held at Cocana December 29, 1923, the President referred to the sponsors *Suddhi* movement as "the worst enemies of India," and e ed the opinion that "the *Sangathan* movement would

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trimental to the cause of Indian advance." The Conference so "condemned those activities which are likely to weaken the sis of (Hindu-Muslim) unity and considered their promoters enemies of the nation."[28]

2. Communal Riots

Serious communal riots vitiated the political atmosphere of dia from 1923 onwards. The ostensible and immediate causes these riots have been mentioned above, but they were really e to the revival of mutual suspicion and distrust which have nerally characterized the relation between these two commu- ies except during rare intervals. The deep-rooted causes, litical, social and religious, which kept the Hindus and uslims as two distinct units in India although they lived to- ther, side by side, in this country for more than seven hundred ars, have been analysed in the first volume. The fundamental nsideration that kept them apart in the political evolution of e twentieth century was the disparity between the two commu- ies in point of number and educational progress. A community ich formed only one-fourth of the total population was bound occupy a subordinate position in any democratic constitution. hatever might have been their past position and status *vis à vis* e Hindus, under modern conditions there was every chance that would be reversed under any form of Government in Free dia. And for the present the educational backwardness of e Muslims deprived them of their due and legitimate share of gh and responsible posts in the Government of their country. emocratic form of Government and efficiency as the sole test making public appointments—too high as ideals to be openly pudiated by any sensible man in the twentieth century— od as an insurmountable wall between the Muslims, proud their past history and achievements, and their natural ambition play an important role in the present or future Government the country. This feeling of inferiority complex haunted the nds of even thoughtful and patriotic Muslims in India, and ade them look wistfully to the Islamic world outside India and phasize their membership of the Islamic Brotherhood.

It is a remarkable fact that the Hindu leaders never gave y serious consideration to these two elementary and funda-

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mental facts in their effort to build up a common nati on the basis of Hindu-Muslim fraternity. It will be seen, history of the next two decades unfolds itself, that even Hindu leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, whos Muslim activities were strongly resented by the Hindus, attempted to grasp the real problems but tried to evade or if not deny, them altogether,—the first under cover of sounding moral, spiritual, and ethical philosophy, too ab to be understood by anyone but the very elect, and the under fervid emotional appeals to abstract national idea sentiments. This is all the more surprising when one find even nationalist Muslims like Muhammad Ali, and M idealist like Iqbal, gave very clear expression to Muslim fe and ideals, their doubts, suspicion and root causes of disc and difficulties, in their public speeches and writings. E his Presidential Address to the Congress of 1924, after communal riots had continued for two years, Gandhi said share Maulana Shaukat Ali's robust optimism that the pr tension is a mere temporary distemper." Nehru's view, the very last, was even more short-sighted as will be later. We may now briefly refer to some of the riots be the Hindus and Muslims in 1923-4.

One of the worst communal riots broke out in Calc May, 1923. It arose out of an Arya-Samajist procession p music while passing before a mosque. The Arya-Samajists tended that they were merely following a regular practice was never objected to before, while the Muslims asserte the music disturbed their religious prayer. So, fighting menced and continued for several days in course of which were many casualties on both sides. There were a series o on July 15, 1924, on the occasion of the Bakrid. The most one took place at Delhi, in spite of the fact that Muhamm Ajmal Khan and other eminent Muslim leaders had, only a before, earnestly appealed to the Muslims to keep peace Bakrid day.

Generally communal riots were confined to the territory, and the Indian States were free from them. A riot in 1924 in Gulburga, in the Nizam's territory, form exception. The Muhammadan mobs attacked all the

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mples in the city, numbering about fifteen, and broke the idols. hey also raided the Sharan Vishveshwar Temple and attempted set fire to the Temple car. The Police were eventually obliged fire, with the result that three Muhammadans, including the lice Superintendent Mr. Azizullah, were killed and about a zen persons injured. Next morning the streets were again in e hands of Muhammadan mobs and considerable damage was ne to Hindu houses and shops. On the arrival of Police re-forcements, order was restored. On the 14th August, the uslim mob fury was at its height and almost all the temples thin the range of the mob, some fifty in number, were dese-ated, their *sanctum sanctorum* entered into, their idols broken, their buildings damaged.[29]

The most serious outbreak occurred at Kohat in N. W. F. P., predominantly Muslim area. On the morning of 9 September, 24, the Muslims looted and burnt all the shops of the Hindus. the night of 10 September, the Muslims made a number of aches in the mud walls of the city, and committed wholesale nder and incendiarism, the alleged provocation being firing m some Hindu houses in self-defence. Before noon there re wide-spread fires in Hindu quarters. The Deputy Com-ssioner and Brigade Commander were unable to prevent the d, and apprehending that there was a grave danger of whole-e slaughter of the Hindus, removed them to the Cantonment. ter on the Hindus removed to Rawalpindi. Gandhi, who de a joint inquiry into the incident with Shaukat Ali, observ-: On 10 September, "the Muslim fury knew no bounds. struction of life and property, in which the Constabularly ely partook, which was witnessed by the officials and which y could have prevented, was general. Had not the Hindus n withdrawn from their places and taken to the Cantonment, many would have lived.....Even some Khilafat volunteers, se duty it was to protect the Hindus, and regard them as r own kith and kin, neglected their duty, and not only joined he loot but also took part in the previous incitement."

The Kohat tragedy formed a subject of discussion in the ian National Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu hasabha. The manner in which it was treated by these three ies throws interesting light on the way in which the com-

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munal question was looked at by different sections of
Motilal Nehru, who moved the resolution on the subject
Congress, began by saying that "in Kohat a tragedy has
place the like of which has not been known in India for
years", but scrupulously avoided casting any blame on any
merely observing that "this is not the time for us to apportion
blame upon the parties concerned", though more than
months had passed since the incident. The Congress re-
deplored the incident, urged the Musalmans of Kohat to
their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and
and invite them to return, advised the refugees not to
except upon any such invitation, and asked everybody
pend judgment till a proper inquiry was made.

The Muslim League repeated all these but added
following : "The All-India Muslim League feels to be
to place on record that the sufferings of Kohat Hindus
unprovoked, but that on the contrary the facts brought
make it clear that gross provocation was offered to the
sentiments of the Mussulmans and the Hindus were the
resort to violence....."

The Hindu Mahasabha "expressed grief at the loss
by Hindus and Muslims in life and property, the burning
about 473 houses and shops, the desecration or destruction
many temples or Gurudwaras which compelled the entire
and Sikh population to leave Kohat and to seek shelter
Rawalpindi and other places in the Punjab." Lala Lajpat
speaking on the motion, asked "whether, even admitting that
Hindus were at fault, their fault was such that it deserved
punishment inflicted on them."

All the three resolutions blamed the Government for
tragedy and urged the necessity of an independent public

A joint inquiry was made by Gandhi and Shaukat Ali
as they differed on essential points, both issued individual
ments. There was not much difference about the acts
committed by the Muslims. Shaukat Ali exonerated them
the ground that the burning and firing on the 9th were
accidental and the Hindus gave the first provocation on the
Gandhi did not endorse this view and observed: "During
days temples including a Gurudwara were damaged and

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broken. There were numerous forced conversions, or conversions so-called, i.e. conversions pretended for safety. Two Hindus at least were brutally murdered because they (the one certainly and the other inferentially) would not accept Islam. The so-called conversions are thus described by a Musalman witness. 'The Hindus came and asked to have their *Sikhas* cut and sacred threads destroyed, or the Musalmans whom they approached for protection said they could be protected only by declaring themselves Musalmans and removing the signs of Hinduism'. I fear the truth is bitterer than is put here if I am to credit the Hindu version".

Shaukat Ali admitted the murder of two Hindus for refusing to embrace Islam and the pretended conversions which, he added, were really no conversion at all. But he was not satisfied that there were any forced conversions to Islam.[30]

There was a riot at Lakhnau on 13 and 14 September, and the military had to be called in. Serious efforts were made by eminent leaders of both communities to eliminate the causes of discord by drawing up an agreed covenant guiding the relation between the Hindus and Musalmans. A Committee was appointed in the Delhi session of the Congress (1918) to draw up an Indian National Pact. A draft of the Pact, prepared by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, was placed before the Subjects Committee of the Cocanada Congress in 1923. In the meantime the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, under the inspiration of C. R. Das, approved of a Hindu-Muslim Pact in respect of Bengal. Its main provisions were as follows:

1. Representation in the Legislative Council on the population basis with separate electorates.

2. Representation to local bodies to be in the proportion of 60 to 40 in every district—60 to the community which is in the majority and 40 to the minority.

3. Fifty-five per cent of the Government posts should go to the Muslims.

4. No music should be allowed before the mosque.

5. There should be no interference with cow-killing for religious sacrifices, but the cow should be killed in such a manner as not to wound the religious feeling of the Hindus.[31]

The Subjects Committee being in favour of further conside-

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ration of the matter, Motilal Nehru moved a resolu the open session of the Congress to refer back the draft Indian National Pact as well as the Bengal Pact Committee appointed in the Delhi session, with the subs of Amar Singh in place of Mehtab Singh, who was in jail Bengal Pact was strongly opposed and after a heated lasting for four hours, an amendment for the deletion of Pact from the resolution was carried by a substantial ma 678 voting for and 458 against it. It was evident from th cussion that a written pact of compromise was not favo looked upon by many. Although, therefore, the National Pac referred back to the Committee, no further action was tak the matter.

Gandhi's heart was naturally filled with sadness and when he found that the citadel of Hindu-Muslim unity he had built and regarded as based on strong and stable fo tion, tumbled down like a house of cards. He completely down at the news of the tragedies of Gulburga and Kohat. passing two restless nights in pain he decided to do pena the shape of a fast for 21 days. While staying at the ho Muhammad Ali at Delhi, he commenced the fast on Se ber 17, 1924. The news was received with great concern al the country. Muhammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Sw Shraddhananda issued an invitation to some 200 All leaders of all parties and communities to attend a Confe at Delhi to devise ways and means to restore communal amit thereby save the life of the Mahatma. There was a ready ponse to this invitation and prayers were offered in te mosques and even churches,—the Metropolitan of India h conducting the prayer in Delhi.

Nearly three hundred delegates met at the Unity Confe at Delhi on 26 September. Motilal Nehru presided a number of resolutions were passed. One of them clearly de the rights and obligations of the two communities in resp those items like cow-slaughter, music before mosque, *arati* which had hitherto been the bone of contention and the i diate causes of the communal riots, as well as the more g questions like conversion or reconversion which had created blood between the two communities. Another resolution

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lished a Central National Panchayat of not more than fifteen ersons, with power to organise and appoint local *panchayats* inquire into and settle all disputes and differences, including cent occurrences, where necessary and desirable. In spite of e request of the Conference to break his fast Gandhi continued for full 21 days, till 8 October.[32]

How far Gandhi's fast had any salutary effect on the com-unal relations may be judged by the fact that four days after andhi began his fast there was a serious communal riot at ahjahanpur in which the military had to intervene and 9 were lled and about 100 injured. On October 8, when Gandhi oke his fast, there were serious communal riots at Allahabad, anchrapara near Calcutta, and at Sagar and Jubbulpore in C.P.

Great efforts were made by Hindu-Muslim leaders of Upper dia to restore communal amity, and a series of informal Con-rences were held at Lahore under the guidance of Gandhi early December, 1924. The discussion mainly centred round the presentation of the two communities in the various legisla-res. The Hindu leaders represented that the recent riots, most articularly the events at Kohat, had produced an atmosphere f coercion and intimidation, and until that atmosphere was hanged, there could not be any proper settlement of this uestion on its merit. The Muslim leaders, on the other hand, id that the disputes over this question alone were responsible r the riots and therefore its settlement was necessary to bring out peace. This was a significant admission on the part of e Muslim leaders, and there is hardly any doubt that they oke the truth. But, as noted above, the leaders were not pre-ared to face facts, and so nothing followed from these onferences.

The Hindu-Muslim relations continued to grow worse in 925 and 1926. No less than sixteen communal riots occurred 1925, the most serious being those at Delhi, Aligarh, Arvi C. P.) and Sholapur. One of the worst communal riots broke ut in Calcutta on 2 April, 1926, over the question of music efore mosque. The main features of the riot which continued r several days were (1) burning of houses and looting of shops;) stray assaults on passers-by and stabbing them; and (3) dese-ation of both mosques and temples. The riot continued in

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full fury on April 3, 4 and 5, but isolated attacks and th ing incidents continued till the 11th. According to offi port, 44 persons died and 584 were injured as a result riots. There was a recrudescence of the riot on 22 Ap casualties being 66 killed and 391 injured. There was riot in Calcutta lasting from 11 to 25 July resulting in 26 and 226 cases of serious injuries. There were also riots in t rior of Bengal, at Rawalpindi and Allahabad ; and no le five riots in Delhi. In Patuakhali, a sub-divisional town in B the Hindus offered *Satyagraha* to assert their time-ho right of playing music before mosque.

The Government issued orders to stop music before m during the prayer time in Calcutta and Allahabad, an question was debated in the Legislative Assembly, but effect. Motilal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad proposed to blish Indian National Union, an organization of non-p and non-communal character, to restore communal amit it was a stillborn child. The Congress also asked A.I.C devise means to improve the situation. It is significa Gandhi kept himself severely aloof from these com questions since January, 1925. The year 1926 ended w terrible tragedy. Swami Shraddhananda of the famous G near Hardwar, to whom reference has been made above fatally stabbed on December, 23 by a Muslim who entere sick room on a false pretence.[33] Several communal riots out in 1927. At Kulkathi (Barisal, Bengal) a Muslim refused to allow passage to a Hindu procession which w mitted by the local authorities to proceed. The Police o fire, killing 17 and wounding 12 Muslims.[34] Twenty-seven killed in a communal riot at Lahore, and 11 at Betti Champaran District, Bihar. It has been calculated that be 1922 and 1927 approximately 450 lives were lost and persons were injured in communal riots.[35]

The Statutory Commission of 1928 observes :

"Every year since 1923 has witnessed communal riots an extensive, and, in fact, on an increasing scale which h yet shown no sign of abating. The attached list, which ex minor occurrences, records no less than 112 communal

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within the last five years, of which 31 have occurred during 1927."

The Commission also notes that the riots were not confined to a restricted area, but almost every Province was more or less affected by it. Further, the storm centres had a tendency to shift rapidly from one place to another,—from the larger to smaller towns and then to countryside.[36]

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CHAPTER V

BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIA

I. BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The general policy of the British Government towards I after passing the Government of India Act of 1919, was a determination to stick to the letter of the Act and to make any further advance towards Responsible Gover in India, until at least the statutory period of ten years over. The resurgence of national spirit manifested throug Non-co-operation movement left them unmoved. The ac violence which followed the movement were looked at by from only a single point of view, viz. maintenance of law order. They either would not or could not discern in movement the germs of a popular revolt or national up which required a different treatment. So they resolved to it by naked force and practically gave a *carte blanche* t Government of India. They shut their eyes to the veri reign of terror which the Government of India let loose fo sake of maintaining law and order, trampling under foot the liberal traditions of Britain. In the name of law and order ignored all the laws and principles which centuries of effo Britain had evolved for safeguarding the rights and liberti the people. They ruled by lawless laws, and their iron had not even a velvet glove.

Signs were not wanting to indicate that the British Go ment had no real desire to introduce Responsible Gover in India within any measurable distance of time. Lloyd Geo speech, followed by Lee Commission's Report, menti above,[1] cannot possibly leave any doubt that the policy o British Government was to strengthen the I. C. S.—the frame on which the whole structure of the Government of I rested. Yet it is obvious to anyone that such a frame wa compatible with any structure of Responsible Governme India in the true sense of the term.

The old faith of the Indians in the sense of justice

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emocratic traditions of the British therefore suffered a rude hock. But faith dies hard, and there was still in the minds of nany Indians a lingering hope that the Labour Party, if it ever ame to power, would do justice to India. Such a hope was not ithout some foundation. Not only had important Labour aders like Ramsay Macdonald and Col. Wedgwood expressed ympathetic views about the political aspirations of India, but he British Labour Party repeatedly declared from public platorms their support of the Indian demand for Home Rule. amsay Macdonald had sent a message to the Amritsar Congress 1919, that when Labour comes into office it will not be bound y the objectionable clauses of the Reforms Act. Mr. Adamson, he Chairman of the Labour Party, criticized the Act of 1919 on he ground that "it does not go far enough, and that we are ailing to take the people of India themselves to assist in the uccessful accomplishment of the great tasks we have in hand". n 1920 the Annual Conference of the Labour Party passed the llowing resolution: "This Conference demands the full and rank application of the principle of self-determination in the rganisation of the Government of India in such a way as to atisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people." The ational Executive of the Labour Party issued in November, 922, a manifesto which said: "Labour advocates the recogni- ion of the real independence of Egypt and self-government of ndia." Even so late as 1923, Ramsay Macdonald attended the neeting at the Queen's Hall held on June 17, to support the ndian demand of equality of status with the Dominions and elivered a long speech, in course of which he referred to the owlatt Act as "that stupid piece of political blundering" which has been the cause of all the troubles". He denounced that ection of the British people who had gone back on the war- ime promise of self-government for India. He also declared hat "most of us who have liberal minds" must accept Dominion tatus for India as the "essential condition of imperial unity".[2]

Naturally high hopes were raised in India when the Labour arty came into office in 1924, with Ramsay Macdonald as the remier. But these hopes were soon dashed to the ground. The rime Minister, on assuming office, declared in unequivocal anguage that the Indian problems would be regarded not as

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party question, but as national questions. The meaning became quite clear from the reaction of the Labour Gover to the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assem February, 1924, urging the appointment of a Round Table ference at an early date to revise the Government of Indi of 1919.[3] In a long speech on 26 February, 1924, Lord O the Secretary of State for India, outlined the views and of the Labour Party towards India and rejected the demand on grounds which might have easily been taken a leaf of the Conservative book. Not even a distant echo heard of the liberal sentiments expressed by the Labour before 1924. The die-hard Conservatives now felt that "trusteeship" of India was quite safe in the hands of the L Ministry. The Indians were reminded of two lines in a of Tennyson and felt that "Ministry may come and Mi may go, but the British policy on India goes for ever".

But the Labour Party's power of doing good or evil shortlived. They were turned out of office as a result General Election at the end of 1924. It was with great and not with a reasonable feeling of pride, that Baldwin p out to the British electorate in the election campaign again Labour Party in October, 1924, that "the Labour Party, b it came into office, had never failed to proclaim its sym with the extremists of India, who in their turn were l amazement that the Labour Party has not yet, in familiar lance, "delivered the goods".

The parting kick of the Labour Government was the sa of the Bengal Ordinance of October 25, 1924. Lord Olive under no illusion as to the nature of the Ordinance. months after the Labour Government was replaced by the servatives, he himself raised the question in the House of mons and indicated that the Ordinance practically took awa protection for liberty established by British law. He quoted the following passage from observations of Black to support his view:

"To bereave a man of life, or by violence to confisca estate, without accusation or trial, would be so gross and rious an act of despotism as must at once convey the alar tyranny throughout the whole kingdom. But confinement

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erson"—that is presisely what this Ordinance aims at—"by cretly hurrying him to gaol, where his sufferings are known or rgotten, is a less striking, and therefore a more dangerous gine of arbitrary government, and yet sometimes, when the ate is in real danger, even this may be a necessary measure. ut the happiness of our Constitution is that it is not left to e executive power to determine when the danger of the State so great as to render this measure expedient. For it is the rliament only or a legislative power, that, whenever sees pro- r, can authorise the Crown, by suspending the Habeas Corpus ct for a short and limited time, to imprison suspected persons ithout giving any reason for so doing"[4]

The coming of the Conservatives to power therefore meant change of policy. Lord Birkenhead became Secretary of ate for India, and the somewhat mysterious episode of his gotiations with C. R. Das has been noted above.[5] In a speech July 7, 1952, he reiterated the old British policy towards dia. He reminded the British people that "of the 440 millions British citizens, who constitute the British Empire, 320 mil- ons are Indian. The loss of India would mean a shrinkage in e Empire from 13,250,000 to less than 11,500,00 square miles."

Regarding the Indian aspirations for Responsible Govern- ent he observed: "The Act of 1919 was admittedly an ex- eriment. We shall not be diverted from its high obligations y tactics of restless impatience. The door to acceleration is not pen to menace. Still less will it be stormed by violence....I hould, however, be failing in my duty if I did not make plain y clear and definite impression that the tactics hitherto pur- ued by the most highly organized party in India could not have een more happily conceived if they had been subtly intended forward the cause of reaction....To talk of India as an entity as absurd as to talk of Europe as an entity, yet the nationalist pirit which has created most of our difficulties in the last few ears is based upon the aspirations and claims of a Nationalist ndia. There never has been such a nation. Whether there ver will be such a nation, the future alone can show.....If we ithdraw from India tomorrow, the immediate consequences ould be a struggle, *a l' outrance*, between the Moslems and he Hindu population."

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Referring to the demand for an earlier revision, Birk said: "There will be, there can be, no reconsideration we see everywhere among the responsible leaders of thought, evidence of a sincere and genuine desire to co- with us, in making the best of the existing constitution.

Lord Birkenhead then defended the policy of the G ment in ignoring the decisions of the Legislatures, which rently was in conflict with the British traditions of liber democratic principles. He reminded the intractable m of the Indian Legislatures who refused to support the G ment "that, while we have obligations in respect of the who number only some eight and a half millions, we hav obligations in respect of the two hundred and fifty milli British India of whom we are the responsible guardian, a a less degree, in respect of the seventy millions in the States."

In conclusion Birkenhead assured his peers that "T no Lost Dominion" and "There will be no Lost Dominio

Such was the British Policy towards India in 1925 an it continued to be for the next fifteen years. There w vital difference between the Conservative and the Labour in this respect. Lord Olivier wholeheartedly endorsed the of Birkenhead and felt sure that Birkenhead's speech "wo a message of encouragement and sympathy to India for the community would be grateful to him." It is hardly sary to add that Birkenhead's speech, and specially the s to it by Labour spokesmen, were strongly resented in Indi

It is, however, only fair to add that no exception c taken to the policy so clearly and accurately expounde Birkenhead if we look at it from the point of the British For we must remember that the retention of absolute c over India was not merely an imperial sentiment; it w question of life and death to the British people. Eminent statesmen like Churchil dinned into the ears of the British that every man in Britain out of five was maintained by In was evident, specially after the first World War, that E could not maintain her position of supremacy in world p unless she could control the resources of India to her b So there was a deadly struggle in British mind betwee

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bstract love of liberty and the instinct of self-preservation. Two most powerful forces in human nature were pitted against each ther and the result was a grim tragedy.

II. THE BRITISH PEOPLE

The general attitude of the British people towards India ontinued to be as before, viz., one of general indifference. The mall section which interested itself on Indian questions consisted mostly of die-hard Conservatives, backed up by the etired members of the Indian Civil Service, with a sprinkling f genuine sympathisers for Indian political aspirations.

Among the last the Indians should always remember with ratitude the active sympathy shown to their political aspirations y Col. Wedgwood, Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Scurr, Mr. Pethick awrence, and Major Graham Pole, among others, who often rotested against wrongs and injustices to India. But their umber could almost be counted on one's fingers and they exerised no influence either on the Government or on the people f Britain.

Nothing more strikingly illustrates the general British ttitude towards India than the sympathy and support which General Dyer received from all classes including a Judge of the Court.

The whole episode of Dyer—his brutal measures, the light punishment inflicted upon him, the condonation of his conduct by the House of Lords, and the acclamation of praise with which his inhuman conduct was greeted by Englishmen and English women, both in India and England—illustrates, as nothing else could, the racial arrogance of the English people and the little regard or consideration which they had for Indians as a whole. The verdict of Justice McCardie, in the Defamation Case instituted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair, fully approving of the conduct of Dyer, as well as his whole conduct in the case, shows that even the traditional sense of justice which characterized the British people was sacrificed at the altar of imperialism. The conduct of McCardie could be explained as an individual case of aberration of mental and moral faculty—his reference to the congratulation of Sikh priests

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as an argument for the defence of Dyer's conduct can be regarded as anything else—but the approval of his by the rank and file of the Conservatives clearly demo the moral canker of the British people at large.

The nineteenth century imperialism was still going among the English people. After winning the Defamation against Sir Sankaran Nair, tried by Judge McCardie, to above, and a British jury, Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the notoriety, wrote an article under the caption "India at and issued it to the Press. It was full of misstatements misrepresentations of Indians, deliberately propagated to a the British sympathy, whatever there was, from the na aspirations of the Indians. It was circulated and applaud over England, and its reaction upon British opinion m judged from the comment of the *Sunday Express*; "In th resort we hold India by the sword, and as guardians of zation we dare not let it slip from our grasp." Mrs. Besant was then in England, issued a rejoinder to O'Dwyer's state It was couched in very mild language, but pointed out th accuracies in O'Dwyer's statement. No British paper p it except Mr. Brailsford's paper, *The Standard*.[7] This is a quent testimony to the lack of fairness and sense of justic played by the British people in any matter concerning Ind

But some Britishers were more honest and straightfor and less hypocritical than the *Sunday Express*. Thus Jo Hicks said: "We conquered India by the sword, and b sword we should continue to hold it—I am not such a hyp as to say we hold India for the Indians. We went with a stick in one hand and sword in the other, and with the lat shall continue to hold them helpless while we force the f down their throats."[8]

III. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The policy of the Government of India is sufficiently cated by the repressive laws and attitude towards the demands for political reforms, to which reference has been above in the preceding Chapters. The Government was a entirely dominated by the bureaucracy, and the personal views of the Governor-General counted for little. The b

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racy never felt any interest in the real welfare of the country, d regarded the sole duty of the Government to be to maintain w and order or rather the supremacy of the British in India. heir attentions were directed mainly to two ends ; first, to nullify e effect of the Reforms Act as far as possible without tearing ff the mask ; and, secondly, not only to maintain the existing ower, privileges, and prerogatives, but also to increase them y various means.

Like autocracies in every age and in every part of the world, e Government of India carried on a system of ruthless oppres- on in the name of law and order. It will be hardly any exag- eration to say that practically throughout the period from 1908 1947, with rare intervals, India was governed by what has been otly described as a set of lawless laws.

Almost every demand in Legislatures for the repeal of pressive laws was resisted by the bureaucracy on the ground at law and order cannot otherwise be maintained. If this con- ntion were true it can only be interpreted as a failure and reakdown of administration.

In taking recourse to naked force as the only means of ruling ndia, the Government of India occasionally descended below he level of a standard which every Government, deserving the pithet civilized, is reasonably expected to maintain. The gra- ual development of the iniquitous methods of the Government f India has been summed up in a remarkably lucid manner by man of the stamp of Sir Sankaran Nair who cannot be accused f either extremism in politics or bias against the British Govern- ent in India. If he had any bias at all it was in favour of that overnment, as was evidenced by his open accusation of Gandhi nd his methods. The adverse judgment of such a man against he Government of India cannot be lightly set aside, and no ex- use is therefore needed to reproduce a lengthy extract from one f his articles, published in an English paper, after the Bengal rdinance was promulgated on October 25, 1924.

"When the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon and the eps taken by Sir Bamfylde Fuller to suppress the protest against threw Bengal into a ferment, the "agitators" of Bengal were rosecuted before the ordinary civil courts of the country. In he majority of cases the prosecution failed, because in the

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opinion of the High Court the case was supported by fa
nesses; it was proved that the police were guilty of sup
true evidence; it was proved that they manufactured e
in various ways—for example, by placing bullets in inc
ing places, and by introducing bombs into the dwelling
of the accused. The High Court found also that certain
Magistrates lent their countenance to Police pressure on
and that Sessions Judges in many cases convicted agai
evidence. All this appears in the published reports of th
which are available to any one who desires details.

"The India Government availed themselves of the
pass the Defence of India Act, which it is now sought to
Under this Act.....a man might be arrested and kept
nitely in jail (or interned in a particular locality) withou
brought to trial. For those who were to be tried new
were or could be constituted and new laws of evidence or
dure were prescribed..... The Rowlatt Act, a repeti
the Defence of India Act, was responsible for an agitati
exampled in India. The Punjab...rose in fury: Amritsar,
Jallianwalla massacres, indiscriminate arrests, trials and
tions which recall the days of Jeffreys in England foll
India lost faith in England...Then the Labour Party ca
power. In India there were great hopes...Events have
these expectations...But no one expected they would go
and revive a measure which has been responsible for a
conflagration and has destroyed England's moral supremac
Englishmen's influence for good. This Act, as I have
out, would destroy freedom of speech, of the Press, and
person. Trials would become a farce. The Labour Par
a great opportunity. They have not risen to the occasi

Among the Provincial Governors, Lord Lytton attai
unenviable notoriety by his ill-judged pronouncements
dressing a Police parade at Dacca, he said: "The thing
distressed me more than anything else since I came to I
to find that mere hatred of authority can drive Indian
induce Indian women to invent offences against thei
honour merely to bring discredit upon Indian policemen."
an insinuation against the womanhood of India which,
very nature, is incapable of being satisfactorily proved,

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ovoked an outburst of indignation all over India, and merely oves the depth of degradation to which an English gentleman, t to speak of a British Peer, could descend for maintaining e prestige of the police which was the only bulwark of his overnment. No wonder that the Bengal Provincial Conference passed a resolution that he was unfit to hold the office of overnor..[11] But the very next year he was appointed acting iceroy and Governor-General of India.

The inhuman treatment of the detenus, i.e., persons kept in tention without any trial, is one of the most tragic chapters British rule in India and recalls the memory of barbarous ethods pursued by tyrannical rulers in Medieval Europe. umerous tragic episodes concerning the lot of these detenus ere regularly brought to the notice of the Government through titions and public press, but without any result.[12]

Reference may be made in this connection to a Memorial nt to the Secretary of State for India on July 25, 1924, by me State Prisoners detained in Bassein Jail. It unfolds a uesome picture of the diabolical method pursued by the overnment of India in selecting victims for the lawless laws, e real purpose lying behind wholesale arrests and detention ithout trial, the farcical procedure of framing charges against em, the so-called judicial scrutiny of the evidence by judges *camera,* the inhuman treatment of the detenus—all of whom ere educated persons belonging to respectable classes of ociety,—and above all the network of *agents provocateurs,* aintained by the rapidly growing Secret Service with the selfish bject of provoking commitment of crimes in order to justify e organization, the use of the manufactured revolutionary imes to serve the political end of putting down legitimate activities for the upliftment of the masses and constitutional agitation for gaining self-government. As a pen-picture of the barbarous medievel methods pursued by the British Government India in the twentieth century, drawn by actual victims from heir own knowledge and experience, this document is of great istorical importance.[13] It may be argued that the account proceeds from an interested party, but exactly the same charge es against the Government version. It is necessary to read oth in order to form an impartial opinion on the question. But

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the Memorial does not stand alone.[14] It has been g corroborated by the writings and oral accounts of many souled patriotic Indians who spent the best years of the in detention camps or British jails. The author of this has taken great pains to ascertin the truth by interrog large number of respectable persons, still living, who h sonal experience of such life, and have at the present no motive or inducement to misrepresent the British G ment or exaggerate their iniquities. Every available ence indicates that in the name, and under the disgu suppressing revolutionary crimes, the British Government ed the most unscrupulous methods to stifle national u freedom and inflicted upon the helpless detenus behind th curtain varieties of physical torture, a knowledge of who bolical nature would shock the civilized world.[14a]

The policy of 'Divide and Rule' guided the British as before. Reference has been made above to the obser of Nevinson about the distinct partiality shown by the officials to the Muslims as against the Hindus.[15] Far damaging was the statement of Lord Olivier. Shortly af ceased to be the Secretary of State for India, he made the ing comments, in a letter to *The Times,* on the communa in India : "But there are other causes of the increasing fighting. No one with close acquaintance of Indian affai be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predo bias in British officialism in India in favour of the M community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but largely as a makeweight against Hindu Nationalism."

When challenged in the House of Lords by both Birke and Lord Reading, he made the following observations, a others, in explaining his position : "But what I did say based upon what I have heard from a great many Engli who have served in India and from a great many Indians have a very good reputation in India—was that there official bias in favour of the Mahomedan community...I give you an example. When the Hindu-Muslim pact was it was a pact which strengthened the probability of an ad towards Swaraj policy in India. A very large numbe persons, officials and others in India, regard the advance to

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the self-governing Swaraj policy as a movement deleterious to British interest in India, and I say confidently that when the Hindu-Muslim pact broke up, there was a distinct satisfaction on the part of those persons both in this country and in India who were opposed to the Nationalist movement, that the pact had broken up and that there should be political dissensions among those affected."[16]

IV. THE ANGLO-INDIANS

The non-official British population in India, who, for the sake of convenience, may be referred to as 'Anglo-Indians', constituted, during the period under review, an unofficial anti-Indian wing of the British bureaucracy in India. The same causes which alienated the British officials also operated in their case, for they also stood to suffer, in material prospects as well as in prestige and status, with each stage of real political advance in India. But being free from official restraints they could more easily give vent to their anti-Indian feelings. They were the loudest in the denunciation of any reforms or concessions granted to India and took every means in their power to thwart them. The European Associations, in many cases, proved the evil geniuses of Indian bureaucracy and Governments, and evidence is not lacking of their reactionary influence even on high officials. There is also indisputable testimony to their unholy alliance with various sections of Indian people in order to check the constitutional advance of India.

The Anglo-Indians never forgot that though they were *in* India, they were not *of* India, and their interests were adverse to those of the Indians. Hence they were opposed tooth and nail to Reforms of 1919 and offered continuous, strenuous and persistent opposition at every step of political reforms. Like all Colonials of an imperial country they were the greatest enemies of the true interest of India, for the very simple and obvious reason that as India politically advances their material prospects, power and prestige almost necessarily decline. The older generations of Anglo-Indians could afford to be generous or indifferent as they had no reasonable apprehensions of any political regeneration of India. The Anglo-Indians of the twentieth century were faced with a national reawakening of the Indians,

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of the portents and possibilities of which their local kno made them fully conscious. They had to gird their lo fight against it for the sake of their own interests.

Nothing illustrates more strikingly the great change had come over the Englishmen in India than the tone o newspapers. Even the *Statesman and Friend of India* h longer the least claim to the title though it was more mo than the *Englishman* of Calcutta, which, as its name implied rectly represented the views of typical Colonial Englishman *Statesman* ceased to be friend of India and became the ac ed representative of the Anglo-Indian imperialism.

Apart from the imperial policy, one finds that the g attitude of haughtiness, arrogance and insolence, displaye the Englishmen in India towards her people, was as charact a feature in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth." has been very critically reviewed by Henry W. Nevinson paid a short visit to India during the *Swadeshi* movement writes: "The attitude of the vulgar among Anglo-In towards the people of the country would be incredible to one who had not seen it and the vulgar are a large and in ing class."[18] As in the nineteenth century, so in the twen even decent young Englishmen, fresh from home, rapidly the crowd of their vulgar countrymen. The process is described by Nevinson. "They increase by a kind of infe and the deterioration of a new-comer who has been sen with the usual instincts of our educated classes in favo politeness and decency is often as unconscious as it is rapi At first they are astonished that Anglo-Indian opinion not permits but imposes so ill-bred a manner in intercourse "natives", but the astonishment soon wears off, and the infe of arrogance catches them as a matter of course."[19] B almost irresistible social pressure also facilitated the conv The new arrivals from England would be socially ostra if they did not fall in a line with the vulgar Anglo-Indi their attitude towards the Indians. As Nevinson puts it, of the young Englishmen and English women were driv conform to the code of insolence established by the A Indians, for it is too much to expect that a young man from home would choose "to cut himself off altogether

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e society and amusements of his own people", or "stand alone ainst feminine dislike and masculine views of good form", d be altogether indifferent to "personal reputation or advance-ent."[20] So Gresham's law operated in Anglo-Indian society d turned the good coin out of the market in favour of the d. It is still within living memory how a young Britisher longing to the I. C. S. married a daughter of a very distin-ished Indian, well-known for advanced Anglicised mode of e, and for this offence could not rehabilitate himself into e Anglo-Indian society, not to put it more bluntly.

If the insolence of the Agnlo-Indians continued as before, exhibition also conformed to the old style. To quote again m Nevinson's book: "On almost every railway jorney one es instances of ill manners that would appear too *outrageous* r belief at home. But it is the same *throughout.* In hotels, ubs, bungalows, and official chambers, the people of the untry, and especially the educated classes, are treated with habitual contumely *more exasperating than savage persecu-n.*"[21] There is no doubt that there were also Englishmen ssessing good manners, but Nevinson very truly observes: But one's mere delight in finding them proved their rarity."[22]

The social estrangement between the two races, which ra-dly increased after Port Said was left,[23] soon made its influ-ce felt also in political and even judicial spheres. A few ses noted below, which are merely illustrative and not exhaus-ve, show that as in the nineteenth century, so in the twentieth, ere was one standard of justice for the Indians and another r the Englishmen.

Sir Walter Strickland, a British Baronet, wrote in 1913: The other day, in Lahore, an English or Scottish person of the me of Stirling murdered his Indian servant in the most cow-dly and treacherous manner. He first kicked him out of the om, and then shot him in the back. I cited this case in a tter home to illustrate British even-handed justice.....with e following comment: 'This cowardly scoundrel will be as rtainly acquitted, without a stain upon his honour, as the un-rtunate servant would have been swung without mercy, if the me had been the other way'. We have just had the sentence:

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Mr. Stirling was sentenced to one month's simple imp ment."[24]

The three following incidents were reported in a year—1921.

(1). Khoreal Shooting Case—A European plan Assam shot at the father of a coollie girl whom he want his lust, but in the trial the European jury acquitted him

(2) A British Major at Sialkot, travelling with his without ticket, entered a Railway compartment occupi some Indians and forced them to leave.

(3). Lt. House at Agra forced some Indian First passengers to leave the compartment by threatening them a revolver. He was simply fined by the court.[25]

Nevinson found it disconcerting to discover a prevailing uneasy suspicion in India that British justice could not be trusted. Referring to a few recent instances, he obse "Killing no murder, outrage no crime, when Indians are co ed and Englishmen are culprits—that was the common co sion, and it was not unnatural".[26] The instances cited which may be multiplied almost to any extent, prove the conclusion was absolutely right, being based on unimpea evidence, and that it was a tradition handed down from the teenth century.

To complete the analogy between the two centuries, ence may be made to the rabid writings in Anglo-I Journals. inspired by racial hatred. Here is a specimen the *Asian* of Calcutta. Commenting on the unsuccessful at of two Bengali revolutionaries to murder Kingsford, to reference has been made above, this Anglo-Indian weekly on 9 May, 1908 :

"Mr. Kingsford has a great opportunity, and we hope a fairly decent shot at short range. We recommend to his a Mauser pistol...We hope Mr. Kingsford will manage to a big 'bag', and we envy him his opportunity. He will be than justified in letting daylight into every strange approaching his house or his person, and for his own sak trust he will learn to shoot fairly straight without taking weapon out of his coat pocket.[27]"

On this Nevinson comments : "I have seen violent

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bloodthirsty passages translated from the *Yugantar*, the *Sandhya*, the *Hitaishi* of Barisal, and other vernacular papers. Such papers are fined, suppressed, have editors imprisoned, and under the new Press Act may have their type confiscated. But in none of them have I seen more deliberate attempts to stir up race hatred and incite to violence than in Anglo-Indian papers which suffer nothing. Take, for instance, this obvious instigation to indiscriminate manslaughter by the *Asian*" (and he quotes a long passage including the lines quoted above).[28]

Referring to the *Englishman* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the two leading Anglo-Indian papers, respectively of Calcutta and Lahore, Nevinson observes that "it must have been difficult for any thoughtful Indian who love his country to read them during 1907 without cursing our race."[29] Even Gokhale, the Prince of Moderates, remarked that the insolence of the Anglo-Indian papers like these two "towards our people goes beyond all bounds."[30]

The British attitude towards India, of which a brief account has been given above, has a great bearing on the history of freedom movement in India. The niggardly policy of granting too little concessions, and that too not until it was too late, sustained the struggle for freedom even though many leading politicians in India were loyal and staunch supporters of the British rule. They placed great faith upon the Liberal Party in England in 1906, but their disappointmetnt gave rise to the Extremists. They again hoped a great deal from Montagu, but the Government of India Act and the Rowlat Acts practically ruined the Moderate party which they represented. The final *coup de grace* was given by the conduct of the Labour Government in 1924. The British politicians gradually realized their folly, but then it was too late. The Earl of Halifax, speaking on the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill in 1947, made the very melancholy but apposite remark: "All too often in India has British policy suffered the frustration and condemnation of 'to little and too late'".

But the other aspect of the British attitude, viz., the insolence and arrogance of Englishmen in India, of which a few instances have been given above, was no less an important factor. The discrimination made by the Judiciary and the Executive between

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the Indians and the Englishmen, both as regards ind crimes as well as the writings in the press, made the India faith in English integrity and sense of justice, the two qualities that sustained the British power in India. Few E men realize even today that the impunity with which countrymen could kick or kill the Indians, treating them as chattels than human beings, and the stories of their unp ed assault upon men and unpunished outrages upon w perhaps did far more to undermine the British authority in than an abstract love of freedom and liberty on the part Indians.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

A. EVENTS LEADING TO THE MOVEMENT

I. THE SIMON COMMISSION

The communal riots in and after 1923 merely highlighted the slump in the political activity and decadence in public life which were brought about by Gandhi's action in suspending Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation movement in 1922. Fortunately for India's struggle for freedom, the fatal inertia that had practically put an end to all its outward activities, was removed by an action of the British Government, namely the appointment of Simon Commission in 1928.

The genesis of the Commission may be briefly told. The Government of India Act, 1919, contained a provision that at the end of ten years after its passing, the working of the Reforms introduced by it should be inquired by a Commission with a view to determining what further action, if any, should be taken to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing. As mentioned above, several attempts were made by Indian leaders of different parties, to accelerate the pace of political progress by revision of the Reforms at an earlier date without waiting till December, 1929, which would complete the statutory period of ten years from the passing of the Act. But the Government of India and the British Government had steadily refused to concede the demand. Suddenly, on November 8, 1927, the British Prime Minister sprang a great surprise upon the Indian public by announcing the decision of the British Cabinet immediately to constitute the Commission. The motive was apparent to everybody. The life of the British House of Commons would expire in 1929, and there was a growing probability that the new election would return the Labour Party to power. It was generally held in Britain that a Labour Government would be more sympathetic to Indian demands, and perhaps go further in conceding reforms than would be compatible with the vested inte-

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rests of Britain in India. It was, therefore, considered ... appoint the Commission forthwith and thus forestall the ... Government. Thus, as Srinivasa Iyengar, the President ... Congress, put it, "When a Commission was wanted the ... Government would not give it; but they would impose ... Indian people a Commission which is not wanted and ... not wanted."

This was not, however, a very serious question. B... sting was in the tail. The Prime Minister announced ... same time that the Commission would be composed of ... British members of the Parliament including Sir John S... the Chairman. The exclusion of Indians from a body ... was to prepare the future constitution of India was so unm... and unreasonable, that the announcement was received wit... found disappointment and righteous indignation by all p... leaders in India, irrespective of their party affiliations, and ... unanimously decided to boycott the Commission. Never ... within living memory, did the Indian political leaders ... common view on such an important political issue.

The Congress point of view was expressed as follows ... President S. S. Iyengar: "The reasons for the boycott ... the most cogent description. Indian people, as the Congress ... rightly claimed, are entitled to determine their own Consti... either by a Round Table Conference or by a convention ... ment. That claim has been definitely negatived by the ap... ment of the Commission. That is the most important reas... only from the Congress point of view but from the point of ... I am certain, of all the Indian political parties which com... in the two resolutions of the Legislative Assembly of ... February, 1924, and 8th September, 1925. That of course ... fundamental objection. The second reason is that we can... parties to an inquiry into our fitness for Swaraj or for ... measure of responsible government. Our claim for Swa... there and it is only a question of negotiations and settleme... tween the British Government and the Indian people. The ... reason is undoubtedly the affront to Indian self-respect in... in the deliberate exclusion of Indians from the Commis... The general attitude of the Indians towards the Commission ... thus eloquently put by Sapru in his Presidential Address

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not think a worse challlenge has been thrown out ever before Indian nationalism, and notwithstanding the profuse assurance Mr. Baldwin's speech and the yet more profuse assurances in Ramsay Macdonald's speech, Indian nationalists of the Mode- school have been compelled to ask if the only way of recog- ing the spirit of co-operation is by telling Indians that their is to be none other than that of petitioners, that they cannot trusted to participate in the responsibility of making recom- ndations to Parliament for the future of their country, and that that they may aspire to is to put their proposals before the mmission which may accept them or reject them, and again repeat the same process of persuasion, argument and discus- n before the Joint Committee of Parliament. Now, if this what is meant by co-operation, if this is the new idea of ality of status on which we are to be fed, if our patriotism is rejudice and if the patriotism of the seven Members of Parlia- nt is to be treated as impartial justice, then we Liberals feel tified in telling the Government here and in England, 'You y do anything you like in the assertion of your right as reme power, but we are not going to acquiesce in this method dealing with us. Neither our self-respect nor our sense of y to our country can permit us to go near the Commission,"[2]

While the proposal of boycotting the Simon Commission s adopted by all political parties, the Indian National Congress gested some practical measures to make it effective. These luded (1) mass demonstrations all over India on the day the mbers of the Commission set foot in this country, and similar monstrations in every city on the day it was visited by them ; refusal of legislatures to elect their own Committees to co- erate with the Commission or helping their inquiry in any way; rejection of the demand for grant in connection with the mmission ; and (4) social boycott of the members of the mmission.

The Congress organization made the boycott a great success. February 3, 1928, the day of the arrival of the Commission Bombay, complete *hartal* was observed in all important towns India, and huge demonstrations marched in processions waving ck flags and carrying banners with the words, "Go back, non," inscribed on them. Of the numerous public meetings

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of protest held on that day the one held at Bombay was most memorable. Over fifty thousand people were assembled in the Chaupatti beach, and political leaders of different parties strongly condemned in one voice the action of the British Cabinet.

On February 16, 1928, Lala Lajpat Rai moved a resolution in Assembly to the effect that as the scheme of the Commission was unacceptable to the House it would have nothing to do with it at any stage and in any form. The resolution, supported by an overwhelming majority of elected members, was carried amid cries of "Bande Mataram." The effect of it was, however, somewhat marred by the attitude of the Council of State. The elected representatives to participate in the Joint Conference and the various Provincial Councils, also, the Government succeeded with the help of the official votes in constituting Committees to co-operate with the Commission. The Nationalist members in each Council strongly opposed the motion for the appointment of Committees and then walked out and took no part in the further proceedings in connection with these Committees.

II. ATTEMPTS MADE BY INDIAN LEADERS TO DRAFT THEIR OWN CONSTITUTION

There is no cloud without a silver lining. Even the universally abused Simon Commission produced at least one good effect on Indian politics. It induced the Indian leaders seriously to think about formulating a scheme of Indian Constitution acceptable to all parties. This feeling was quickened by the open challenge of Lord Birkenhead to the Swarajist party to produce a constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India. The question was taken up by the Indian National Congress at its Madras session in 1927. It passed a resolution authorising the Working Committee to confer with similar committees appointed by other organizations, political, labour, commercial and communal, to draft a *Swaraj* constitution for India, and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special Convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March, 1928, consisting of the All-India Congress Committee and the leaders

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presentatives of the other organizations mentioned above, and lected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

The idea was fully approved by the All-India Liberal Fede- tion and the Muslim League in their annual sessions which let, respectively, at Bombay and Calcutta shortly afterwards. n compliance with the directions contained in the Madras ongress resolution quoted above, the Working Committee issued vitations to a large number of organizations.

Many of these organizations sent representatives to the onference which held its first meeting on February 12, 1928, at elhi under the Chairmanship of Dr. M. A. Ansari. After ossing many hurdles, chiefly created by the difference between indu and Muslim points of view, the All-Parties, Conference, hich met at Lucknow from 28 to 31 August, 1928, accepted the ery detailed recommendations of a Committee appointed by it nder the Chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The essential features of the Constitution framed by the ehru Committee may be summed up as follows :

1. The form of Government should be Responsible, that to say, a Government in which the Executive should be res- onsible to a popularly elected Legislature possessing full and lenary powers.

2. The sovereign Parliament should consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, the former to consist of 200 mem- ers elected by the Provincial Councils by the method of pro- ortional representation, and the latter of 500 members elected n the basis of adult franchise. The powers of Parliament were be analogous to those of the Dominions.

3. The communal representation in the Legislatures was be regulated on the following basis :

a. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India r the House of Representatives and the Provincial Legislatures.

b. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of epresentatives except for Muslims in Provinces where they are a minority and non-Muslims in the N. W. F. Province.

In the Provinces,

c. There shall be no reservation of seats for any commu- ty in the Panjab and Bengal.

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d. In other Provinces there will be reservation of s
the minorities on the basis of population with right to
additional seats.

But the unanimity shown at the Lucknow Confere
not last long. When the All-Parties' Convention
Calcutta on 22 December, 1928, the Muslims mad
demands, and it was now for the first time that Muhamm
Jinnah emerged as the leader of the community.

Jinnah began his political career in the school of G
and was an adherent of the Congress up to the Non-co-op
movement (1920-21).. He was an able debater and a to
political leader. But, as he himself put it, the mysti
Gandhi was too great a mystery for him. He was also o
to the orthodox and reactionary Muslim parties. So,
sheer disgust, he left politics, went to England and m
his mind to settle in that country. A story runs that h
piqued by a casual remark of Jawaharlal Nehru to th
that 'Jinnah has ceased to count in politics', and decided
turn to India in order to show that he was still an imp
factor to reckon with. Whatever we might think of the
there is no doubt that Nehru held a very poor opinion
character and ability of Jinnah as a politician[3] and al
when Jinnah returned in October, 1928, he was a com
changed man and at once gave a new turn to Muslim
in India. He first made himself the undisputed head
Muslim League, of which he became the lifelong Pr
There were other Muslim parties led by Aga Khan and M
mad Shafi, and there was also the Central Khilafat Com
But Jinnah's undoubted abilities as a Parliamentarian
organizer soon brought him into the forefront of Indian
as the leader of the strongest and most representative M
party.

When the constitution, drawn up by the Nehru Co
and unanimously accepted at the Lucknow Conference c
for discussion at the Calcutta Convention, Jinnah, on be
the Muslim League, put forth the following three sugg
among others, in the form of amendments:

1. The Muslims should have one-third representa
the Central Legislature.

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2. The Punjab and Bengal Legislatures should have uslim representation on the population basis for ten years, in e event of adult suffrage not being granted.

3. Residuary powers should be vested in the Provinces d not in the centre.

After an acrimonious debate the amendments of Jinnah ere lost and he left the Convention in protest. Next day the khs also withdrew their support and the Convention was ad-urned *sine die*.

Jinnah now joined the more reactionary section of the uslims led by Aga Khan and Muhammad Shafi and an All-rties' Conference of the Muslims was held in Delhi on the st of January, 1929. It passed a long resolution supporting separate electorate as existing at the time, and the first and third amendment of Jinnah mentioned above. It also manded that no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regard-inter-communal matters may be moved, discussed or passed any Legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourth jority of members of either the Hindu or the Muslim commu-y affected thereby in that Legislature oppose the introduction, cussion or passing of such bill, resolution, motion or amend-nt.

Apart from the Muslims, some sections of Sikhs, non-ahmins and Backward and Depressed communities also did t fully approve of the Nehru Constitution, and even the ristians, while expressing general approval, were of opinion t it did not sufficiently safeguard the interests of minorities. the other hand, it should be remembered that eminent uslim leaders like Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, the Maharaja of hmudabad and many others approved of the Nehru Consti-ion and the scheme for communal representation adopted in it. e same thing may be said of the other minority communities d organizations. Besides, the All-India Lilberal Federation, all-India political body next in importance only to the Indian tional Congress, gave its blessings to the Nehru Constitution.

It is often ignored, while emphasizing these differences, that re was complete unanimity among all in respect of the chief ect of the constitution, viz., the establishment of a fully Res-nsible Government in India. Although the younger section

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demurred to it and asked for complete independence, the ence was one of sentiment rather than of substance, Nehru Constitution fully provided for the government of by the Indians, and for the Indians. The discussion fo the publication of the Nehru Constitution and criticisms against it revealed the all-important fact that on the que immediate grant of Responsible Government, the whole stood united, the difference being only in respect of deta

Nevertheless, it must be admitted, the sentiment of c independence gradually gained ground. As mentioned the Indian National Congress had declared independ India's goal in the Madras session in 1927. Since then reaffirmed in the Provincial Conferences of the Panjab and U.P. A very interesting incident took place wh question was being discussed by the U.P. Muslim All- Conference held at Kanpur in November, 1928. Whe members opposed the goal of independence, the wome gates, from behind the *Purdah,* sent a written statement President saying that if men had not the courage to national independence, they would come out of *Purdah,* a their place in the struggle for independence. This desired effect and the resolution declaring independence was passed with one single dissentient voice, that of (Sir) mad Shafi. The younger section led by Jawaharlal Ne Subhas Bose organized an Independence League and ca propaganda in favour of independence.[4]

This nation-wide sentiment for independence also expression in the annual session of the Indian National in Calcutta in December, 1928. In view of the strong s held on the subject, Gandhi, by way of compromise, s that the Dominion Status be accepted provided th Parliament accepts the Nehru Constitution in its entirety a year. He therefore moved the following resolution:

"This Congress having considered the Constitution mended by the All-Parties' Committee Report welcomes great contribution towards the solution of India's polit communal problems and congratulates the Committee virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst to the resolution relating to Complete Independence p

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the Madras Congress, approves of the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country."

"Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the Constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by the date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon."

"Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on in the name of the Congress of the propaganda for Complete Independence."

But even though Gandhi declared that he would join the movement for independence in case the ultimatum given by the Congress is rejected, his proposal was vigorously opposed by the younger section led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. An amendment was moved by the latter to the effect that the Congress would be content with nothing short of independence. The amendment was lost by 973 votes to 1350. Even as it is, the large number of votes cast in opposition to veteran leaders like Gandhi and Motilal Nehru shows the rising strength of the Left Wing in the Congress. But Subhas Bose claimed even some thing more, and observed: "The amendment was lost by 973 votes to 1350—but the vote could hardly be called a free one, as the followers of the Mahatma made it a question of confidence and gave out that if the Mahatma was defeated, he would retire from the Congress. Many people therefore voted for his resolution, not out of conviction, but because they did not want to be a party to forcing the Mahatma out of the Congress." Bose believed that the decision of the Congress was a mistake. For while "only madness or folly could have led one to hope that the mighty British Government would concede even Dominion Home Rule without a struggle," the Congress let slip the great opportunity of commencing it while "there was tremendous enthusiasm all over the country." He pointed out that attendance in the Calcutta Session was the largest since the inception of the Congress and the President-

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elect on arrival was given "an ovation which would ex... envy of Kings and dictators." "Everyone had expec... Congress to act boldly." and "a procession of 10,000 ... visited the Congress pandal to demonstrate their solidari... the struggle for national freedom." "But all these signs ... heaval made no impression on the leaders," for "wh... country was ready, the leaders were not." "The Ma... unfortunately for his countrymen, did not see light" a... "temporising resolution" "only served to kill precious time." ... decision that should have been made soon after the appoi... of the Simon Commission—and certainly not later than th... cutta Congress—was not made till the Lahore Congr... December, 1929. But by then the situation was to deteri...

The above reflections of Bose no doubt represent the ... of the Left Wing of the Congress led by Jawaharlal and h... But sufficient data are not available to pass any judgement ... value or justice of their criticism, for apart from the great ... siasm displayed by a large body during the Congress s... which, after all, cannot be regarded by itself as a very imp... factor, it is difficult to maintain, on the basis of known facts ... a struggle begun early in 1929 would have been a wiser ... or even had any better chance of success than that achie... the campaign of Civil Disobedience launched in 1930.

III. OTHER ACTIVITIES IN 1929

The Compromise Resolution of the Calcutta Congress ... stop to active political agitation in 1929, but the ardo... enthusiasm for national struggle found an outlet in other ... tions. First, there was a sudden revival of revolutionary ... vity.[6] It may be mentioned that Lala Lajpat Rai was s... struck by the Police on 30 October, 1928, while leading a ... Simon demonstration at Lahore, and his death, shortly after ... on 17 November, was generally believed to be due to the ... he received. Mr. Saunders, who was the Assistant Superin... at the time, was assassinated at Lahore. A bomb was thr... the Assembly Hall at Delhi during a sitting, and two young ... Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt, were arrested for the ... A large number of young men were also arrested all over ... and an All-India Conspiracy Case was started at Lahore ...

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he middle of 1929. Bhagat Singh was a nephew of Ajit Singh nd leader of the Youth movement in the Panjab, and the fearless nd defiant attitude shown by him and his comrades during their rial made a deep impression on the public. Prisoners headed by Bhagat Singh resorted to hunger strike as a protest against their reatment in prison. When their condition became serious there was an intense agitation throughout India. Besides an intensive ress Campaign, meetings and demonstrations were held all over he country demanding humane treatment of political prisoners. Ultimately all the hunger-strikers agreed to take food, except ne young man, Jatin Das of Calcutta, who stuck to the last, and lied on September 13, 1929. The news of his death produced a ave of intense grief and commotion all over India. As his dead ody was removed from Lahore to Calcutta for cremation, thou- ands assembled at every Railway Station to pay their homage. The most touching of the numerous messages received on the ccasion was one from the family of Terence McSwiney, the Irish evolutilonary, who had met his death under similar conditions. The laconic message ran: "Family of Terence McSwiney have eard with grief and pride of the death of Jatin Das. Freedom vill come."[7] It is somewhat remarkable that Gandhi did not pprove of the hunger-strike. He studiously omitted any refe- ence to the martyrdom of Jatin Das in his speeches and writings nd no mention of it was made in his *Young India*.[8] But Jatin Das did not sacrifice his life in vain. Even the Government was noved for the time being, and promised to revise the regulations bout political prisoners. The regulations were ultimately hanged, and the prisoners were divided into three classes in res- ect of the treatment in jails. In actual practice, however, not nuch improvement was effected in the lot of political prisoners.[9]

The death of Jatin Das also gave a fillip to the Youth Move- nent. Throughout 1929 Youth and Student organisations grew p all over India and Congresses and Conferences were held at Calcutta, Poona, Ahmadabad, Lahore, Nagpur, Amraoti, and everal places in Madras. In December, 1929, an All-India Con- ress of Students was held at Lahore, presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.[10]

In addition to revolutionary activities and Youth Movements, here continued, throughout the year 1929, widespread unrest in

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the labour world resulting in numerous strikes, mostly or by the Communist Party in India, to which reference ha made above."[11]

In the meantime a heavy gale was blowing in the C camp. In Bengal the repeated defeats of the Ministry led dissolution of the Bengal Legislative Council in May, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Congress party Legislative Assembly, instructed the Bengal Congress P fight the elections. This they did with the result that th gress Party came back with added strength, and some Nationalist Muslims, defeated in the election of 1926, re their seats. But suddenly on 15 July, 1929, the Congress W Committee passed a resolution calling upon the Congress resign their seats. There were many surprising features in the first place, no attempt was made to invite the opinions Congress Parties in different legislatures, nor was even any given to them of the proposed change. Secondly, even Nehru acquiesced in the resolution, though only two months he had encouraged the Bengal Congress Party to fight th tions and enjoined upon them to recapture some of the M seats. The All-India Congress Committee, to which the q was referred for final decision, met on 26 July, 1929, re the resolution, and referred the whole question to the Co But the coalition of Motilal Nehru and Gandhi in favour boycott of the Council plainly showed the emergence of G and his creed once again into active politics of the Congress. backing up of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the President the next Congress was another important manoeuvre on the Gandhi. Jawaharlal had been a devoted follower of Gand since his return from Europe in December, 1927, he called h a Socialist and joined the Left Wing. As mentioned above, Subhas Bose led this Wing, maintained the Independence L and openly opposed Gandhi in the Calcutta Congress. But how or other Gandhi won him over, and after he accep Presidentship of the Congress he became a consistent and ing supporter of Gandhi. Thus Subhas Bose and Nehru partn pany and the former remained the sole leader of the young tion and the Left Wing of the Congress. There was also a the Congress rank in Bengal. There, too, a section under J. M

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upta became devoted adherents of Gandhi, and Subhas Bose mained the leader of the other. Though Subhas was thus plated, he continued his duty as a Left Wing leader by orga- zing opposition to Gandhi on important questions of public licy.

IV. THE VICEROY'S DECLARATION OF 31 OCTOBER, 1929

In June, 1929, the Labour Party came into Power in Britain. msay Macdonald, the Prime Minister, invited the Viceroy, rd Irwin, to London for consultation. Evidently, by a sort of e-arrangement, Sir John Simon wrote to the Prime Minister king for the extension of the terms of reference so that the ethods for the adjustment of future relationship between British dia and the States might be fully examined by the Commission. mon further suggested that after the publication of the Com- ission's Report, a Conference should be arranged between the presentatives of His Majesty's Government and representatives British India and the States, for the purpose of seeking the eatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals to submitted by the Cabinet to the Parliament. The Cabinet reed to both the suggestions and Lord Irwin returned to India. ortly after his arrival he issued a statement on 31 October, 1929.

It referred to the Cabinet's acceptance of Simon's proposals d the summoning of a Conference on the lines proposed by him. t the most important part of his statement is the following dec- ration: "I am authorised on behalf of His Majesty's Govern- ent to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the claration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's Constitutional ogress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion atus."

This declaration was strongly criticized by a powerful section the British Press, and both the Conservative and Liberal rties were opposed to it. A debate was raised on the state- ent in both Houses of Parliament, and though it was generally nceded that the Dominion Status should be regarded as the al, the issue of the declaration at that moment was regarded as wise and fraught with danger. The Secretary of State won a

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technical victory, as the declaration was held to be unassa
theory, and he even remarked in course of a fighting spe
the Birkenhead spirit no longer inspired or character
policy of the Government towards India. But the deba
it quite clear that in the face of the combined opposition
two great parties the Government would not dare to t
immediate step towards Dominion Status. Indeed the
ment assured the Parliament that conditions of conceding
reforms as laid down in the declaration of 1917 held go
they were changed by Parliament.

The declaration was, however, very favourably rec
India. Coming as it did after the ultimatum of the C
due to expire on December 31, the Viceroy's statement, ta
whole, was naturally interpreted in India as a conciliatory
on the part of the Labour Government to offer Dominio
before the Congress unequivocally declares in its next se
independence and complete severance of relations with B
Conference of the leaders of all parties was held at D
November, and in accordance with the decision of an ov
ing majority, a manifesto was issued under the signature
most prominent leaders, including Gandhi and Motilal
It expressed appreciation of the sincerity underlying the V
pronouncement and offered co-operation to evolve a D
Constitution for India. The signatories expressed their be
the business of the proposed Round Table Conference w
'not to discuss when Dominion Status is to be established
frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution for India.' T
urged that a general amnesty should be declared before t
ference meets, and the Indian National Congress sho
predominant representation in the Conference. The Left
were opposed to this manifesto. Jawaharlal at first did n
to sign it, and even intended to issue a counter-manifesto
with Subhas Bose. But Gandhi prevailed upon him to
leaders' manifesto. A separate manifesto was, however
over the signature of Dr. S. Kitchlew (Lahore), Ab
(Patna) and Subhas Bose opposing the acceptance of D
Status and participation in the Round Table Conferenc
the leaders' manifesto (known as Delhi Manifesto)
general approval and support of the country as a whol

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teresting to note, however, that Jinnah's reaction to the Viceroy's clarification on October 31, 1929, was somewhat different. He lt satisfied at the declaration of Dominion Status as goal and th the procedure of the Round Table Conference for thrashing t the details. Moreover, Jinnah also agreed with a section of e Moderates who regarded as unwise the apparent implication the Delhi Manifesto that the Congress would not co-operate if e conditions stated were not satisfied. Indeed this was made ar beyond doubt by the Working Committee which regarded e conditions as *sine qua non* for any co-operation and further ted that the offer held good only up to the date of the next ngress. Jinnah, along with the Moderates, thought that the nditions were desirable maximum, but should not be insisted on to the point of refusing co-operation.

So far as the Congress was concerned, the Delhi Manifesto s merely a preliminary step to an interview between the Viceroy d Gandhi, accompanied by Motilal Nehru, which had already en arranged by Vithalbhai Patel. The two Congreses leaders, o met the Viceroy on December 23, sought for a definite surance that Dominion Status would be granted to India. But e Viceroy was unable to give that assurance. It is generally lieved that this was due to the strong opposition in Britain to e Viceroy's declaration of October 31, 1929, mentioned ove.[12]

A foreign writer, Louis Fischer, referring to this interview, s described how, in the meantime, Lord Reading led a combin- Tory and Liberal attack in Parliament against the policy of e Labour Government who could not command a majority the House of Commons. So on December 23, the Viceroy told andhi, Jinnah, and others who met him, "that he was unable to ejudge or commit the (Round Table) Conference at all to any rticular line."[13]

But whatever may be the reason, no guarantee of immediate ominion Status was forthcoming, and the two Congress leaders turned empty-handed. Gandhi now declared himself definitely r independence, and thereby, after nearly seven years, regained s position of undisputed supremacy in the Congress. "I have rnt my boats" said, he.

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V. THE CONGRESS SESSION OF 1929

The Congress met at Lahore in December, 1929, in atmosphere. There was an intense fervour all over the over the impending declaration of independence—a fer creased, rather than kept down, by the indiscriminate ar political workers by the Government. The choice of Ja Nehru, an embodiment of youthful ardour and indomitable siasm for independence, lent a majestic glamour to the v course assembled at the Congress Pandal. The resolution embodied the spirit of the audience was worded as follo

"This Congress endorses the action of the Working mittee in connection with the Manifesto signed by party including Congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and apprecia efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national ment for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having consid that has since happened and the result of the meeting b Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other lead the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained existing circumstances by the Congress being represented proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress, th in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calc year, declares that the word 'Swaraj' in Article I of the C Constitution shall mean Complete Independence, and declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Re have lapsed, and hopes that all Congressmen will he devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of C Independence for India. As a preliminary step towards c ing a campaign for Independence, and in order to m Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change c this Congress resolves upon complete boycott of the Cen Provincial Legislatures and Committees constituted by th ernment, and calls upon Congressmen and others taking the national movement to abstain from participating dir indirectly in future elections, and directs the present C members of the Legislatures and Committees to resign the This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosec constructive programme of the Congress, and authorises th

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dia Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon programme of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of kes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such feguards as it may consider necessary."

There is no doubt that the proposed revival of Civil Disobedence in the Lahore Congress was Gandhi's handiwork. He was mewhat upset by the recrudescence of violence in the country[14] d thought that the best way of preventing it was to canalize the surgent spirit of youth into a non-violent campaign. He stated at "Civil Disobedience alone can save the country from impend- g lawlessness and secret crime, since there is a party of violence the country which will not listen to speeches, resolutions, or nferences, but believes only in direct action."

As regards the adoption of independence as the goal of India may be doubted whether Gandhi was really converted to the lea. It has been suggested that his heart was not in it, but he dopted this merely to fall in with the majority. Subsequent vents seem to support this view.[14a]

Yet, for the time being, the Left Wing of the Congress seem- d to have won over Gandhi to its ideal and the Congress session f Lahore set a seal upon the future destiny of India. The new leal, irrevocably adopted by the nation, was hailed with befitting plemnity. An epic grandeur was added to it when, as the clock truck midnight on December 31, and the date of ultimatum ssued by the Congress expired, the President of the Congress ame out in a solemn procession to the banks of the Ravi and oisted the tri-colour flag of Indian independence in the presence f a mammoth gathering that faced the biting cold of Lahore win- r to witness the historic scene. "As the flag slowly went up the taff, a thrill of joy shook the vast audience, and imbued them vith a new hope and a distant vision of the glorious future of ndia."

The Nehru Constitution got a decent burial in the hands of he Congress at Lahore. Apart from discarding Dominion Status n favour of the goal of complete independence, the Congress also efinitely rejected its recommendations about the solution of the ommunal problem. The resolution by the Congress ran as ollows:

"In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary

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to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communa tions, the Congress believing that in an independent Ind munal question can only be solved on strictly national lin as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other ties in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the sol communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this C assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities, that t tion thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parti cerned."

Bereft of jugglery of words, it plainly put a premium intransigence of the communalists by giving them a power on any proposed solution of the communal problem Congress should have realized by this time that it was human ingenuity to devise a scheme of communal set which would "give full satisfaction to the parties concerned Congress, by pasing the Lahore resolution, practically pre itself from accepting any Constitution that might be propo future ; and it is difficult to imagine a more amazing insta a political *harakiri* than was done by the greatest political zation in India in 1929. It is no less amazing that this and aspects of the Lahore resolutions received very little atte from the leaders and people who seem to have been carried by the formal declaration of the ideal of complete indepe

Apart from the great impetus given to the sentim independence, the value of the Lahore Congress may jus questioned by a discerning critic. Although independen declared to be the goal, no definite programme for achi was laid down. Indeed no thought seems to have been be on the all-important question of how to attain indepen The old twin armours,—the negative one, the boycott of Co and the positive one, the Civil Disobedience—were calle being, without any thought to avoid the pitfalls which c their failure in the past. Everything indicated the revi triumph of the old Gandhiite party. The ground they had the success of the Swarajya Party in 1923 was once more g but no proper consideration was given to the good th Swarajya party had done in the past and might do again in The defeat sustained by Gandhi on this point in the All

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ongress Committee in July, only five months before, was now
venged—due mainly to the hopeless split in the Congress organi-
tion in the Provinces, specially Bengal, which was a stronghold
the Swarajya Party. It is interesting to note that whereas in
ly both J. M. Sen Gupta and Subhas Bose offered a strenuous
position to Gandhi's proposal, now the former supported the
licy of boycott of Councils.

As regards the positive weapon of Civil Disobedience, no
ogramme was fixed,—neither the date of its commencement nor
e nature of its operation. Everything was nominally left to the
l-India Congress Committee but practically to Gandhi. As one
dies the activities of the Congress from this time onward no
ubt is left on one's mind that once more the Congress had sur-
ndered its judgement to the safe-keeping of Gandhi. Undeterred
the past experience of hopeless muddles in which Gandhi
aced himself and the great national organization on more than
e occasion, he was chosen to be the Dictator, a position which
maintained, with rare intervals, during the next thirteen years.
e saint Gandhi had once more triumphed over the statesman
andhi. Nehru observes: "He (Gandhi) did give us the impres-
n that civil disobedience, when it came, need not be stopped
cause of a sporadic act of violence..... This assurance went
long way in satisfying many of us."[16]

Such an understanding must have been vague and of a
rsonal or private character.

Some incidents following the Congress session left no doubt
at Gandhi had seriously set upon his task of dominating the
ongress. By winning over Jawaharlal he had considerably
eakened the Left Wing of the Congress which alone dared raise
voice against him. A further step in the same direction was
ken by him when he deliberately excluded all the Left Wingers,
cluding Srinivasa Iyengar and Subhas Bose, from the new
orking Committee. There was a strong feeling in the All-India
ongress Committee that at least these two should be retained,
t Gandhi proved adamant. He declared that he wanted a
mmittee that would be completely of one mind, i.e., his mind.
owever desirable this ideal might be in an Executive Body like
e Cabinet, it was hardly appropriate to a deliberative body, at
ast to the extent to which Gandhi carried it. The hands of the

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All-India Congress Committee were forced as Gandhi wan his list should be voted as a whole. He practically m question of confidence, and as the All-India Congress C was unwilling or unable to sacrifice his leadership it had t his demand.[17]

The new Working Committee met on January 2, 19 first thing that it did was to take steps to implement the C resolution on the boycott of Councils. It called upon the tered voters to compel the resignation of those who m respond to the Congress appeal for resignation, as well a frain from participating in the ensuing elections to the tures. As a result of the Congrerss mandate, by Februar 21 members of the Legislative Assembly resigned along from the Council of State and 142 from the Provincial tures, namely Bengal, 34; Bihar and Orissa, 31; C. P Madras, 20; U.P., 16; Assam, 12; Bombay, 6; Pan Burma, 1.

In order to hold up the ideal of independence be nation the Working Committee decided that 26th of J should be observed all over India as the *Purna Swaraj* D of full independence). A manifesto, prepared by Gan adopted by the Working Committee, was to be read on th sion to the people in the villages and towns all over the and the assent of the audience was to be taken by show of It read as follows :—

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the people as of any other people, to have freedom and to e fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life so that th have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that Government deprives the people of these rights and o them, the people have a further right to alter it or to ab The British Government in India has not only deprived th people of their freedom but has based itself on the exp of the masses, and has ruined India economically, p culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that Ind sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or c independence.

"India has been ruined economically. The revenue from our people is out of all proportion to our incom

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verage inocme is seven pice (less than two-pence) per day, and f the heavy taxes we pay, 20 per cent are raised from the nd revenue derived from the peasantry, and 3 per cent from e Salt Tax which falls most heavily on the poor.

"Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been des- oyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the ear, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts; and othing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts us destroyed.

"Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to eap further burdens on the peasantry. The British manufactur- goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties etray clear partiality for British manufactures, and revenue om them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for staining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbi- ary has been manipulation of the exhange ratio, which has sulted in millions being drained away from the country.

"Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as nder the British regime. No reforms have given real political ower to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before reign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and ee association have been denied to us, and many of our country- en are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to eir homes. All administrative talent is killed, and the masses ave to be satisfied with petty village offices and clearkships.

"Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our oorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that ind us.

"Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly, d the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with adly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us ink that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence ainst foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and fami- s from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

"We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit y longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our untry. We recognise, that the most effective way of gaining

V3

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our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore p ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary a ation from the the British Government, and will prepare fo disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are vinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help a payment of taxes without doing violence even under provo the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Sw

Thus, every Indian was to make a declaration of co independence and take a pledge of loyalty to the Indian N Congress and to the sacred fight for India's liberty.

The Independence Day was solemnly observed and great enthusiasm all over the country. But the ink with the manifesto was written had hardly dried when Gandhi a statement in his paper, *Young India*, which, by no str imagination, could be made compatible with the annual de tion.

He enumerated eleven items of administrative reform appealed to the Viceroy in the following words: "This no means an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, b the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple b needs of India. He will then hear no talk of Civil Di ence; and the Congress will heartily participate in any C ence where there is a perfect freedom of expressi demand." One might rub his eyes with wonder and ask self,—is it the same Gandhi who refused to attend the Table Conference save on the express promise of the g Dominion Status?

Again, however important might be the specific demanded by Gandhi,[19] does it lie in the mouth of thos were pledged to fight for *Purna Swaraj* or complete free bargain over certain administrative reforms under the Government and promise to abandon the fight as soon a reforms were conceded? It is impossible to discover a sistency between Gandhi's statement and the Congress re on any rational basis. Curiously enough, the officical hi the Congress, written by a devoted admirer of Gandhi, re Gandhi's statement and enumerates the eleven points, b

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not a word to say about its incongruous character. On the other hand, he deepens the mystery by saying that the elleven points comprise the terms which Gandhi communicated to Bomanji who undertook to negotiate with Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as early as January, 1930.[19a]

Evidently, Gandhi's statement did not attract serious notice as the country was passing through excited times. Arrests were going on and Subhas Bose and eleven others were sentenced to imprisonment for a year. The undertrial prisoners in Meerat were committed to the Sessions. A large number of Congress members had defied the mandate to resign the seats in the Legislatures.

The Working Committee met again at Sabarmati on February 14-16 and passed the following resolution on Civil Disobedience:

"In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving *Purna Swaraj*, as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start Civil Disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action, all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full co-operation in every way possible and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that, in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary co-operation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their co-operation or renounce benefits as the case may be and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom.

"The Working Committee trusts that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind

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and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will on the Congress organisation and guide the movement to th of their ability."[20]

The Working Committee thus authorised only Gandhi his followers in faith to start Civil Disobedience. But the which met at Ahmadabad on March 21, 1930, i.e., after G had begun his march for Dandi, not only endorsed the reso of the Working Committee, but somewhat widened its They expressed the hope "that the whole country will respo the action taken by Gandhi" and authorised "the Pro Congress Committees to organise and undertake such Civi obedience as to them may seem proper and in the manner may appear to them to be most suitable."

B. THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT

I. Violation of Salt Laws

The whole country was agog with excitement over the Disobedience movement decided upon by the Working mittee. All eyes were turned towards the Sabarmati As for Gandhi alone could determine the hour, place, and the issue on which the Civil Disobedience campaign would be ed. But while the country was in a state of animated sus Gandhi could not make up his mind. Asked by poet Ra Nath, he said: "I am thinking furiously, day and night, do not see any light coming out of the darkness." At las dawned upon him six weeks later. He decided to laun *Satyagraha* campaign by manufacturing salt at Dandi, a on the sea-coast in Gujarat about 200 miles from Sabarm thereby openly break the salt-law. He wrote a long letter Viceroy on March 2, 1930, communicating this decision. letter must be regarded as a curious document from wh point of view one may look at it. After enumerating the done by the British Government, more or less on the lines cated by his "Eleven Points,"[22] he asked for immediate re of those evils. As an eminent historian has rightly obs "For a lay man, who is not a saint, the eleven points a letter are in clear contradiction of the Lahore Resolution. was recognized by the Congressmen who were not blind de

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f the Mahatma. The letter perplexed even Jawaharlal Nehru, who was constrained to remark: "What was the point of making list of our political and social reforms when we were talking n terms of independence? Did Gandhiji mean the same thing hen he used this term as we did, or did we speak a different nguage?"[24] Here Jawaharlal hit upon the real crux of the roblem. It is evident from Gandhi's letter that though he upported 'independence' *(Purna Swaraj)* he had no clear conption of it, as distinct from the Dominion Status. In any case e did not distinguish between the two, as is clear from his tter to the Viceroy. Lest the Viceroy dismiss his appeal on ie ground of the Congress resolution on Independence, he reasured him: "But the resolution of Independence should cause o alarm, if the word Dominion Status mentioned in your nnouncement had been used in its accepted sense. For, has it ot been admitted by responsible British statesmen that Domiion Status is virtual independence?"

All this must appear as very strange to an ordinary mortal, nacquainted with the ways of saints, when he remembers that Gandhi, who wrote this letter, fought a battle royal against the eft Wing members in the Congress session of 1928 on the issue f Independence *vs.* Dominion Status. Indeed Gandhi's letter to he Viceroy lends colour to the supposition that he supportd the Congress resolution on Independence in deference to he wishes of the majority, but his heart was not in it. Nor as he really anxious for coming to a final issue with Governent. After announcing that if his letter makes no appeal to he Viceroy's heart to the extent of removing the evils of British ule enumerated by him, he would proceed with his followers disregard the Salt Laws on the eleventh day of March, he dded: "If you will care to discuss matters with me and if to at end you would like me to postpone publication of this letter, shall gladly refrain, on receipt of a telegram to that effect soon fter this reaches you." Gandhi took special care to send the tter by a messenger, Mr. Reginald Reynolds, a young Englishan living in the *Ashram* at Sabarmati. The letter can by no eans be reconciled with the Congress resolution either in letter in spirit. It does not speak the language of a fighter or of a olitician, but that of a saint. Lord Irwin had no fear of the

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saint, and assumed a strong patronizing and almost a dis tone in his brief reply to Gandhi. He refused to see Gan regretted that he (Gandhi) should have been "contempl course of action which was clearly bound to involve viola the law and danger to the public peace." Even to this Gan a rejoinder: "On bended knees I asked for bread and rec stone instead. *The English Nation responds only to forc* I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only publi the Nation knows is the peace of the public prison."[25]

The die was cast and there was now no retreat. G decided to start on foot from Sabarmati, with a band of s volunteers, and march by stages to Dandi, more than 20 distant, to manufacture salt in defiance of law. For a week the Sabarmati Ashram witnessed a concourse of tho of visitors, including leading Indians and newspaper cor dents from different parts of India as well as from abro presented a unique spectacle.

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi with 79 male and femal bers[26] left the Sabarmati Ashram on foot and reached at Dandi on 5 April. It was a veritable triumphal p The villagers flocked from all sides, sprinkled the roads, leaves on them, and as the pilgrims passed, sank on their Over three hundred village headmen gave up their jobs. in the morning of the sixth of April, Gandhi and his party into the sea-water, returned to the beach and picked u salt left by the waves. It was a technical breach of law t way in which the whole thing was managed was of grea ficance. The slow march over 241 miles in 24 days w publicity to the world that it was a deliberate act of defi the mighty British Government, made a profound appeal t both leaders and massess—, and as Gandhi intended, it signal to the nation. Salt laws were broken in many plac was made in pans in the cities, and mass arrests and ot pressions followed. Sixty thousand political prisoners w in jails. Indians remained non-violent despite beatings and arrests.[27]

Whatever one might think of the inexplicable vac of Gandhi on the eve of his projected expedition to Dandi, i be admitted that the plan was a grand conception and

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uperbly executed with a consummate skill. The slow march n foot from village to village was, by itself, an automatic nd intensive propaganda carried on in the neighbourhood, and oused the entire countryside to a realistic sense of the coming truggle for *Swaraj* contemplated by the Congress. As wide ublicity was given in the press to every detail of the march and isplay of the unique devotion to Gandhi and enthusiasm for ne cause he had espoused, among the masses, the story of the Pilgrim's Journey to Dandi' worked up the feelings of the coun- y as a whole, such as nothing else could. At first the Govern- ent and their henchmen looked upon the whole thing with idicule and contempt and the editor of an Anglo-Indian Daily, he *Statesman*, made the taunting remark that "the Mahatma ould go on boiling sea-water till Dominion Status was attain- d." But ere long this scoffing attitude changed to a nervous pprehension. The technical breach of the Salt Law by Gandhi n April 6, 1930, was a signal for the countrywide repetition of he same. Where natural conditions did not permit of the illegal anufacture of salt, violation of other laws was resorted to. J. M. Sen Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, defied the Law of Sedition y openly reading seditious literature in a public meeting. An ntensive campaign was started on an extensive scale for the oycott of liquor and of intoxicating drugs, as well as of foreign loth and British goods of all sorts, with the help of volunteer rganization of picketers.

Besides these activities which were generally followed all ver India, there were special ones in various localities. In efiance of forest laws people began to cut down timber in C. P. nd Bombay. A campaign for non-payment of taxes and land- evenue was started in Gujarat, U. P. and Midnapur District in engal. In the North-West Frontier Province, the home of the erce warlike Pathans, the red-shirt volunteers, organised by Abdul haffar Khan (better known as Frontier Gandhi), followed, in a on-violent manner, an intense anti-Government movement in arious ways including non-payment of taxes.

But Gandhi made the violation of salt-law his chief object. e announced his intention of raiding the salt depot of Dharsana Surat District. As usual he communicated his decision in a ng letter to the Viceroy and again requested him "to remove

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the salt tax and the prohibition on private salt-making." wise, said he, he would reluctantly set out for Dharsana followers and demand possession of the Salt Works. Bu Gandhi set out for Dharsana, he was arrested and put into Abbas Tyabji took up Gandhi's place as leader of *Satyagrahis*, but he was also arrested. Then Sarojini hurried to Dharsana and directed the raid on May 21. volunteers from all parts of Gujarat took part in it. A s raids were made on the Wadala Salt Depot. It began o 22, but the most demonstrative raid took place on June nearly 15,000 participated in the action.[28] Many other Sa took place. Everywhere the volunteers were mercilessly and arrested in large numbers, to which detailed reference made later.

On April 10, 1930, Gandhi had made a special appeal paper *Young India* to the women of India to take up th of picketing and spinning. The effect was almost mira Thousands of women responded, and even those of orthod aristocratic families, who had never before come out o seclusion, offered themselves for arrest and imprisonme took by surprise not only the Government but even the l themselves. Miss Mary Campbell, who had carried on rance work in India for forty years, has vividly describ awakening of the women in Delhi where alone 1600 wome imprisoned. Dhangopal Mukherjee has given a lively d tion of a meeting in Bombay where a large number of la high class were holding a *purdah* meeting to discuss the sit while the men were waiting on the other side of the screen ing the two. The decision of the ladies was announ a practical manner by suddenly removing the screen, and ing them in the full glare of light to the gaze of the bew throng of men. Foreign tourists in India, like H. N. Br and G. Slocombe, deeply impressed by the great change t been wrought on the women-folk of India, almost ov observed that if the Civil Disobedience Movement had plished nothing else but the emancipation of the women o it would have fully justified itself. The awakening of wo only added to the number of civil resisters to a considera tent, but their examples also redoubled the energy and a

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f the men and spurred them on to greater efforts and sacrifices r the country.

II. THE TERRORISM OF GOVERNMENT

Before a month had passed since the opening of the campign by Gandhi, the Government realized the gravity of the uation caused by a wide national movement, and struck hard, a ruthless manner. The Working Committee of the Congress, its meeting on 21st January, 1931, gave a summary of the utal measures in the following appreciation of the sufferers: The Committee takes this opportunity to record its high appreation of the courage and firmness with which the men and omen and even the children of the country have faced Governent persecution that is accountable for the imprisonment of out 75 thousand innocent men and women, numerous indisiminate and brutal *lathi*-charges, various forms of torture even those in custody, firing resulting in the maiming and deaths of ndreds of people, looting of property, burning of houses and arching of moving columns of armed Police and *sawars* and itish soldiers in several rural parts, depriving people of the ht of public speech and association by prohibiting meetings d processions and declaring Congress and allied associations lawful, forfeiting their movables and occupying their houses d offices."[29] For the sake of convenience the Government easures may be reviewed under three separate heads:

1. Repressive Laws

(i) On April 27, 1930, the Government passed an Emerncy Ordinance, called Press Ordinance, reproducing the ringent provisions of the repealed Press Act of 1910. Accordg to an official statement in July, 1930, securities aggregating two lakhs and forty thousand rupees were taken from 131 wspapers, and nine newspapers declined to pay and suspended blication.[30]

(ii) The Congress Organizations were declared unlawful and overnment was authorized to confiscate their property.

But these Ordinances could not paralyze the activities of the ongress organizations. As they could not function openly, their

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activities like raising funds, recruiting volunteers etc. were conducted in secret. Meetings and processions were held in defiance of the law, and newspapers, bulletins, leaflets etc. were published and distributed in spite of official ban. In some places like Bombay, Congress propaganda was carried on by means of the radio, and the Police could not locate the transmitting set.

2. Arrests

The defiance of law led to wholesale arrests. Even according to official figures more than sixty thousand were put behind prison bars. But this figure is somewhat misleading for it includes only the number of those who were directly charged with a political offence. But many *Satyagrahis* or Civil Resisters were sentenced on charges like stealing, exercising intimidation, picketing etc., and they are not included in the above number. Many false charges were not challenged as the *Satyagrahis*, true to their creed, refused to take any part in the court proceedings. The Working Committee estimated the number of those imprisoned as 75,000, as mentioned above.

Most of the leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, were in prison, and finally Gandhi was arrested on May 4, 1930. The whole country seemed to be in gaol.

3. Terrorism by Government

But the prosecutions under the Ordinances or 'lawless laws' formed only a minor part of the devices adopted by the Government to crush the moment. They inaugurated a veritable reign of terror and employed both Police and the military to cow down the people by most ruthless and indiscriminate brutal assaults on unarmed and unresisting men and women. The atrocities committed by the agents of the Government beggar all description. The heads of unarmed men and women *Satyagrahis* were the target of blows from heavy sticks, either iron-shod or covered with leather, which could, and often did, split the skull. In many localities the Congress agencies had to set up hospitals and organize ambulance corps for the victims of such brutal assaults.

Not infrequently there was firing upon unarmed crowds. In answer to a question by S. C. Mitra regarding the number

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ses of firing, the Hon. Mr. H. G. Haig furnished the following ple.[32]

CASUALTIES AMONGST THE PUBLIC

Locality	Date	Killed	Wounded	Remarks
dras City	April 27th	2	6	1 died subsequently
rachi	„ 16th	1	6	„
lcutta	„ 1st	7	59	„
	„ 15th	—	3	„
Parganas	„ 24th	1	3	
ittagong	„ 18th, 19th & 20th	10	2	Both died subsequently
shawar	„ 23rd	30	33	
ittagong	„ 24th	1	—	
adras	May 30th	—	2	
olapur	„ 8th	12	28	
adala-Salt Pans	„ 24th	—	1	
endy Bazaar	„ 26th, 27th	5	67	
wrah	„ 6th	—	5	
ittagong	„ 7th	4	6	3 died subsequently
ymensingh	„ 14th	1	Between 30 to 40	
dnapur ratapdighi)	„ 31st	2	2	
cknow	„ 26th	1	42	2 died subsequently
alu-Jhelum Dist.				
njab	„ 18th	—	1	
ngoon	„ Last Week	5	37	
W.F. Province		17	37	
lhi	„ 6th	4	40	

A typical instance is furnished by the well-known incident Peshawar on April 23, 1930. There was a demonstration on e arrest of some local leaders. It was non-violent, and when e crowds were returning, several armoured cars full of soldiers

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rushed full tilt into the crowd, without warning, from be killing three people on the spot and wounding a large nu Then, it was alleged by the Government, the crowd set fi the cars. Soldiers were at once rushed to the spot and or to open fire. But the crowd did not run away ; hundreds of stood their ground and faced the bullets. The number of armed people, killed and injured, according to Goverr report, were respectively 30 and 33, but the popular versio it at nearly seven to ten times that figure.

Another incident in N.W.F.P. is worth mentioning. A pany of Garhwali soldiers refused to open fire on an una peaceful crowd. They were at once disarmed, and sentenc a court martial to long terms of imprisonment, ranging fro to 14 years.[33]

There was a second gruesome incident at Peshawar. May 31, 1930, during the C. D. movement, a gentleman was a Government servant employed in a Military Dairy, G Singh Kamboj by name, was passing in a tonga in Peshawar through the Kabuli Gate along with his children when a B Lance Corporal of K.O.Y.L.I. fired at the carriage. Tw the children,—Bibi Herpal Kaur, daughter aged 9.1/2 years, Kaka Bachitar Singh, son, 16 months,—dropped dead like b from a tree and the mother, Shrimati Tejkaur, was sev wounded on arm and breast, the breast being completely bl The dead bodies of the children were taken by several thou persons in a procession which was allowed by the Deputy C missioner. Yet, the carriers of the bier and the funeral cessionists were shot at by the Military,—without giving previous warning to disperse,—from a distance of two yards The dead bodies of the children were dropped on the gr but they were carried again and again by others. Thus 9 were killed and 18 wounded, as per Government reply i Legislaltive Assembly, from firing 17 rounds."[34]

The Government laid the blame on the shoulders of a lent mob, but refused to hold an inquiry demanded by the p The members of a Committee of Inquiry set up by the Wo Committee and presided over by Vithalbhai Patel, who resigned his office as President of the Indian Legislative As bly, were not allowed to proceed to the N. W. F. P. When

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ected evidence from the neighourhood and published their port it was banned.

It is impossible here to refer in detail to the atrocities perated by the Government. But various public organizations ected facts and published reports which unfold a tale of dless and savage persecution unworthy of any Government ich calls itself civilized. In a letter written by Gandhi to the eroy, published in the *Young India* of May 8, 1930, he refers his own experience in Gujarat, confirmed by reports from gal, Bihar, Utkal, U.P., Delhi and Bombay, where the agrahis "have been often savagely and in some cases, even ecently, assaulted." He refers to unnecessary and unprovoked g in Karachi, Peshawar and Madras. "Bones have been ken, private parts have been squeezed," said he, "for the rpose of making volunteers give up salt." "In Bengal," he ld, "unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in act of snatching flags from volunteers."[35] An old woman had d out *Bande Mataram* from within her house. For this English tommy entered the house and bayoneted her. Many er gruesome stories of similar atrocities in Midnapore and where are well authenticated from various sources. But it not possible here to give more than a general picture interced with a few specific events here and there.

At Sholapur in Bombay, the volunteers undertook to maintain order and regulate traffic in the streets, and so came into ct with the police. Four or five policemen were done to th. This led to the declaration of Martial Law. Four men nding a rich Seth were hanged and a large number of prisoers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Firing took ce on six occasions, the casualties being 12 killed and 28 unded.

On July 31, 1930, a procession was taken out in Bombay celebration of the anniversary of Tilak's death, when an er was served prohibiting it. The vast crowd of thousands squatted on the road, and in spite of heavy rain, sat there oughout the night literally in pools of water. When the ning came, a few picked men and a hundred ladies were ested and *lathi*-charge was made on the unarmed crowd. The ested persons included Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, V. J.

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Patel, Mrs. Kamala Nehru (wife of Jawaharlal), Shrimati
Ben and Srimati Amrit Kaur.[36]

The *lathi*-charge in dispersing crowds was improved
by a new Commissioner of Police in Bombay. "On the
first occasion after his taking over charge, the *lathi*, hit
flourished on the body, was applied to the head, and when
began to flow and volunteers fell reeling and rolling
ground, the spectacle of suffering was so harrowing, and
same time so infecting, that thousands gathered from the
of sight-seers in the neighbourhood and the audience
from five to twenty-five thousands."[37] But as the crowd
persed at one place they gathered at another, and it was
for the police to tackle the non-violent volunteers. The
raja of Bikaner, who witnessed the beating of the volunteers
the police in Bombay, remarked that Martial Law was
better than *lathi*-charge.

"In Madras, the beating was so indiscriminate that on
occasion a Missionary, the Rev. F. Paton, was severely
in the neighbourhood of a Police Station when he was
the picketing and *lathi*-charges from near, one evening,
in *Khaddar* robes and wearing a hat. This was the subject
a severe attack on the methods of the police, but neither
Government nor the police would make reparation or
acknowledge their indiscretion. In the South, a Missionary
named Mr. Khaitan was served with an order to leave India
he had to depart forthwith.

"The Police made a new departure in prosecuting people
forming an unlawful assembly, by gathering together a number
of picketers from various centres, putting them in a lorry,
them a long distance from the city, and leaving them there
find their way back as well as they could without any money.
Bombay, picketing and the sealing of foreign cloth in the
of merchants was so rigidly carried out, that, when foreign
was being surreptitiously removed in lorries, a boy named
Ganoo stood across the lorry on the Kalbadevi Road to
its progress; but whoever may have driven the car, it was driven
over the boy and the boy succumbed. Ever since this
occurred, Babu Ganoo Day was being celebrated every

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d it added to the list of sacred days observed by the Congress."[39]

"Local variations did exist, which were based upon differences of degree and kind,—due to environment, the personal equation of the officers concerned, the conditions of tenure of land and various other matters. South India had in one sense been the worst of it. The *lathi*-charges as well as heavy fines and long-term sentences were an early feature, not a late development, of the movement. Bengal yielded the largest number of prisoners in the country. The measure of boycott of British cloth was highest in Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa, where the figures of import in November, 1930, fell by 95 per cent as compared with those for November, 1929. We have already referred to Gujarat's unique part and performance in the drama of national emancipation. U. P. was the only Province where general No-tax campaign was inaugurated, both the Zamindars and the tenants being called upon to withhold, in October, 1930, payment of rent and revenue. The Punjab pulled its weight along with the rest. The wholehearted adoption of non-violence by the N. W. F. Province was no less a moral than a political gain. In Bihar, the Chowkidari tax was withheld in large areas, and the Province suffered to the full from the imposition of Punitive Police and confiscation of large properties in lieu of heavy sums. In the C. P., Forest Satyagraha was successfully launched and continued, in spite of heavy fines and Police excesses. Karnataka organised a No-tax campaign which was highly creditable to the Province. Three lacs of palm and date trees were cut down, 96 out of 130 Patels resigned in the Sirsi Taluka, 25 in the Siddapur Taluka, and 43 out of 63 in the Ankola Taluka, all in the North Kanara.

"More than 800 families participated in the No-tax campaign in the Kanara District. In the Siddapur and Ankola Talukas which suffered the worst, there were about 800 convictions including those of 100 ladies. The losses by reason of forfeiture of lands and homes, attachments of movable property and loss of crops amount to about 15 lacs of rupees.

"In Ankola and Siddapur, 330 families had their lands forfeited. The population involved was nearly 2,000. The lands forfeited were over 2,000 acres in extent, valued at over 8 lacs

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of rupees. 166 houses were also forfeited, valued at a lac a half. The convictions were 218 and the movable prop attached was valued at Rs. 20,000.

"Many farmers were ejected from their homes, some which were used as camps by the Police. Hired labour outside the Taluka had to be employed for reaping the from forfeited lands. There were 37 lady Satyagrahis in Sa pur, who fasted at the door of the persons who had bought properties of the No-taxers. The longest fast was for 31 at Mavinagundi. There were 110 special police posted in Sa pur and punitive police in Ankola. Rs. 37,000 was realised account of these punitive police. The special Ordinance rel to the non-payment of Revenue was applied to Kanara January 1932, to the end of the Campaign, though it was applied in the later period to Gujarat."

"In Ankola the No-tax campaign was political in char and origin, while in Sirsi and Siddapur Talukas it was underl for reasons of economic and agrarian distress as well. In Ke the smallest of the Provinces, the banner of Civil Disobedi was kept steadily till the last day of the movement, while the other end, Assam, including Cachar and Sylhet, respo splendidly to the call of the Congress.

"Attention may now be drawn to a few outstanding e in some of these Provinces. To all of them certain factors common,—the closing of the Congress offices, the taking of Congress papers, books, accounts and flags, *lathi*-ch dispersal by force of public meetings, promulgation of Se 144 over whole areas, serving notices on individuals under S tion 108, raids on houses, searches, seizure of printing pre securities demanded of newspapers and presses alike. But struck the on-looker most was that the Government of country was being run in the interests of foreign cloth and liquor shops. In Bengal Midnapur was specially unfortuna the matter of repression. House-holders were imprisoned bo Bengal and in Andhra for giving shelter, food, or water to C gress volunteers, or volunteers who had been beaten and lying helpless. Orders to fire were issued in Bengal—in Kh notably, on the slightest pretext. When, in Khersai, a c collected round a house where distraint of property was b

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e, order to fire was given and one man was killed and several re injured. In Chechna firing on a retreating crowd resulted 6 persons being killed and 18 wounded. In Contai, a crowd ching preparation of salt was fired upon in June, 1930, and persons were wounded. In Khersai, again, a crowd that ered at the arrest of a person and would not disperse on ming, was fired upon with the result that eleven persons were ed. The celebration of the death anniversary of Deshbandhu as was prohibited by the Police in Calcutta on the 22nd June, when the men in the procession were mercilessly beaten, the men who had come out of their seclusion flung themselves the front in order to save the wounded from being trampled er horses' hoofs.

"The Police entered college buildings and belaboured the dents sitting in class-rooms. In Barisal, 500 persons were in- ed in a *lathi*-charge on one day. In Tamluk, the Police were d to have set fire to the property of Satyagrahis and their pathisers. Reports of indecent assaults were received from ny quarters. In Gopinathpur, Congress volunteers were merci- ly beaten, and amongst those beaten there was a Mussalman . The village became infuriated and arrested the Police, and r locking them up in a local school, set fire to it. Two ngress volunteers broke the door open and rescued the Police m the flames at the risk of their own lives. On the 31st cember, 1931, the anniversary of the passing of Independence olution at Lahore, Subhas Babu while marching in a proces- n was severely beaten. He had returned from jail shortly ore, after serving his term of a year for sedition. In Lahore e authorities were so nervous as to proscribe the picture of a n-co-operation tree. A veiled Mussalman lady-picketer was ested at Ludhiana. Siapa (waiting at funerals) was practised the houses of those who would sell foreign cloth. In Rawal- di prisoners were prosecuted for refusing to take bad food. Montgomery, one hunger-striker, Lala Lakhi Ram, died after ny days of fasting. In Tam Tam a lady was roughly handled. e firing on the Governor of the Punjab at the Senate Hall gave e Police an opportunity to carry on indiscriminate searches. Bihar the movement made a quiet progress. In Samastipur b-division, there is a small bazaar called Shahpur Patoria.

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Four days after the celebration of the Jawahar Week, 125 po
men under the leadership of the Superintendent of Police
rounded it, made 46 arrests, and took away the property of
of those who were not at their houses, in 12 bullock carts.
lar reports were received from other districts. Monghyr
Bhagalpur were in the forefront of the movement. Picketi
liquor shops caused a loss of 40 lacs to the Government.
tary Police and Gurkhas were taken through the paddy fiel
Phulwaria in Motihari, crushing the same, and over-awing p
round about by arresting numerous villagers. Non-payme
Chowkidari Tax was organised in Champaran, Saran, Muz
pur, Monghyr, Patna and Shahabad districts. In C. P.
bids went down by 60 per cent. At Amraoti, there was a
charge for celebrating the Garhwali Day. In Andhra the
achievement of the Police was the beating of about 80 fi
that met at a picnic at Peddapur on 21st December, 1930. S
injuries were inflicted upon the people including two or
ladies. In Kerala, toddy sales had gone down by 70 per
In Tamil Nadu, stoppage of toddy sales was the scene of
and several *lathi*-charges. In Delhi, a Rai Saheb was the
merchant who had attained notoriety by being responsibl
the arrest of 80 ladies and hundreds of male volunteers."[3]

In Gujarat the exodus of the peasants, due to unbe
sufferings, was a historic event whose description by Mr. B
ford is given below :

"And then began one of the strangest migrations in hi
One after another, acting with a unanimity of which only In
with their tight caste organisations are capable, these vil
packed their belongings into their bullock carts and drove
across the border into Baroda. A few even burned the rich
which they were too late to remove. I visited one of their ca
They have built temporary shelters with matting for walls
palm leaves on sacking for a roof. The rains are over; they
suffer no grave hardship till May. But they are crowded to
with their beloved cattle, and packed in the narrow space
their household goods, the great jars in which they store their
cloths and churns, chests and beds, shining pots of brass, h
plough, there a picture of the gods, and everywhere, at inter
the presiding genius of this camp, a photograph of Mah

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andhi. I asked a big group of them why they had left their
omes. The women gave the promptest and simplest answer,—
ecause Mahatmaji is in prison." The men were still conscious
f an economic grievance; "farming does not pay, and the tax
unjust." One or two said "To win Swaraj" or Self-Government.

"I spent two memorable days touring the deserted villages
company with the Chairman of the Congress organisation of
urat. One passed row after row of the padlocked cottages, and
hrough the bars of the windows one could see only empty rooms.
he streets were silent lakes of sunlight. Nothing moved until a
onkey swung himself over a roof.

"To some of these villages, however, a few of the men return-
to work in the fields, while their families and goods remained
Baroda. Some of them complained of the terrorism of the
olice.

"It was not hard to believe, for I had seen something of their
ys myself. As our car was leaving one of these abandoned
llages, a policeman armed with rifle, with a fixed bayonet,
dered us to stop. We might leave the village, he said, only
th written permit from the Police. The man collapsed
mptly when he saw my European clothes and presently began
bbling in broken English 'me nice policeman', but it interested
particularly to discover that nowhere on his uniform did he
ry a number. When I demanded a number, he assured me
at 'every man had a secret number.' He belonged to an emer-
ncy force which is carrying for itself reputation that unpleasant-
resembles that of the Black and Tans in Ireland. It can hardly
ve been an oversight on the part of the organisers of this force,
at their uniforms show no number.

"One cannot blame a Government confronted by open, if
assive, rebellion, if it retaliates within the law. It has proclaimed
ongress an illegal organisation. It has confiscated Congress
shram' in the Bardoli district. It arrested my host the Chair-
an of Surat on the day after we parted. It attached the pro-
rties of the Bardoli refugees and will sell their fields to recover
e tax, if it can find a purchaser, a risk which leaves the
easants calm.

"All this is within the rules of the game. Terrorism is out-
de them, and terrorism is being used. My note-book is full

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of the complaints of the peasants with whom we ta
on this tour. I could seldom verify their stories, but I q
tioned them carefully, and do not doubt their word. T
notes with names and dates shall go to the superior offic
One village was haunted every night by a gang of ruffians, w
fired guns, tore veils, and on one occasion murdered an
peasant with an axe. When the villagers asked for protec
a high Police official is said to have answered: 'You hav
when you pay your tax.' Most of the complaints were of
provoked beating by the Police with their formidable *lathis*.

"One scene I managed, after much questioning, to re
struct. It happened in the abandoned village of Afwa. W
some peasants who own no land had remained behind, and
them were some who had returned from Baroda to culti
their fields. On October 21st, about 3 a.m., a car arrived
ten policemen under a certain Sub-Inspector. The Police f
these men sleeping in the fields. They beat them and then
manded the tax. They were then brought before this
Inspector, who beat some of them with his own hands and ki
others. One was still limping and another showed a pa
swelling. The heads of two brothers he knocked together.
were then taken in a lorry to the lock-up in Bardoli. There
Sub-Inspector threatened, with unprintable details, to 'make t
useless to their wives.' That threat told and the younger bro
though not himself a landowner, paid the tax for his fa
farm. In another case, a passer-by from another village
seized and beaten, and the money in his pocket picked. A
ceipt was given in the name of a local taxpayer, and the str
was told to recover it from him. This Sub-Inspector was a
son who combined ingenuity with brutality. Finding in
village another stranger, a man from Surat, he appropriated
gold ornaments and tried to force some of the villagers to b
a species of summary distraint. But I might continue this n
tive indefinitely and still it would record only one morni
this officer's activity. I might have hesitated to believe t
peasants, had I not happened to meet this person in the
and caught him out in a ludicrous and palpable lie. By
hands, in brief, far from the heights of Simla and the se
of Whitehall, is law and order dispensed to the 'silent milli

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In Borsad, the women were dispersed by force and the specific allegation was made that, when the ladies were thrown down, the policemen trod upon their chests with boots.[41] It may be added that in addition to the brutal assaults on the body the police sometimes resorted to wanton destruction of property. Paddy fields were burnt and eatables forcibly taken. A vegetable market in Gujarat was raided because the dealers refused to sell vegetables to the officials.

The climax was reached when most brutal and cowardly assaults were made on helpless prisoners in jails. Subhas Bose refers to an attack made in the Alipore Central Jail at Calcutta on 5th April, 1930, on a number of distinguished persons including himself. Bose, who was in the front rank was thrown down and remained unconscious for more than an hour. The Government refused the demand for a public inquiry but appointed a Medical Board who examined the injured persons and issued a report.[42]

The brutalities of the police reached a climax in suppressing salt raids at Dharasana (150 miles from Bombay), Wadala (a suburb of Bombay), and other places. "A mass raid at Dharasana took place on the 21st day of May, when 2,500 volunteers from all parts of Gujarat took part in it. They were led by Imam Saheb, the 62 years old colleague of Gandhiji in South Africa. The volunteers commenced the raid early in the morning and as they attacked the salt heaps at different places the Police charged them with *lathis* (bamboo sticks) and beat them back.

"Thousands witnessed the spectacle. After this had gone on for two hours, the leaders, Messrs. Imam Saheb, Pyarelal and Manilal Gandhi were arrested, and later Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also, The total number of injured volunteers on that day was 290." Two of the injured died from the effect of their injuries.

"Mr. Hussain, ex-Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay, Mr. K. Natarajan, and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President, Servants of India Society, who personally watched the Dharasana raid, issued a statement in which they said : "They saw with their own eyes that after Satyagrahis were driven out of the Salt boundary, mounted European Sowars rode at the gallop with *lathis* in their hands beating people between the spot where Satyagrahis had reached for raid and the village itself. They actually galloped at full speed through the streets of the village, scattering men,

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women and children. Villagers ran into bye-lanes and cl themselves in houses. But if by accident, they were unable escape, they were beaten with *lathis*." "A succession of ra were also made on the Wadala Salt Depot. On the 22nd volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. On the 25th volunteers were accompanied by a huge crowd of 2,000 specta The Police charged them with *lathis* injuring 17, and later arre 115. The rest with the crowd got off with the salt. On the afternoon 65 volunteers were afield and 43 of them were arre when 18 more were injured. The rest with the crowd got with salt."

"But the most demonstrative raid was to come off on 1st June for which the War Council was diligently preparing the morning of the 1st nearly 15,000 volunteers and non-vo teers participated in the great mass action at Wadala.

"Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust l crossing and the swelled crowd were held up there by the P cordon. Soon the raiders, among whom were women and ch ren, broke through the cordon, splashed through slime and m and ran over the pans. Congress raiders numbering about were slightly injured. The raiders were repulsed by the P who were acting under the immediate supervision of the H Member.

"Serious troubles ending in two Police charges and calling out of the Military to cope with the situation occurred the Worli Detention Camp on the 3rd June, when about thousand undertrial Wadala 'Raiders' were involved in a b with the Police, resulting in about ninety casualties, twenty of them being serious".[43]

Lest it be supposed that the Indian accounts are too in dible to be true, reference may be made to the testimony of English lady, Miss Madeleine Slade, a disciple of Gandhi. paid a visit to Bulsar in Gujarat on June 6, 1930, to see with own eyes how the *Satyagrahi* volunteers, engaged in the n violent raid on the Dharasana Salt Depot, were being treated the Police. In a report published in the *Young India* of June 1930, she stated that she had found evidence of the follow injuries perpetrated on *Satyagrahi* volunteers :

1. *Lathi* blows on head, chest, stomach and joints.

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2. Thrusts with *lathis* in private parts, abdominal regions.
3. Stripping of men naked before beating.
4. Tearing off loin cloths and thrusting of sticks into anus.
5. Pressing and sqeezing of the testicles till a man becomes unconscious.
6. Dragging of wounded men by legs and arms, after beating them the while.
7. Throwing of wounded men into thorn hedges or into salt water.
8. Riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground.
9. Thrusting of pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious.
10. Beating of men after they have become unconcious and other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feeling of the Satyagrahis."[44]

Several other European eye-witnesses have left graphic account of the brutality prepetrated by the Government agents in the name of law and order. One of the most notable among them is Verrier Elwin, an Anglo-Catholic Missionary who was formerly an Oxford Don. He personally witnessed many incidents in the *Satyagraha* campaign and left a short account of them. The brutal treatment of the *Satyagrahi* in Bombay in April, 1930, is described by him in detail. He has also given an admirable sketch of the No-tax campaign in Gujarat in the form of a Report entitled *In the Desolate Villages of Gujarat.*

A European had written an article on the Indian situation and sent it to six papers in America, England, France, Norway, Germany, and Italy. But no one would publish it. The mystery was solved when the editor of an Italian paper said that he had received instructions from his Government to publish no anti-British article on the Indian question. It was gathered that similar instructions were issued in America.[45]

III. THE EPIC STRUGGLE AT DHARASANA, AND OTHER EVENTS

Fortunately for the historians, a detailed account of the heroic non-violent fight put up by the salt-raiders at Dharasana

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has been preserved by Webb Miller, Foreign correspond the United Press, U.S.A., who was an eye-witness of the tragedy. His description has an epic grandeur about it, and go down in history as the finest literary memorial of the m of Civil Disobedience movement launched by Gandhi in On May 20, 1930, Mr. Miller heard reports of the demonst of the volunteers near Dharasana, but the Government took to prevent persons coming to, and news going out of, the Telegraphic messages to Mrs. Naidu were withheld, and was forcibly detrained at Bulsar, so that he might not Dhingri, the Railway station nearest to Dharasana. however, managed to reach Dhingri by a goods train and walked six miles to Dharasana. He found there 2500 Con men accommodated in several thatched sheds. The events of 21st May, 1930, may be narrated in his own words:

"Mme. Naidu called for prayer before the march started the entire assemblage knelt. She exhorted them: 'Gandhi's b is in jail but his soul is with you. India's prestige is in hands, you must not use any violence under any circumsta You will be beaten but you must not resist; you must not raise a hand to ward off blows.' Wild, shrill cheers termin her speech.

"Slowly and in silence the throng commenced the half- march to salt-deposits. A few carried ropes for lassoing barbed-wire stockade around the salt pans. About a score were assigned to act as stretcher-bearers wore crude, hand-pai red crosses pinned to their breasts, their stretchers consisted blankets. Manilal Gandhi, second son of Gandhi, walked a the foremost of the marchers. As the throng drew near the pans they commenced chanting the revolutionary slogan, "Inq Zindabad", intoning the two words over and over.

"The salt-deposits were surrounded by ditches filled w water and guarded by four hundred native Surat Police in K shorts and brown turbans. Half a dozen British officials co manded them. The Police carried *lathis*—five-foot clubs tip with steel. Inside the stockade twenty-five-men were drawn u

"In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and h a hundred yards from the stockade. A picked column adva from the crowd, waded the ditches, and approached the barb

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wire stockade, which the Surat Police surrounded, holding clubs at the ready. Police officials ordered the marchers to disperse under a recently imposed regulation which prohibited gathering of more than five persons in any one place. The column silently ignored the warning and slowly walked forward. I stayed with the main body about a hundred yards from the stockade.

"Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod *lathis*. Not one of the marchers raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like tenpins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow.

Those struck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was quilted with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors without breaking ranks silently and doggedly marched on until struck down. When everyone of the first column had been knocked down, stretcher-bearers rushed up unmolested by the Police and carried off the injured to a thatched hut which had been arranged as a temporary hospital.

"Then another column formed while the leaders pleaded with them to retain their self-control. They marched slowly towards the Police. Although everyone knew that within a few minutes he would be beaten down, perhaps killed, I could detect no signs of wavering or fear. They marched steadily with heads up without the encouragement of music or cheering or any possibility that they might escape serious injury or death. The police rushed out and methodically and mechanically beat down the second column. There was no fight, no struggle ; the marchers simply walked forward until struck down. There were no outcries, only groans after they fell. There were not enough stretcher-bearers to carry off the wounded ; I saw eighteen injured being carried off simultaneously, while forty-two still lay bleeding on the ground awaiting stretcher-bearers. The blankets used as stretchers were sodden with blood.

"At times the spectacle of unresisting men being methodically

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bashed into a bloody pulp sickened me so much that I had
turn away. The western mind finds it difficult to grasp the
of non-resistance. I felt an indefinable sense of helpless
and loathing, almost as much against the men who were sub
ting unresistingly to being beaten as against the police wie
the clubs, and this despite the fact that when I came to Ind
sympathised with the Gandhi cause.

"Several times the leaders nearly lost control of the wa
crowd. They rushed up and down, frantically pleading with
exhorting the intensely excited men to remember Gandhi's inst
tions. It seemed that the unarmed throng was on the verge
launching a mass attack upon the police. The British offici
charge, Superintendent Robinson of Surat, sensed the immin
of an outbreak and posted his twenty-five rifle-men on a
knoll ready to fire. He came to me, inquired my identity,
said: "You'd better move aside out of the line of shooting.
may be forced to open fire into the crowd." While we
talking one of the Gandhiites, a young university student, ra
to Robinson, his face contorted by rage, tore open his co
smock, exposing his bare breast, and shrieked, "Shoot me, sh
me, kill me, it's for my country." The leaders managed to c
the crowd. The Gandhi men altered their tactics, marched u
groups of twenty-five and sat on the ground near the salt p
making no effort to draw nearer. Led by a coffee-colored P
sergeant of Police, named Antia, a hulking, ugly-looking fel
detachments of police approached one seated group and ca
upon them to disperse under the assemblage ordinance. T
Gandhi followers ignored them and refused even to glance up
the *lathis* brandished threateningly above their heads. Upo
word from Antia the beating recommenced coldly, without an
Bodies toppled over in threes and fours, bleeding from g
gashes on their scalps. Group after group waked forward,
down, and submitted to being beaten into insensibility, with
raising an arm to fend off the blows.

"Finally the police became enraged by the non-resistan
sharing, I suppose, the helpless rage I had already felt at
demonstrators for not fighting back. They commenced savag
kicking the seated men in the abdomen and testicles. The inj
ed men writhed and squealed in agony, which seemed to infl

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the fury of the police, and the crowd again almost broke away from their leaders. The police then began dragging the sitting men by the arms or feet, sometimes for a hundred yards, and throwing them into ditches. One was dragged to the ditch where I stood; the splash of his body doused me with muddy water. Another policeman dragged a Gandhi man to the ditch, threw him in, then belabored him over the head with his *lathi*. Hour after hour stretcher-bearers carried back a stream of inert, bleeding bodies.

"I went to see Mme. Naidu, who was directing the subleaders in keeping the crowds from charging the police. While we were talking, one of the British officials approached her, touched her on the arm, and said: Sarojini Naidu, you are under arrest." She haughtily shook off his hand and said: "I'll come, but don't touch me." The crowd cheered frantically as she strode with the British officer across the open space to the barbed-wire stockade, where she was interned. Later she was sentenced to prison. Manilal Gandhi was alslo arrested.

"In the middle of the morning V. J. Patel arrived...Patel said: "All hope of reconciling India with the British Empire is lost for ever. I can understand any Government's taking people into custody and punishing them for breaches of the law, but I cannot understand how any Government that calls itself civilized could deal as savagely and brutally with non-violent, unresisting men, as the British have this morning.'

"By eleven the heat reached 116° in the shade and the activities of the Gandhi volunteers subsided. I went back to the temporary hospital to examine the wounded. They lay in rows on the bare ground in the shade of an open, palm-thatched shed. I counted 320 injured, many still insensible with fractured skulls, others writhing in agony from kicks in the testicles and stomach. The Gandhi men had been able to gather only a few native doctors, who were doing the best they could with the inadequate facilities. Scores of the injured had received no treatment for hours and two had died. The demonstration was finished for the day on account of the heat.

"I was the only foreign correspondent who had witnessed the amazing scene—a classic example of *"Satyagraha"* or non-

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violent civil disobedience. My problem now was to get t story out to the world".[46]

How this problem was solved may be briefly described it throws interesting light on the methods pursued by the Gove ment. Miller sent five messages of 100 words each to Lond from Bulsar. Three of them and about a half of the fo reached London office—but the office was requested to ca them as they had been transmitted "by error". London of refused to cancel them.

Arriving at Bombay, Miller sent a telegram of 2,000 wo but it was withheld. After interviewing various officials he w told by the Secretary for Ecclesiasltical Affairs: "Your messa must have gone. The Government is not interfering in any w with the messages of foreign correspondents." Miller said: know my message has not been sent. Unless it be released i mediately I am going to fly to Persia and send them from th .....If the newspaper readers of the world learn that the Go ernment (of India) is censoring or killing messages they wo believe a word of British officials' statements thereafter." T Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs now admitted that he had b assigned to act as a censor. After a quarrel for an hour t Secretary agreed to pass the whole story except three points co cerning the actions of the Police. The sequel may be told in M Miller's own words;

"The remaining material was air-mailed and it reache London and New York about ten days after, along with t story of my troubles with the censorship. My story of the be ings at Dharsana caused a sensation when it appeared in t 1,350 newspapers served by the United Press throughout t World. Senator Blaine read the text of my story into the recor of the United States Senate. Representatives of the Gan Movement in the U.S.A. printed it as a leaflet and distribut more than a quarter of a million copies."[47]

Reference may now be made to a few other incidents, a ported by Miller, both violent and non-violent in character:

'Six days after Dharsana beatings, Bombay mobs attack the Police Stations in the Bhendi Bazar quarter—a crowd several thousand natives surrounded Sandhurst Road Po barracks. The crowd showered 'rocks the size of a fist' a

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smashed the windows. Half a dozen police rushed out and opened fire with revolvers point-blank into the streaming mob.... The British sergeants stood and fired methodically into the mass of human beings. With shrieks of rage and yells of agony the mob quickly broke and scattered in all directions. We could see people falling as they ran and the street for a couple of blocks was spattered with blood. Twelve British Police sergeants were more or less badly wounded during the fracas. We learnt afterwards that about eight natives had been killed and eighty wounded in the firing. Attempts were made by the mob to set fire—but it was quickly extinguished.

'The Bhendibazar riot had nothing to do with Gandhi movements. A Pathan kicked a dog belonging to a British Police sergeant who then tried to catch the Pathan. A crowd quickly gathered and attempted to beat the sergeant who opened fire to save himself. News of the incident spread and mobs rushed to attack the Police station. They were Mahomedans who held aloof from Gandhi Campaign and hence the British regarded it as serious.'[43]

Within a few days there was a Procession of more than 100,000 people as a protest against Gandhi's arrest. Just opposite the Victoria Terminus Railway Station Police blocked the street. The Procession sat down in the street. "One frenzied Gandhiite rushed in front of the Police, shouting repeatedly, 'Shoot me in the breast.'" One Gandhi man shouted to the demonstrators, "If you are prepared to die, stay, if not, go home" ; but none left. After four hours, at 8 P.M., the authorities allowed the Procession to proceed into the heart of European Quarters. "This triumph of non-violence over armed force", says Miller, "gave Gandhi's idea of non-resistance its first spectacular victory.

But non-violence could not always be maintained. At Wadala in the suburbs of Bombay about one hundred Congress volunteers, leading a mob of about 40,000, made a mass attack on the salt works. It lasted three hours. Gandhi's instructions of non-violence were ignored. Time after time the mob broke through police cordons, invaded the saltpans, and carried away salt. The Police belaboured the mob with clubs while the mob showered the British Police with large stones. In the course of

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two such demonstrations Miller witnessed 1,000 arrests. Seve hundred suffered injuries.[49]

C. ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

While the whole of India was being convulsed by the stir events described above, the Simon Commission proceeded its work and its Report was issued on 7 June, 1930. Its recommendations were :

1. Federal Constitution for India.
2. Full autonomy in the Provinces subject to the overri powers vested in the Governor.
3. Enlargement of the Provincial Legislative Councils.
4. The Lower House of the Central Legislature to be larged and elected by the Provincial Councils ; but no Respo sible Government in the Centre.
5. Separation of Burma from India.

The recommendations were so unsatisfactory that the Ind Legislative Assembly, though without any nationalist member the Congress, rejected it *in toto*. Even the Liberal Party dem ed that it must not form the basis of discussion at the Ro Table Conference. The Congress leaders, then in jail, were p mitted to confer together, and issued a joint statement on August, 1930, that no solution would be acceptable to them to the Congress which did not guarantee the following:

1. India's right to secede from the Empire.
2. A national Government responsible to the people incl ing control of defence and finance.
3. India's right to submit to an impartial tribunal all Bri claims and concessions given to the Britishers in the past.

I. THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The British Government paid no heed to the protest of t Congress. In accordance with the Viceroy's declaration of October, 1929,[49a] there was a Conference of the representati of His Majesty's Government and those of India...This, the Fi Round Table Conference, was inaugurated by His Majesty t King Emperor in London on 12 November, 1930. The sessi continued till 19 January, 1931, under the Chairmanship of t Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. The Conference w

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attended by 89 members—16 from the British Parties, 16 from the Indian States, and 57 from British India.

The Congress was not represented in the Conference, but it was attended by several eminent leaders like Sapru, Jinnah, and Muhammad Ali, representing all other important political groups in India. There was a general agreement among Indian members that British India and the Indian Native States should form a Federal Union ruled by Parliamentary system of Government. The British members, however, opposed the immediate grant of Dominion Status and the introduction of British Parliamentary system in India.

When, after the general debate, the Conference proceeded to discuss the framework of the constitution, the ruling princes agreed to "consider an immediate federation on two conditions". British India must be federalised, and the Central Government must cease to be a purely official Government and become in some degree responsible to the Central Legislature. 'We can only federate', said the Nawab of Bhopal, 'with a self-governing and federal British India.' The other Indian members and the British delegates agreed to this and the main principle having thus been settled a number of sub-committees were appointed to work the detals.[50]

The Federal Structure sub-committee, with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, as the Chairman, submitted its final report on 15 January, 1931. Its main recommendations were:

Executive authority should be exercised, in accordance with Dominion precedent, by the Governor-General as representing the Crown, advised by a Council of Ministers. The Governor-General should be instructed to invite one Minister to form a Government which would be collectively responsible to the Legislature. There was 'general agreement' that the assumption by India of all the powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested on Parliament cannot be made at one step and that during a period of transition the Governor-General shall be responsible for defence and external relations.

The main trouble was in connection with the election of members belonging to minority communities.

A new complication was added by the demand of B. R. Ambedkar that for electoral purposes the Depressed Classes

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should be treated as a separate community. These and the oth
Minorities all favoured separate electorates with weightage.

Both Sapru and Jayakar expressed the hope that the co
minuties would settle their differences if they were given
chance of working together side by side for their one country.

It seems that the Labour Government took a similar sta
and there was a chance of communal settlement. But Sir Fazl
Husain, then a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, pu
ed the strings from India and the attempts of the Labour Gover
ment were foiled. The following note from the diary of S
Fazl-i-Husain, dated December 3, 1930 (recorded in his bi
graphy by his son, Azim Hussain) is revealing:

"News from Round Table Conference indicates that Labo
Government made attempts to make Moslems agree to some sc
of joint electorates. Shafi, Bhopal, Sultan Ahmed, Fazl-ul-H
Hidayatullah were ready for the game, but others were against
Mahommed Ali was also helping, and no doubt Jinnah, to
though himself remaining in the background. I had to tak
strong action, and the situation has just been saved. We m
keep our present weightage in six Provinces and Centre and ha
majority in Bengal and the Punjab through separate electorate
Let Hindus non-co-operate, and let us build up sufficient strengt
during the next ten years."[51]

How the "situation was saved' we do not yet know. Be
henceforth the Muslims, of all shades of opinion, insisted th
the Muslim claims must be met and that was a condition precede
ent for their support to the demand for Dominion Status. Sh
Muhammad Shafi, M. A. Jinnah, Fazlul Huq, and Dr. Shafa
Ahmed Khan,—all spoke in the same strain. The last-named
perhaps the most liberal-minded of them all, observed: "W
have never tried to create an Ulster in India; that has never bee
.....our wish. On the contrary, we have said that we will fig
shoulder to shoulder with our brethren for the cause of India, ou
common Motherland. But we have at the same time made
perfectly clear.....that our safeguards, our rights, the rights fo
which we have been fighting for years, must be preserved an
guaranteed."[52]

But the 'most unkindest cut of all' came from the whilom
nationalist leader, Muhammad Ali, a devoted follower and 'dea

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brother' of Gandhi. 'Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Mussalman,' said he, 'they are founded only on the fear of domination.' And he reminded the Conference that Islam was not confined to India. "I belong to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim world.....We are not nationalists but supernationalists."[53]

Before the Conference closed the Muslim delegation as a whole made a formal statement to the effect that "no advance is possible or practicable, whether in the Provinces or in the Central Government, without adequate safeguards for the Muslims of India, and that no constitution will be acceptable to the Muslims of India without such safeguards."[54]

The agreement on Dominion Status and all-India Federation was hailed with joy and the speck of cloud in the distant horizon in the shape of the unsolved Minority Problem did not mar the harmony of the proceedings.

In his concluding speech on 19 January, 1931, the Prime Minister defined the policy of His Majesty's Government as follows :—

(a). "The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights."

(b). "His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a Federation of All-India, embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-cameral legislature".

(c). "With a Legislature constituted on a Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature."

(d). "Under existing conditions the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover, as the

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Governor-General must, as a last resort, be able in an emerge... to maintain the tranquility of the State, and must similarly be r... ponsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of mi... rities, he must be granted the necessary powers for these pu... poses.

(e). "The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on... basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken fr... the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The re... of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them t... greatest possible measure of self-government. The authority... the Federal Government will be limited to provisions required... secure its administration of Federal Subjects, and so discharge... responsibility for subjects defined in the constitution as of... India concern."[55]

'In such statutory safeguards as may be made for mee... the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary con... of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers... so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of In... to full responsibility for her own government." Finally the h... was expressed that 'those engaged at present in civil disobedie... might respond to the viceroy's appeal and take their part in t... co-operative work that lay ahead'.[56]

II. GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

The Round Table Conference was adjourned *sine die* ... 19 January, 1931. The policy outlined by the Prime Mini... undoubtedly marked a considerable advance over the recom... dations of the Simon Commission. This was emphasized in... manifesto issued, on the 6th of February, 1931, by the 26 d... gates who had returned to India from the Round Table Con... ence. It was stated in this manifesto that British opinion h... undergone a remarkable change in India's favour and that it h... been explicitly recognised that the task of governing India sho... be entrusted to an Indian Executive responsible to the Indi... Legislature."[57] There can be no reasonable doubt that t... change was largely due to the strong attitude taken by the Indi... National Congress and the recent demonstration of its hold o... the country. But it was equally clear that everything depen... upon the attitude of the Congress. It alone could deliver

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goods and thus determine whether the new British policy would bring peace in India and carry her constitutional progress one stage further. The reaction of the Congress was swift and sharp. Two days after the conclusion of the First R.T.C., on 21 January, the Working Committee of the Congress met at Allahabad and passed a resolution on the Round Table Conference to the following effect:

'The Committee repudiated the representative character of the Conference and considered the declaration of the policy of the British Government made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England, on behalf of the Cabinet on the 19th January, 1931', "and is of opinion that it is too vague and general to justify any change in the policy of the Congress.

"While adhering to the resolution of Independence passed at the Lahore Congress, this Committee endorses the view taken by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others in their letter of the 15th August, 1930, from the Yeravda Central Prison and is unable to see in the pronouncement of the policy made by the Premier an adequate response to the position taken by the signatories to the said letter. The Committee considers that in the absence of such response, and while thousands of men and women including almost all the original members of the Working Committee and a great majority of the members of the All-India Congress Committee are locked in jail, and while the Government repression is in full swing, no general enunciation of policy can be helpful in bringing to a satisfactory issue the struggle which the Nation has entered upon or justifying the suspension of Civil Disobedience. The Committee can, therefore, only advise the country to carry on the struggle with unabated vigour along the lines already laid down and trusts that it will maintain the high spirit it has shown so far."[58]

The day after the resolution was passed a cablegram was received from Dr. Sapru and Mr. Sastri who attended the Round Table Conference at London, asking the Working Committee "not to arrive at any decision on the Premier's speech, until their arrival and without hearing them." Accordingly the resolution was not published, but, as happens in all such cases, information found its way to Government right enough and almost immediately after it had been passed.

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Evidently as a reaction to the resolution, the Government of India released, on 26 January, 1931, the members of the Working Committee in order to afford them an opportunity to meet together and discuss the political situation.

On February 6, 1931, 26 members of the Round Table Conference, immediately after landing in India, sent an appeal to the Congress requesting its leaders "to come forward to make a contribution to the completion of the scheme" which was outlined in the Confereence. Dr. Sapru and Sastri met the Working Committee at Allahabad on February 13, and held long discussions with the members. Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Irwin drawing his attention to the Police excesses and particularly to the assaults on women at Borsad, and asking for an inquiry. His request was turned down and the prospects of a negotiation with the Government appeared to be very gloomy. At this juncture it was suggested that Gandhi might ask for an interview with the Viceroy instead of carrying on correspondence. Gandhi agreed and wrote to the Viceroy on February 14, 1931. The reply came by telegram on the 16th and Gandhi left for Delhi on the same day. The Working Committee had formally passed a resolution investing Gandhi with powers to negotiate a settlement in the name of the Congress, but nevertheless a few days later all the members proceeded to Delhi at the summons of Gandhi.

Gandhi saw the Viceroy for the first time on February 17, and the conversations dragged on from day to day. Gandhi kept the members of the Working Committee fully informed of what was happening day after day. At last, after a protracted negotiation terms of settlement were drafted and Gandhi returned from the Viceregal Lodge at 2-30 A.M. on 5 March to place it before the expectant members of the Working Committee who had kept a whole night vigil. Gandhi put every item of the settlement to each individual member of the Working Committee and asked whether he should reject the settlement as a whole or on any particular item. He made it quite clear that he would not proceed further without the unanimous support of his colleagues. It seems that Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and many other members did not fully approve of the draft on one point or another. But they all ultimately gave in and unanimously approved of it. The Pact was signed by the Viceroy and Gandhi on 5 March.

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The first three paras. of the Agreement ran as follows :

"(1). Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the Civil Disobedience movement be discontinued, and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

"(2). As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards, in the interests of India, for such matters, as for instance, defence, external affiairs, the position of minorities, the financial credit of India, and the discharge of obligations.

"(3). In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his announcement of the 19th of January, 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the future discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform."[59]

The rest of the Pact, which was a very lengthy document, contained details of the ways in which the Government agreed to undo the injuries suffered by individuals during the Civil Disobedience movement.

Whatever might have been said to the contrary by Gandhi, the second clause of the agreement meant an abandonment by the Congress of its demand for *Purna Swaraj* or full independence.

This all-important clause, which practically gave away the whole Congress case, was agreed to by Gandhi without the knowledge, not to speak of the previous approval, of the members of the Working Committee in Delhi, although they were being kept informed of the progress of the negotiations from day to day. Its reaction on Jawaharlal Nehru is described by himself as follows :

"On the night of the fourth of March we waited till midnight for Gandhi's return from the Viceroy's house. He came back about two A.M., and we were awakened and told that an agreement had been reached. We saw the draft. I knew most of the clauses, for they had been often discussed, but, at the very top,

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Clause 2, with its reference to safeguards, etc., gave me a tre dous shock. I was wholly unprepared for it. I said nothing and we all retired.....

"The question of our objective, of independence, also mained. I saw in that clause 2 of the settlement that even seemed to be jeopardised. Was it for this that our people behaved so gallantly for a year? Were all our brave words deeds to end in this? The independence resolution of the C gress, the pledge of January 26, so often repeated? So I lay pondered on that March night, and in my heart there was a emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond reca

Next morning Gandhi had a long talk with Nehru and his own interpretation of Clause 2. Nehru continues: "The pretation seemed to me to be a forced one, and I was not vinced, but I was somewhat soothed by his talk. The meri the agreement apart, I told him that his way of springing surp upon us frightened me, there was something unknown about which, in spite of the closest association for fourteen year could not understand at all and which filled me with apprehens He admitted the presence of this unknown in him, and said he himself could not answer for it or foretell what it might lea

"For a day or two I wobbled, not knowing what to do. T was no question of opposing or preventing that agrerement the

"So I decided, not without great mental conflict and phy distress, to accept the agreement and work for it wholehearte There appeared to me to be no middle way."[60]

It will be clear to any unprejudiced mind, as it was to Neh that the Congress not only gave up the demand for Independ or Dominion Status, but definitely and substantially receded f the position they had taken up at the Conference with the Vic on December 23, 1929, which led to the rejection of the R Table Conference and precipitated the Civil Disobedience m ment, as well as in subsequent negotiations during the move The Working Committee also definitely went back upon its resolution of January 21, 1931, which repudiated the represent character of the Round Table Conference and regarded the de ration of policy made by the Britirsh Premier at the Round T Conference as too vague and general to justify any change i policy of the Congress. For the Committee now agreed to

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der the scheme outlined in the Conference on the basis of the principle announced by the British Premier. It must be evident to all, not blinded by devotion to Gandhi, that what he secured for India, by way of constitutional progress, could be easily had without the Civil Disobedience campaign involving untold miseries and sufferings, but it was deliberately spurned again and again. Gandhi even went so far as to forego his demand for an investigation into the allegations of the police atrocities in different parts of India. It is true that on this particular occasion the credit or discredit must be, technically speaking, shared by the Working Committee which endorsed the Pact. But it must be remembered that Gandhi himself took good care to ensure that all men of independent thinking were excluded from this Committee so that all the members would be completely of one mind, that is, of his mind.

It may be said, without much exaggeration, that no member of the Working Committee, with the single exception of Jawaharlal Nehru, had ever thought of deviating a hair's breadth from Gandhi's opinion. But even Jawaharlal had, of late, been rapidly veering round to this group of devotees.[61] His line of thinking on the present issue has been hinted above. In order to clarify his position he issued a statement 'that he did not approve of some of the terms of the Pact, but as an obedient soldier he had to submit to the leader.' At that very moment he, not Gandhi, was the President of the Indian National Congress.

The Pact caused a great disappointment to many, particularly to Subhas Bose who held aloft the flag of Independent India, and though driven from the inner Circle of the Congress, had been rallying the country round this banner. His followers, particularly the Youth Organisations, openly expressed their dissatisfaction. Subhas saw Gandhi and argued with him, but could not change his views.

A large section, however, regarded the Pact as a great victory for Gandhi and the Congress. Gandhi himself issued a statement to the effect that 'the settlement did not imply a victory for either party'. This is the least he could do if we bear in mind that on the eve of his march to Dandi he had publicly stated: "Civil Disobedience, begun this time, cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive."[62]

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It is a moot point to decide why Gandhi made such a *face*. The only rational justification that can be urged is a rea tion on his part that in this unequal fight with the Government chances of success were very remote, and a compromise in time is preferable to an admission of failure and voluntary re

But whatever might have been the real ground for Gan ignoble retreat, the Pact should not be judged merely by wh accomplished or failed to achieve. There is one aspect of it wh though generally ignored at the time in India, cannot but app to the historian as a valuable gain in a long view of things. the first time in the history of British India, the British Gov ment condescended to treat the Indian National Congress o footing of equality as a political opponent, and entered on a p longed negotiation with its accredited agent to settle terms peace. The very fact that the Viceroy and Gandhi put their pective signatures on a 'treaty of peace' put the Indian Nati Congress on a high pedestal, and increased its prestige and stat What was more important, the British practically conceded to Congress a status and authority to speak for political India a consciously or unconsciously admitted its right to be heard on future negotiations. This was no small gain and British states like Churchill fully realized that they had yielded grounds and British prestige suffered a set-back. The very fact that Gan the half-naked *fakir*—to use Churchill's expression—ascended staircase of Viceregal lodge, day after day, to carry on diplom negotiations on behalf of the Congress, made it patent to all henceforth the Bitish authority in India must take due cognizan of the great national organization which was fighting for Ind freedom. Whether, and if so, how far, this aspect of the ques weighed with Gandhi, no one can say.

In spite of its failure to achieve the goal the Civil Disob dience movement, which came to a seemingly ignoble end, a great value and importance in India's struggle for *Swaraj*. demonstrated the awakening of political consciousness among masses to a degree undreamt of before either by the friends foes of India. It also gave evidence of the high moral inspirat and unflinching courage, infused among the people by Gan the Saint, which give men strength to endure sufferings for cause of the country to an extent which appears incredible

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ginary reasoning. The Mahatma's call to the people for suffer-
gs and sacrifice found a response in the hearts of men and women
f India to a degree which ensured the success of India's struggle
r freedom. It was no longer a question of whether, but when
e would reach the goal. Howsoever one might deplore Gandhi's
olitical leadership, lack of wisdom and judgement in critical
oments, and inability to carry on diplomatic negotiations with
e astute British politicians, there is a consensus of opinion that
dia must ever rermember with reverent gratitude his solid con-
ribution to the moral regeneration of India's fighters for freedom
hich was an inestimable asset in the impending struggle.

Indirectly, the Civil Disobedience movement fully exposed the
il nature of British rule in India in all its naked hideousness and
wered its moral presrtige in the eyes of the whole world. As
e great poet Rabindra Nath said, it was a great moral defeat for
rope, and Asia could now afford to look down on Europe where
fore she looked up.

III. THE CONGRESS

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was considered at the annual session
the Congress at Karachi, held on March 29, 1931. Sardar
llabhbhai Patel, who presided over the Congress, strongly
pported the Pact. He gave the go-by to the Lahore resolution
Independence and advocated Dominion Status in his Presiden-
l speech. Besides, he dwelt mainly on agrarian grievances and
cial and economic reforms—topics somewhat incongruous in the
st of a struggle for freedom or at least Responsible Govern-
ent. The adoption of the Pact was of course a foregone con-
sion, for the rank and file of the Congress party had gradually
nvinced themselves and deluded others into the belief that
ndhi had scored a great victory over the Government. Once
ain, Gandhi, the Saint, triumphed over Gandhi the politician.
deed Gandhi's popularity seems to have reached the climax at
s moment. An open air meeting preliminary to the regular
ssion of the Congress was arranged at Karachi on March 25,
ree persons on an admission fee of four annas would be allow-
to see and hear Gandhi. The collection amounted to ten
ousand Rupees. It was at this meeting that Gandhi said that
Gandhi may die but Gandhism will live for ever."

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The resolution of the Congress endorsing the Pact is a
example of self-delusion and an attempt to mislead the
The Pact, as mentioned above, clearly states the principle of
tutional development under the British with reservations for
matters as Defence, External Affairs, Financial Credit of
etc. Yet, according to the resolution of the Karachi Con
while endorsing the Pact, "the Congress desires to make it
that the Congress goal of *Purna Swaraj* remains intact."
resolution further adds that in the Conference "the Con
delegation will work for this objective and, in particular,
to give the nation control over the defence forces, external
finance, and fiscal and economic policy etc." An ordinary
not a follower of a mystic saint, would find it very difficu
reconcile the acceptance of the Pact with the rest of the re
tion. The whole thing seems to be a very clumsy att
to satisfy the conscience of that section of Congressman
rightly interpreted the Pact as a clear departure from the de
ed goal and policy of the Congress. Though asked by G
Jawaharlal Nehru at first refused to move the resolution in
open session of the Congress. It went against his grain, he
But, as usual, at the last moment he 'decided to sponsor it.'

The younger section, though disapproving the Pact
reasons mentioned above, did not oppose it in the plenary ses
of the Congress. The reasons in support of this attitude, as g
by Subhas Bose,[63] do not appear to be convincing. But the s
resentment of the youths found expression in other ways, p
cularly over the news of the execution of the three yo
Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev, convicted in the La
Conspiracy Case. They were all leading revolutionaries, as
be related later. According to the official history of Con
'at that moment Bhagat Singh's name as widely known all
that moment Bhagat Singh's name was as widely known all
India and was as popular as Gandhi.'[64] Pressure had been bro
upon Gandhi to intercede with the Viceroy for the commut
of their capital punishment. Gandhi probably did his best.
the utmost that he could get from the Viceroy was an assur
to postpone the execution and reconsider the matter. This
the public, including Gandhi, to believe that the execution w
be finally cancelled. But on March 23, only six days before

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ngress session, Bhagat Singh and his two comrades were exe-
ted. The news filled the whole country with poignant grief and
st a gloom over the whole Congress Camp. The usual festivi-
s on the opening day of the Congress were cancelled by the
der of the President. The younger section, however, was under
impression that Gandhi did not press the matter upon the
eroy's attention sufficiently strongly; and when Subhas Bose
ggested to him that he should, if necessary, break with the
eroy on the question, Gandhi, averse on principle to revolu-
ary activities, did not go so far. The younger section, there-
re, held Gandhi in a way responsible for the death of Bhagat
gh; and when Gandhi along with the President-elect Vallabh-
i Patel, alighted from the Railway train at a minor station,
miles from Karachi, they were met with a hostile demon-
ation and several young men offered black flowers and black
rlands.

The matter did not end there. A resolution was moved at
Congress to place on record its admiraion of the bravery
d sacrifice of the late Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Accord-
g to the official history of the Congress, "it is really a point of
ubt, even at this distance of time, as to which resolution was
e more arrresting one at Karachi,—that relating to Bhagat Singh
that relating to the ratification of the Gandhi-Irwin Agree-
t."[35] The resolution on Bhagat Singh was taken up immedi-
ly after the formal condolence resolutions. Gandhi and the
ngress were averse to such resolutions in favour of revolution-
s, and therefore, to save the face, it was proposed to add a
w words (italicised) by way of preamble to the resolution so as
read: The Congress, *while dissociating itself from and dis-
proving of political violence in any shape or form*, places on
cord its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of...etc. The
unger section moved amendments for the omission of the words
d the Volunteers'. Conference actually passed the resolution
thout those words. The Congress, of course, adopted the
solution with those words, but while it was being debated in
e Congress there was tumult and uproar from the outside. But
en with the face-saving preamble, the resolution must have been
bitter pill for Gandhi to swallow. For he had strongly express-
d his views against an exactly similar resolution passed by the

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Bengal Provincial Conference in resepect of Gopinath Saha, Gandhi was overwhelmed with sorrow when C. R. Das challe... him on this point and was defeated by only a narrow majo... in a meeting of the AICC.[66]

But the execution of Bhagat Singh was not the only sha... under which the Congress met. While the Congress was ass... in session, a serious Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in Kanpur. ... immediate cause was the refusal of the Muslims to close t... shops when a *hartal* was declared after the execution of Bh... Singh on 23 March. This was evidently in retaliation for ... refusal of the Hindus to join the *hartal* organized by the Mus... after the death of Muhammad Ali shortly before. The follow... is the official account of the Congress which passed a resolu... and appointed a Committee of Inquiry on the riot. "On the 2... March, began the plunder of Hindu shops. Even on the ... of the 23rd March, some fifty were wounded. On the 25th, ... was a blaze. Shops and temples were set fire to and burn... cinders. The Police did not render any assistance; disor... arson, loot, murder, spread like fire. Five hundred fam... abandoned their houses and took shelter in villages. Dr. Ba... chandra was one of the worst sufferers. All the members of ... family, including his wife and aged parents, were killed and t... bodies were thrust into gutters. According to the official e... mates, 165 were killed and 480 were injured". The most tra... incident was the cold-blooded murder of Ganesh Shan... Vidyarthi, President, U. P. P. C. C. and a great national wor... He had saved many Muslim families that very day, and in cou... of doing his duty was decoyed and cut down by a furious mob... Muslims.[67]

The Committee of Inquiry that was appointed under ... Chairmanship of Dr. Bhagavandas submitted its report in a bi... volume. It began with a long historical introduction w... sole object to prove that the Muslim rulers in India were the m... tolerant in respect of other religions. A more ridiculous pie... of history it is difficult to imagine, and yet it bore the signa... of several Hindus who should have known better. It was ... piece of pure political propaganda, and was printed at great ... pense by the Working Committee of the Congress. Fortuna... for the good name of the Congress, and of the authors of ...

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eport, it was proscribed by the Government and did not see the
ht of the day.

Shortly after the end of the Congress session at Karachi, the
w Working Committee met on April 1 and 2 to decide, among
her things, the representation of the Congress at the Round
ble Conference. Most of the members were of the opinion
at the deputation should consist of about 15 members, and the
overnment were quite willing to accommodate up to 20. But
timately it was decided unanimously that Gandhi should be the
e representative. This decision appeared to many to be a
ry unwise one. The official history of the Congress has been
pains to justify it on various grounds. First, that Gandhi was
ing to London, not to hammer out the details of a constitution
to negotiate the fundamentals of a treaty. Secondly, it signi-
d unity of leadership in negotiating peace. Thirdly, the re-
sentation of Congress by a humanitarian like Gandhi "was in
lf an achievement in the domain of the moral world."[68] Now
these ends could be achieved by sending a select team under
e leadership of Gandhi, and such a course would have removed
e great disadvantages under which Gandhi had to carry on a
ly fight against scores of non-descripts passing as represent-
ves of India. A band of able men, including nationalist
slims like Dr. Ansari, would have given a far more realistic
pression of Congress position and strength to the Englishmen,
erally unaware of the inwardness of Indian politics. As it
s bound to happen, Gandhi's voice was merely a lonely cry
the wilderness. The British public, and perhaps even many
itish members of the Conference, could not properly appreciate
e true position and importance of the Congress *vis-à-vis* the
her political organizations represented in the Conference, and
e communalists seemed to convey, as it was deliberately design-
d by the Government to do so, a hopeless picture of
ided India. Besides, Gandhi's humanitarianism was a very
or substitute for his singular ineptitude for diplomatic nego-
ions in the R.T.C., which was summoned to devise a consti-
ion for India and not to establish peace and goodwill among
nkind.

The execution of Bhagat Singh and the Kanpur communal
ots augured ill for the success of the Round Table Conference.

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The former showed that the official intransigence had not a bit and there was no change of heart, which alone could a smooth working of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. The K riot demonstrated the acuteness of the tension between the communities whose unity and agreement were regarded as a *qua non* for the successful formulation of a constitutional s in the Conference.

Gandhi's mind was perturbed by both these issues. strongly felt that he would rather not go to the R. T. Confe if he could not carry a Hindu-Muslim agreement in his Nevertheless, the Working Committee met on the 9th, 10th 11th of June, 1931, in Bombay, and at the instance of M friends, and much against the inclinations of Gandhi, pas resolution to the effect that even if efforts for communal ag ment failed, Mahatma Gandhi should represent the Congre the Round Table Conference for the presentation of the Co position.[69]

This short official account may be considered along wit more elaborate version given by Subhas Bose. Referring t attitude of Gandhi towards the communal problem after h elected the sole representative at the Round Table Confer Bose says :

"In private and in public, he (Gandhi) began to say tha going to Round Table Conference depended on his abilit solve the Hindu-Moslem question beforehand. Along with statement he also began to say that if the Moslems made a u demand on the question of representation, electorate, etc., in new Constitution, he would accept the demand. The effec these statements was a most tragic one. After the Delhi P the reactionary Moslems had been somewhat overawed by strength and power of the Congress and they were in a mood come to terms with that body on a reasonable basis. The statement of the Mahatma immediately changed that mood made them feel that they held the key position, since if they fused to come to an understanding with him, they could pr his attending the Round Table Conference. The second s ment of the Mahatma made the reactionary Moslems feel if only they would remain firm and secure the support of Nationalist Moslems, the Mahatma could be forced to accep

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their extreme demands. After the above statements had been made, the Mahatma had a conference with some reactionary Moslem leaders in Delhi in April. I was in Delhi at the time and I went to see him the same evening, after the conference. He seemed to be in a depressed mood, because they had presented him with the fourteen demands made by Mr. Jinnah (known in India as Jinnah's fourteen points), and he felt that an agreement would not be possible on that basis. Thereupon I remarked that the Congress should only care for an agreement between Nationalist Hindus and Nationalist Moslems and that the agreed solution should be placed before the Round Table Conference as the Nationalist demand and that the Congress need not bother what other anti-Nationalist elements thought or said. The Mahatma then asked me if I had any objection to separate electorates since it could be argued that in the absence of the third party the different communities would live and work in concord. To this I replied that separate electorates were against the fundamental principles of Nationalism and that I felt so strongly on the subject that even Swaraj on the basis of separate electoraters was, in my opinion, not worth having. While we were engaged in this discussion, Dr. Ansari and some of the Nationalist Moslem leaders, including Mr. Sherwani, arrived on the scene and joined in the discussion. They said that if for any reason the Mahatma gave up the demand for a common electorate for both Hindus and Moslems and accepted the demand of the reactionaries for a separate electorate for each community, they would oppose the reactionary Moslems and also the Mahatma, because they were convinced that separate electorates were bad not only for the country as a whole, but also for the different communities. The strong attitude of the Nationalist Moslems on this occasion was largely responsible for preventing the Mahatma from agreeing to separate electorates, and forced him to wriggle out of the uncomfortable situation in which he had placed himself. Soon after this, the Mahatma issued a public statement saying that he could not accept the demands made by the communalist Moslem leaders, since the Nationalist Moslems were opposed to them."[70]

The Working Committee of the Congress made an attempt to undo the mischief committed by Lahore Congress by presenting for the adoption of the country a scheme of communal agreement,

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which they claimed to be 'as nearly national as possible,' though communal in appearance, and hoped would be generally acceptable to the communities concerned.

A long statement was isssued by the Working Committee on July 20, 1931, and it is described in the official history as the *magnum opus* of the Congress. In practical supersession of the Lahore Resolution mentioned above,[71] the Working Committee offered a scheme of communal settlement on the following basis:

"1. (a). The article in the Constitution relating to Fundament Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of their cultures, languages, scripts education, profession and practice of religion, and religious endowments.

(b). Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the Constitution.

(c). Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various Provinces shall be a matter of concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

... ...

3. (a). Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future Constitution of India.

(b). For the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province, and for Hindus and Muslims in any Province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved on the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats."

... ...

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate Province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated Province.

8. The future Constitution of the country shall be federal. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless on further examination, it is found not to be against the best interests of India."[72]

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But the communal problem, in spite of its great importance, justly stressed by Gandhi, was cast into shade by the deliberate policy of the Government to ignore the stipulations of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement.

Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Willingdon as Viceroy on April 17, 1931, and in spite of his sympathetic speeches, officials had resumed the repressive campaign in various ways. Gandhi felt obliged to make complaints of the violation of the agreement he made with Irwin, and there ensued a long correspondence between him and the Government. The Government maintained that "Local Governments have been scrupulous in carrying out the obligations imposed on them" by the Agreement, and in support of this view sent extracts from official reports to Gandhi. Gandhi replied that the information that he was receiving almost daily from the workers, who were thoroughly reliable eye-witnesses, made him distrust the official reports. He therefore requested the Home Secretary to the Government of India to appoint Boards of Inquiry in different Provinces, each consisting of an official and a Congress nominee, to conduct a summary inquiry into the allegations on either side. This the Secretary refused point-blank. His argument was that of the official bureaucrat. Referring to Gandhi's proposal he observed: "In other words, the duty of maintaining law in this particular respect (picketing) would be transferred from the Police, who have statutory duties, to a board of enquiry the members of which might well arrive at a different conclusions, while the *police, of course, must act only in accordance with the law.* It is not practicable nor was it intended by the settlement that their duty in this respect should in any way be abrogated."[73]

Similarly the Government also turned down Gandhi's suggestion for the appointment of a permanent board of arbitration to decide questions of interpretation of the Agreement.[74] Gandhi forwarded a specific list of eleven points on the interpretation of which there was a difference between the Government and the Congress, and requested that they may be referred to an impartial tribunal. But the Government turned it down on the ground, "that it would not be possible for the Government to agree to any arrangement which involved the suspension of the ordinary law or of the regular machinery of administration, or

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which included the appointment of an external authority whom the Govgernment would delegate the responsibility reaching decision in matters closely affecting the administrat On the other hand, the Government complained that "the ac ties of the Congress during the past five months i.e., March were contrary both to the letter and spirit of the Delhi se ment and had involved a constant menace to the maintena of peace in U.P. and N. W. F. P."[75]

While this correspondence was going on, reports rea Gandhi from different quarters, particularly U.P. and N.W.F of serious violations of the agreement he had made with Irw In disgust he wired to the Viceroy on 11 August that he w not sail for England. He was particularly mortified at the a tude of the Governor of U. P. and at a letter from the Bo Government in which it was claimed, in effect, that the Go ment must be the final judge of facts as well as of law. Ga referred to it in his telegram to the Viceroy and said that naked terms, this means that the Government should be t the prosecutor and the judge with reference to matters arising of a contract to which they and the complainants are parti As the Viceroy, in his reply dated 13 August, supported actions of the Governors of Bombay and U.P., Gandhi w back on the same day that "it shows fundamental differences our respective outlooks upon the settlement", and repeated decision not to go to London to attend the Round Table C ference. Gandh"s decision was endorsed by the Cong Working Committee on 13 August.[77]

Gandhi's decision not to attend the Round Table Co ence was also partly influenced by the fact that in spite o assurance given by Irwin, Dr. Ansari, the Muslim Nationa was not nominated to the Round Table Conference. L Willingdon justified his action on the ground that the Musl delegates were opposed to Ansari's delegation. It obvio fitted in with the policy of the Government to show that Muslims were *en bloc* opposed to the Congress.

The events, however, took a dramatic turn. To re misunderstanding Gandhi wrote a private letter to Lord Wi don refuting the charges that he insisted upon a Board Arbitration and was trying to set up a parallel Governm

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The main purpose of the letter was to inquire whether his decision not to attend the Round Table Conference meant an end of his Agreement with Irwin.[78] The Viceroy's reply pointed out that the failure of the Congress to attend the Round Table Conference defeated one of the main objects of the Agreement, but added that "Government would continue to avoid resort to special measures so far as possible restricting action to the requirements of the specific situation." Gandhi immediately wired to the Viceroy for an interview and met him along with Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal and Prabhasankar Pattani, the only delegate for the Round Table Conference who had not sailed with the rest by the S. S. *Mooltan* on 15 August. The results of the interview were summed up in an official communique. The Government agreed to hold an inquiry into the alleged coercion in collecting land-revenue in some villages in the Surat District, but 'not in regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress.' Gandhi accepted it with the reservation that if in extreme cases of hardship no inquiry is held, the Congress retains the right of seeking relief in the shape of defensive direct action.[79]

The official history of the Congress takes it as a triumph for Gandhi, and writes: "Ultimately, after several hitches, matters were squared up and Gandhi left Simla by a special train so as to catch the train on the line which would enable him to sail on the 29th August."[80]

A mind, not obsessed with the infallibility of Gandhi, would find it difficult to admit that "matters were squared up," and would fail to understand how an important decision of national dimensions could be made and unmade in such a light-hearted manner. Considering the nature of the concessions made by the Government, any rational being is bound to hold that either Gandhi had not adequate grounds to boycott the Round Table Conference, or his eleventh hour decision to attend it was more an act of impulse than of reason. A devoted admirer of Gandhi had observed: "Gandhi saw things as if by a flash and framed his conduct by impulse. To the righteous man these two are the supreme guides of life, not reason nor intellect."[81] Perhaps this is best illustrated by the conduct of Gandhi in August, 1931. Such a righteous man or saint is, of course, above historical judgment, which can only proceed on the assumption that men's

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acts are, or should be, dictated by reason and intellect rat than by impulse. It is hardly necessary to add that the Work Committee, as in duty bound, duly endorsed both the decisi of Gandhi, first to abstain from the Round Table Confere and next to attend it.

IV. SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

There was a change of Government in Britain before Second Round Table Conference opened on 7 September, 19 The Labour Government was replaced by a national Gov ment dominated by the Conservative Party. Ramsay Mac Doland was still the Premier, but Sir Samuel Hoare, a Con vative, was the Secretary of State for India.

Gandhi arrived in London on 12 September. He delive many fine speeches, both in and outside the Conference, elab rating his ideas of peace and goodwill on earth, emphasizing unique position of the Indian National Congress as a nati and not a party organization, explaining the supreme need o partnership between Britain and India as between two equ nations, stressing the determination of the Congress to ins the British people with love for India, etc. Oblivious of decisions already arrived at in the First R. T. Conference which he had already subscribed in his Agreement with Lo Irwin, Gandhi stuck to the Karachi Resolution. He demand that the Responsible Government must be established, *imm diately* and *in full,* both at the Centre and in the Provinces, cluding complete control over the finance, army, defence a external relations. Safeguards were not needed and there no special powers should be given to the Governor-General. H presence and lofty idealism created great sensation, but his pi platitudes cut no ice with the British people or Governm Certain it is that his speeches, personality and appeals did influence the deliberation and decision of the Conference in slightest degree.

The outstanding feature of the Conference was the ending discussion on the communal problem. The repr sentatives of the Muslims, Depressed Classes, Anglo-Indi a section of the Indian Christians, and the European co mercial community concluded an agreement among the

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selves, but the Hindus and Sikhs did not accept it. Gandhi pointed out that the question of framing a Constitution should have precedence over the Communal problem and the Constitution might provide that failing any amicable agreement the question should be referred to a judicial tribunal for final decision. Nobody paid any heed to this and Ramsay MacDonald held that the inability to solve the communal question was hampering the progress of constitution-making. A suggestion was made in course of the discussion that the British Government should settle the dispute on its own authority. The Premier asked a plain question on this subject: "Will you, each of you, every member of the Committee, sign a request to me, to settle the community question and pledge yourself to accept my decision? That, I think, is a very fair offer."[82] Most of the members, *but not all*, signed such a request.

Regarding the main problem of constitutional progress of India, the Second Round Table Conference did not make any further progress beyond working out some details of the plan already decided upon, and the Prime Minister closed the session on 11 December, 1931, by reiterating the policy he had announced before, at the beginning of the year.

Though Gandhi had failed most miserably, he received a grand ovation on his return to India, on 28 December, 1931. The grandeur of the ovation, we are told, exceeded all limits, but it also exceeded even the most incredible folly ever perpetrated by the devotees of Gandhi in his name. What, one may ask, was the occasion for the ovation? Had Gandhi returned with *Swaraj* in the hollow of his hands, or had he brought back, what could be termed by the remotest stretch of imagination, peace with honour? As he himself admitted, with truth, he returned empty-handed. The popular demonstration was nothing but a ludicrous exhibition of the pathetic lack of a sense of political realities among the Indians in general and Gandhiites in particular. The day should have been observed as one of mourning and humility, not of joy and gaiety.

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D. RESUMPTION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

I. REACTIONARY POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Immediately after his return to India on 28 December, 19 Gandhi was apprised of the tense political situation in In of which he had some inkling even while he was in London. The promised inquiry into the alleged police excesses connection with the collection of revenue in Surat District on basis of which he agreed to attend the Round Table Confere had ended in a fiasco.

The no-rent campaign in U.P., which was suspended a the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, was revived. The Governm demanded that the peasants should pay up their dues pend negotiations, while the peasants asked for suspension of payme during the negotiations. On the refusal of the Government, Provincial Congress Committee had advised the peasants to wi hold payment of rent during negotiations. The Governm thereupon made wholesale arrests of Congress workers. Jawah lal and Purushottamdas Tandon were arrested only five days fore the return of Gandhi from London.

In the N. W. F. P. the organization of the Khudai Khidm gars or Red Shirt Volunteers of Abdul Gaffar Khan was decl ed illegal. The Khan, who was called Frontier Gandhi for h scrupulous non-violent policy, his brother, and some oth leaders were thrown into prison, and within a few months seve thousand Red Shirts were put behind the bars. Thereaf troops were sent into the villages to terrorize the people a break up the organization.

An acute situation had developed in Bengal. There we several terrorist outrages, generally believed to have been a of reprisals for oppressive conduct. The murder of the Inspect General of Prisons and of three successive Magistrates of Midn pore was evidently the result, respectively, of ill treatment prisoners and the atrocities committed to suppress the no- campaign. To retaliate such terrorist outrages, reprisals w made by, or at the connivance of, the Government. The tr of Chittagong was left at the mercy of non-official Europe and a band of hooligans for three days, and looting went on

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broad daylight without the least interference by the Police. Even the State-prisoners at the Hijli (Bengal) Camp were fired upon and struck with the butt-end.

These incidents are merely illustrative and not an exhaustive list of official repression. In addition, repressive ordinances were in force in Bengal, U. P., and N. W. F. P. Thus, on his return to India on 28 December, 1931, Gandhi found the whole thing in a pretty mess. He sent a telegram to the Viceroy on 29 December, referring to the Government oppression and asking for an interview. The Viceroy wired his reply on 31 December. He justified the actions of the Government on the ground of terrorism and rebellious attitude shown by the people, and then added : "The Viceroy was unwilling to believe that Gandhi was personally responsible for the Congress activities in U. P. and N. W. F. P. or approved of them, "If this is so", the telegram continued, "he is willing to see you", but he "feels bound to emphasise that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which Government of India, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, U. P. and N. W. F. P. "These measures must in any case be kept in force."[83]

Gandhi wired a very dignified reply to the Government telegram of the 31st December, on the very next day. He pointed out that the Viceroy in effect asked him to repudiate his valued colleagues in advance before he could be granted an interview and even then could not discuss the matters of vital importance to the nation. He then challenged the correctness of the official version of happenings in U. P. and N. W. F. P. As regards Bengal he said, "whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasurable terms the methods of terrorism, it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and acts done thereunder, but must resist, within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence, such measures of legalized Government terrorism." Gandhi repeated his offer of co-operation and his willingness "to go to the respective Provinces and, with the aid of the authorities, study both sides of the question." But he pointed out that if his efforts failed to persuade the Government, he would have no other course left but to resume Civil Disobedience.[84] The plan was already tenta-

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tively sketched by the Working Committee and he communicated to the Viceroy the full text of the Resolution, which is merely an amplification of Gandhi's telegram. The operative part of the resolution reads as follows :

"The Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government, provided His Excellency the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the Ordinances and its recent acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations to prosecute the Congress claim for Complete Independence, and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives, pending the attainment of such Independence.

"In the absence of any satisfactory response from the Government in terms of the foregonig paragraph, the Working Committee will regard it as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi Pact. In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming, the Working Committee calls upon the Nation to resume Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes."[85]

The Government reply to this was, of course, a foregone conclusion. In a telegram dated 2nd January, 1932, the Viceroy refused even to contemplate the possibility of an interview "if under the threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience." In his reply and final telegram, dated the 3rd, Gandhi reminded the Government of India that negotiations between him and Lord Irwin were opened whilst Civil Disobedience was on, that when the Agreement was concluded Civil Disobedience was not given up but only discotinued, and that this position was re-asserted and accepted by Lord Willingdon in Simla in September last. This telegram marked the end of the correspondence between the Viceroy and Gandhi which covered exactly six days from December 29, 1931 to January 3, 1932, and heralded the resumption of Civil Disobedience.

Long extracts have been quoted from the correspondence in order to convey a fair idea of the attitude of both the parties and provide sufficient materials for forming a fair judgment about the responsibility that must be shared by each for the resumption of hostilities. It would appear that each accused the other of violating the Agreement, and there was fundamental differ-

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between the two regarding the nature and course of events that actually took place. The Government of India took up the position that the official statements of facts must be regarded as true. Such a claim cannot stand a moment's scrutiny as it can be proved by numerous instances that the official version proved to be quite inaccurate and not unoften a deliberate distortion of facts to justify the official action. It is a matter of common knowledge that on an ultimate analysis the facts supplied to the Government of India emanated originally from the local officials of a lower grade and passed through senior officers who based their actions on them. If there was any outcry against any course of action the very official who was directly or indirectly responsible for it was also usually entrusted with the investigation. It is obvious that in such circumstances there was little chance of finding out the truth if there were no independent inquiry. Gandhi showed remarkable fairness of mind, and demonstrated his intense love of truth, when, in spite of allegations of Government terrorism and violation of agreement made by reliable persons of unimpeachable character, he approached the Viceroy for discussing a *modus operandi* for ascertaining the truth. By persistently refusing this very resasonable demand the Government undoubtedly put themselves in the wrong, and they must share the chief responsibility for plunging the country once more into the horrors of Civil Disobedience campaign, involving chaos and confusion and inflicting untold miseries and sufferings on a large section of innocent people.

The elaborate defence of the Government of India in a statement issued on January 4, 1932, over the signature of Mr. Emerson, was smashed to pieces by the rejoinder published in the *Young India* of January 14, which fully exposed its unscrupulous character by showing how "it is packed full of evasions, false statements, suppressions, and dishonest distortions."[87] Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the Government pleas in justification of their conduct. Mr. Brailsford, writing in the *New Leader,* condemned the Viceroy's conduct, which was "as petty as it was unreasoning". "It is fantastic", observed he, "to summon Mr. Gandhi to London to discuss the rights which Indians shall enjoy tomorrow and at the same time to refuse to listen when he would

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defend such rights as they ought to enjoy today". Even
semi-official organ, *The Times of India*, regretted the Viceroy
action, while the moderate *Servant of India* observed: "T
Viceroy's action in refusing to let the greatest political leader
the country place his views regarding the Ordinances before
head of the Government cannot but be deplored as a blunder.
was both indefensible and discourteous.[88]

The most impartial account and dispassionate judgmen
the whole episode are to be found in a short treatise writ
by an eminent English scholar, Verrier Elwin.[89] Referring
the charge that Congress precipitated the conflict with Gov
ment in the United Provinces, he makes the following obse
tions :

"The state of the United Provinces peasant is pitiable.
visit the villages in the eastern districts of the province is a he
breaking experience....There is almost nothing to eat.....Up
these starving villagers there falls with merciless regularity
demand for rent. Unable to pay, they are beaten, abused, tr
ed out of what shelter they have, robbed of half the possessio
And while their earning capacity has fallen by 50 per cent,
rent and revenue demands have been steadily rising...Gov
ment sanctioned remissions to the extent of a little over two
a half annas in the rupee. But the price of agricultural prod
had fallen by over eight annas in the rupee, and the Cong
voiced the feelings of the peasants in declaring the proposed
missions totally inadequate. Negotiations between Governm
and Congress were in progress when the rents for the co
year began to be demanded. The peasants were told that if
year's rent was not paid within a month, even the remissi
might be withdrawn. No objections could be raised with
making payment of the rent demanded. Still the Congress tr
the way of negotiation, but when this proved ineffective, it h
no alternative but to advise suspension of payment pending
result of negotiations. It was made clear, however, that Cong
would withdraw this advice if the authorities on their own i
ative suspended collections on the same condition.....This
hardly be called a no-rent campaign...Government could ea
without loss to itself or the landlords, have issued instructi
for the temporary postponement of the collections of rents u

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egotiations were concluded. But Government precipitated a onflict, first by demanding payment while negotiations about the ayment were still in progress, and then by promulgating an rdinance of a severity out of all proportion to the necessities f the situation.

"In the N.W.F.P. the action of Government was more ndefensible", continues Mr. Elwin. "It is true that Khan Abdul haffar Khan used the Truce as an opportunity to organize the ongress movement on the Frontier.....What he did achieve as to spread the idea of non-violence widely among the athans, to create in them some sort of political consciousness, nd to organise a very large army of strictly pacifist volunteers. is great crime was that he was too successful. He became a hal to the Chief Commissioner.....Some of his speeches, if orrectly reported, do indeed seem likely to foment racial hatred, ut if the Khan Sahib were fomenting racial hatred he was ailed to an open trial where he could have defended himself gainst the accusation.

"There was no warrant whatever for the promulgation of e Frontier Ordinance except the desire of Government to crush e Congress movement in the Province. Abdul Ghaffar Khan as no danger to the public peace. There were no riots, no assinations. My own impression, after a personal visit to the ontier, was that Abdul Ghaffar Khan had lessened the amount racial hatred, he had not increased it. As a speaker in the sembly observed, he deserves a reward rather than imprison- ent for his great national service of promoting the spirit of n-violence. He was in fact simply doing what the Government f it were sincere in its professions to hand over political power India) should have welcomed—creating a political conscious- ss among the people, and thus preparing them in the most actical way for self-government. By the Ordinance (of which Abdur Rahim said that he could hardly believe his eyes when read it) Government declared war on the Congress in the ontier Province and deliberately provoked a conflict."

After reviewing the whole situation in detail Mr. Elwin akes the following general observations: "The real failure to serve the spirit of the Setttlement appears to me to have been the other side. Local Givernments showed their utmost unwill-

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ingness to follow the lead of Lord Irwin. Mahatma Gandhi h great difficulty in persuading them to give full effect to political amnesty.....He never managed to secure the rea ssion of students who had been dismissised on political gro from educational institutions. The local authorities put e obstacle in the way of restoration to the original owners of l in Kaira and Bardoli that had been sold to third parties Ahmedabad, rules about the hours and places of the sal liquor were deliberately relaxed in order to circumvent the pe ful picketing that was permitted under the Settlement.....

"Nor was Government itself behindhand in preparing a future conflict. Ceaseless propaganda was carried on ag the Congress. A circular letter, for example, was issued b United Provinces Collector directing taluqdars to furnish c plaints against Congressmen. A similar letter was issued b Collector in Karnatak to police officers. The revival of c disobedience sooner or later was to be regarded as a forec certainty, and district police officers were asked to keep a c watch on the movements and utterances of all congressmen a view to facilitating their prosecution when the time for it c The speed and thoroughness with which it was able to strik the renewal of civil disobedience show how well Governm used the Truce as a preparation for conflict."[90]

Indeed a careful review of all relevant circumstances l a historian to the justifiable belief that the Government of I under Willingdon, smarting under the indignity of Gandhi-I Agreement, made a deliberate plan to undo the 'mischief', a as possible, by forcing the resumption of civil disobedienc that they could put it down by brute force and thus wipe a the 'disgrace' of asking for truce in the first round of the fig

This is abundantly clear from the fact that under the c of truce the Government had made elaborate preparations fight the impending Civil Disobedience. They were caught wares in 1930, but being now fully cognizant of the me followed by the Congress they had made arrangements grapple with the situation at a moment's notice. They already promulgated three Ordinances and four more were ready. The net result of these Ordinances, whose provisions be described later in this Chapter, was to arm the Executive

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necessary powers over the life and property of the people. short, the fiat of the Executive took the place of Law. The overnment did not neglect even minute details. At least one cal Government had ordered thousands of new *lathis* during truce period. Whatever we may think of this, the fact re- ains, that whereas *lathi*-charge was a later development in 930, it was "the first friend that greeted the Stayagrahis" in 1932.

II. THE PART PLAYED BY NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEANS.

But the Government were not acting alone. They were acked by the entire non-official European community. Like the overnment they had scant regard for the Gandhi-Irwin Agree- ent and were devising plans to kill the Civil Disobedience vement, which they feared—or rather hoped—, would soon be med. How their mind was working even during the period truce will be evident from a letter which the Bombay Branch the European Association wrote to the Secretary, Home partment, Government of Bombay, after the presentation of address to him on 15th October, 1931, by the Europeans of mbay. It made the following specific suggestions to counter vil Disobedience in the event of its revival :

(1) That immediately Civil Disobedience was declared ngress should be declared an illegal body, and Congress pro- erty and property used for Congress purposes should be confis- ted and at once sold or destroyed.

(2) That the flying of the Congress flag, and all kinds of remonial connected therewith, should immediately be forbidden.

(3) That similar action should be taken in regard to nding or drilling of volunteers and similar operations of a ilitary nature.

(4) That all those who are known to have been responsible the organisation or financing of the last Civil Disobedience vement should be at once brought under control and, if neces- ry, put under restraint. It is suggested, in fact, that they uld be treated in the same fashion as enemy subjects interned ring the war.

(5) That provision should be made to prevent any person bodies from deriving financial benefits as a result of political

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upheaval. Both regulations might be compared with [illegible] adopted in the United Kingdom against profiteering during [illegible] war. Two specific methods by which it is suggested that [illegible] provisions might be made effective are: (a) That steps [illegible] be taken to stop Congress funds at a source, accompanied [illegible] necessary, by an Ordinance compelling the production of [illegible] accounts; (b) that textile mills or other commercial undertak[illegible] which have signed agreements with Congress, while that [illegible] has not been proscribed as illegal, should be required im[illegible]ately to withdraw adherence to any compact with Congress [illegible] pain of being denied rail transit for their goods. Something [illegible] this kind would appear to be vital, one of the terms accep[illegible] by at any rate some of these signatories, being an undertak[illegible] to give Government no assistance in any action which they [illegible] take against so-called national activities.

The Deputation which made this representation was led [illegible] Mr. Abercrombie, who, in his letter to the Home Departm[illegible] sent on the suggestion of the Home Member, wrote:

"My Committee, therefore, request that persons in [illegible] employ of the Government may be sent in the guise of ordi[illegible] citizens to picketed shops, demand the goods of mills banned [illegible] Congress, with the police in readiness to arrest picketers if [illegible] coercion or intimidation is used."

The Home Member was also informed that unless this [illegible] done there would be counter-picketing, or merchants w[illegible] "take the law into their own hands in other ways."

".....If the Government make all other considerations sub[illegible]dinate to the need for prompt and decisive measures against [illegible] movement the moment it reappears, there will be no room [illegible] doubt as to its object, and an attitude of conciliation will be tan[illegible]mount to suicide. The greater the latitude permitted, the longer [illegible] more bitter will be the struggle and the worse the suffering. It [illegible] not be too strongly urged upon the Government that if the revo[illegible]tionary movement again gets under way their action must [illegible] prompt, vigorous and even ruthless. Congress must not [illegible] given time for the full mobilisation of its undoubtedly powe[illegible] forces."

"A copy of Mr. Abercrombie's letter to the Home Dep[illegible]ment, from which the above extracts are taken, was circul[illegible]

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on the 28th October, 1931, by Mr. Chapman Mortimer, General Secretary of the European Association of India, to all circles and branches, with the comment that the views of the Bombay branch had the full support of the President and Council of the Association.

"The Abercrombie circular may thus be regarded as the view of the organized European community in India during the period of the Truce, when the Round Table Conference was sitting in London."

It is significant that the policy actually adopted by the Government closely followed the lines suggested by the European Association. The Council of the European Association, at its meeting in Delhi in February, 1932, urged (1) that the main provisions of the Ordinances must remain operative; (2) that Congressmen and women then in prison should remain in jail unless prepared to recant; (3) that if the Government were to announce a policy of not releasing these it would secure co-operation from those who are at present doubtful of the Government's intentions, in addition to maintaining the support of those who already co-operate; (4) that these men and women should remain in prison until provincial institutions are established.

The Bombay Branch of the European Association, on the 1st March, 1932, when the Ordinances were in full swing, demanded stronger action. At the Annual Meeting, at which H.E. the Governor of Bombay was present, Mr. Miller, the retiring President of the Association, said:

"We fully support the Government of India in the manner in which they have tackled the situation since the beginning of the year, which, if anything, in my opinion, has erred on the side of leniency.....We are satisfied that there will be no weakening on the part of the Government, and indeed there may be need for stronger action, though we sincerely hope this may not be necessary....."[91]

REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT

Gandhi sent his final telegram on 3 January, 1932. To this there was no reply. On 4 January, the Government issued a manifesto in justification of its policy and began the offensive by promulgating four new Ordinances, and arresting, in the early

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hours of the morning, both Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel, K... Shaheb and Jawaharlal were already in prison and the o... political leaders were secured in batches. As to the rank a... file nearly ninety thousand men, women, and children were co... victed and sentenced.

The lot of the prisoners was miserable in the extre... "More than ninety-five per cent of the persons convicted w... placed in the 'C' class. There was a very small sprinkling... Congressmen placed in the 'B' class, while the 'A' class w... maintained only in name in several places, and very sparin... granted in others.....Graduates, Professors, Lawyears, Edit... well-to-do traders and businessmen, rich Zamindars, high g... agriculturists, and philanthropic workers, including men wh... the Government themselves recognised as well-to-do by impo... heavy fines running often into four figures, were all thrown pell-... into the last class, with the food and clothing of ordinary c... victs."[92] These people were not likely to submit always to t... most humiliating conditions (such as sitting in a particular p... ture) imposed upon the ordinary convicts, composed of thie... and robbers. For disobeying these laws further penalties w... imposed upon them, and they were not unoften victims of be... and other kinds of torture as these could be inflicted with im... nity within the four walls of the prison house. It would appe... from the testimony of numerous prisoners of those days that... many police lock-ups and pails "unmentionable atrocities a... tortures were perpetrated, the variety and cruelty of which va... with the intelligence, resourcefulness and callousness of the pa... cular officers concerned. Even women, boys and children w... not spared."[93] Unutterable things were said and unspeakab... punishments were planned. In spite of all precautions cases... such brutality sometimes came to the knowledge of the pu... "For instance, in the Nasik Jail on October 27th, Mr. Am... Morarji, a political prisoner who had been given bar-fetters, w... taken to a cell, beaten by five jail-officials with batons and k... up and dashed down till he became unconscious. There w... intense indignation when the news saw the light of day, a... Government had to order the prosecution of the jail-officials r... ponsible for the incident."[94]

As could be expected, *lathi*-charge, i.e., merciless and reck...

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beating on any part of the body with iron-shod heavy bamboo sticks, was the order of the day. There were several new features in the repressive programme of the Government. In the first place, the Odrinances covered much wider ground, and any act which might be even remotely construed as 'dislike of or dissatisfaction towards any official, down to a petty Chaukidar,' such as refusing to rent a house on reasonable (according to the official) rent, sell articles at reasonable prices etc., might involve punishment with fine or imprisonment.

Another novel method was an elaborate plan to cut off the resources and supplies of Congress and other disapproved organizations. The Bombay Government forfeited an amount of more than thirty-three lakhs of Rupees belonging to the Gujarat Sabha.[54a] There were other cases of this nature. Among other prominent features of the Government repression may be mentioned:

1. Mass punishments, punitive impositions, victimization of neighbours, relatives etc.

2. Confiscation of lands, cattle, utensils and personal belongings; destruction of property and closing down of social service and similar institutions. Government had taken possession of Congress offices and *ashrams*.

3. Ill-treatment of women and children.

4. Externment and internment at the direction of the executives.

5. Whipping of juvenile and flogging of adult volunteers who were guilty of picketing, hoisting of Congress flags or such acts of Civil Disobedience as breaking of forest laws.

6. Frequent resorts to firing on unarmed crowds. Replying to a question in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Home Member to the Government of India, Mr. (later Sir) H. G. Haig stated that in dispersing assemblies, "firing was resorted to seventeen times in Bengal, seven times in the United Provinces, three times in Bihar and Orissa, once in Madras Presidency, once in the Frontier Province—while in Bombay Presidency the casualties from shooting were thirty-four killed and ninety-one wounded."[55]

As regards the nature of the crimes to punish which all these horrors of repression were let loose by the Government of India,

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it is described as follows by the India League Delegation which fuller reference will be made in the next Section.

"Civil Disobedience is often spoken of as lawlessness. asmuch as it is defiance of existing law it is "lawless." Bu would be a gross misrepresentation to describe the Civil Disob dience campaign as a movement which lets loose lawless pas on society; a campaign in which everybody was asked to do they pleased. Still more would it be grotesque to describe it an encouragement to violence, crime, or licence. Civil resis do not go about breaking laws as they please, nor interfe with the liberty of others. Civil Disobedience is a form of c action against the Government of the day. Its moral basi that law in India is not based on consent; its administration under alien direction; and its ends are not determined by Ind wills or purposes. Civil Disobedience thus becomes both moral protest and weapon of attack on the present system administration."[96]

So far as the Civil Resisters were concerned their activi were mainly the following:

1. Leading processions in contravention of Police and p hibitory notices.
2. Holding public meetings and conferences in spite bans imposed on them.
3. Picketing and boycotting of British goods, banks, in ance companies, mints and bullion exchanges.
4. Issuing unauthorized bulletins and cyclostyle leaflets a distributing them among the people.
5. Saluting the national flag in public and hoisting it civil and criminal courts and public buildings.
6. Withholding of land revenue and Chaukidari tax.
7. Violating restraint orders and refusing to be on p parole.
8. Attempting to reoccupy Congress offices taken poss of by the Police.
9. Manufacturing salt.

In addition to these local activities of a routine nature, were also campaigns of an all-India character planned an ganized by the Working Committee. Among these ma mentioned the celebration of the National Week (April 6-13

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holding of the Annual Session of the Congress at Delhi des- the Police ban and the strictest surveillance. It was follow- by Political Conferences all over the country and the celebra- of special 'days' like the All-India Prisoners' Day, Peshawar etc. It must be noted that the Civil Resisters made no sical resistance, even when they were arrested or mercilessly ers, and did not defend themselves in court even against false cutions, for they took no part in any Judicial trial.

While the Officials took credit for successfully stopping the gress Session at Delhi, the facts ascertained on the most re- authority are as follows :

It was announced that the annual session of the Congress to be held at Delhi on 24 April. Pandit Madan Mohan Mala- the President-elect, was served with an order on April 22 the Jumna Bridge entrance to Delhi, prohibiting the entry of self and his party into Delhi. Malaviya, having disobeyed order, was arrested and taken to the Central Jail in a lorry. pite of Police vigilance and the arrests of delegates at all way stations, about 1500 delegates succeeded in reaching hi. Although many private houses were searched and guard- the Subjects Committee of the Congress met on April 23, ed five resolutions, and circulated them among the delegates signature. On the 24th there was a *hartal* in the city in con- tion of the Police order, and armed Police, mounted, in and on lorries patrolled the town. While the Police were combing out houses and scouring premises of all kinds, about delegates, who were not yet arrested, gathered at the Clock er at the Chandni Chawk, and Seth Ranchhoddas, a delegate Ahmadabad, officiated as the Chairman. The printed reso- ns of the Subjects Committee, which had been circulated the ious day, were read aloud by all together in unison and were ed. They referred to the imprisonment of the Congress- and the leaders, confirmed the Karachi resolution on Inde- ence, the leadership of Gandhi, and the Civil Disobedience gramme issued by the Working Committee. The session only ten minutes. By the time the Police lorries arrived session was over. The acting President and the delegates arrested. Posecutions were launched against a few, and the were released. Pandit Malaviya was released on May 1.

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The whole incident showed how deeply the Congress was ro... in the affection of the people and how futile was the endea... of the British Government to crush the Civil Disobed... Movement.

IV. GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SITUATION BY INDIA LEAGUE DELEGATION

It is extremely fortunate for history that we possess a detailed acount of the political situation in India during the Disobedience campaign of 1932, by an authoritative, indepe... and impartial body. It was a small delegation sent by t... League, London, to study at first hand the complex situati... India. The Delegation consisted of Miss Monica Whately, Ellen Wilkinson (ex-M. P.), Leonard W. Matters, and V... Krishna Menon. The composition of the Delegation is a ... rantee that the report is not likely to be partial to the Le... and cannot, in any case, be charged with any preconceived judice or hostility against the British.

The Delegation reached Bombay on August 17, 1932, left India on November 7. During this period they wer... every Province of British India except C.P., visited many im... ant towns and villages, and met Indians of every class and s... of opinion as well as officials, both British and Indian. facts and views they collected in this way formed the ba... their report, published in 1934.[97] Sir Samuel Hoare, Secreta... State for India, had stated in the House of Commons that scenes were stage-managed (by the Congress) for this delega... and from start to finish they saw this carefully managed si... the picture." But the Delegation fully exposed the hollowne... this charge which could not be sustained by him when challe... by the Leader of the Opposition. It is hardly necessary to p... the view expressed by Hoare that all his Indian correspon... from the Viceroy downwards, were of opinion that the De... tion "were biassed in the views they took." Every unprej... reader will admit that the Report is a very valuable rec... acts of terrorism perpetrated in 1932, collected with scru... care, and accepted after a critical scrutiny of evidence. ... difficult to conceive of a more impartial judgment on the ... excesses that anyone could think of, than by a set of four p...

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whom three were Britishers and on whose judgment a histo- could safely rely. It is seldom indeed that such an account s complicated and extensive civil turmoil in a vast country India is available for the purpose of ascertanning truth. After ating briefly the circumstances that led to the breakdown of Gandhi-Irwin Agreement the Delegation observes: "The ials in India rebelled against the approach and the settlement e by Lord Irwin. They regarded it as a surrender of Gov- ent prestige and the recognition of the Congress as a rival ority. They regarded the settlement as an administrative der and their own position under it as humiliating. They fore desired the truce conditions to come to an end." The egation says that the view contained in the first sentence was to us in so many words by a very high official in the W. F. P. in his very frank conversation. As to the rest Sardar llabhbhai Patel has stated that he has in his possession letters circulars to substantiate this contention."[98] The view of the egation is in full accord with what has been said above.

The Report comments: "We found throughout India that Viceroy's refusal to allow Mr. Gandhi to see him was re- ed as a mistake.....For the Viceroy's action in January we could find no support in India; it is also clear from the s correspondence and statements issued by party leaders at time that Lord Willingdon's action brought about the ."[99]

The Delegation further observes:

"Large numbers of organisations and individuals, the majo- of whom have consistently supported the Government, made esentations to the Viceroy to revise his decision. In Bombay ection of progressive European opinion urged the Viceroy to ase Mr. Gandhi unconditionally, irrespective of what had uspired or was thought necessary in the future. The append- ist will show that the protests came from a variety of groups inion." (List of seven organizations and four leaders, two ian and two European, follows).

These important organisations and individuals endeavoured tervene during the critical days of the first week of January, 2. The list does not include the hundreds of organisations

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all over India which protested against the Government's dec
nor does it claim to be exhaustive.[100]

The Delegation also supports the view that the Gover
deliberately precipitated the conflict and planned it long be
hand. It observes: "Though from the communique releas
the Government it would seem that the cause of the precip
action taken by the Government was the resolution passed by
Working Committee following the events in the U.P. and
N. W. F. P., the impression that the Government had dec
on policy of repression even before the Second R. T. C. co
ed cannot be regarded as unjustified in the light of o
obvious facts.

As an instance of the irresponsibility of the Executive a
rity the Report refers to the following incident.

"At the Hijli Detention Camp, sentries opened fire on
tried prisoners on the 15th September, 1930. An official c
mittee consisting of Justice S. C. Mallik, I.C.S., and Mr. J
Drummond was appointed by the Bengal Government, as a r
of public agitation, to inquire into the incident. The Com
found that there was a regular fusillade from the sepoys (
armed guard), that there was "no justification whatsoever fo
indiscriminate firing," and that the *detenus* were assaulted
the *sepoys* with *lathis* and bayonets also without justification
the face of the facts of the conduct of the prison officials a
the executive which this official report brought to light, i
rather extraordinary that the Bengal Government should de
to arm the officials and prison authorities with greater po
Mr. Gandhi, while in London, challenged the British g
publicly to publish the facts. The challenge was not acce
The Government deliberately misrepresented the state of th
in India to the British public and kept them ignorant of the
cities perpetrated in the name of law and order. The Deleg
observes:

"We, in this country, were told that the Government's p
was a success and that more and more Indian opinion was
porting the Government. At the same time stories of atro
and oppression reached this country through private chan
The Press appeared either to be badly served or to be supp
ing news about India. Allegations made in Parliament

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ended by the Secretary of State. The Forrester Paton Case[100a] opened the eyes of some who had hitherto believed that the British administration was incapable of the things with which it was charged."[101]

The Forrester Paton Case is thus described in the Report. Dr. Forrester Paton, a Scottish missionary, was severely beaten with *lathis*, wounded on the ribs, legs and arms and then drenched with coloured water. When he tried to move away, the police turned a hose on him a second time. Dr. Forrester Paton is a member of a well-known Scottish Liberal family and had powerful friends in the House of Commons. The case was taken up by the late Sir Duncan Millar, and Sir Samuel Hoare expressed regret. The Home Member of the Madras Government, in answer to questions in the Madras legislature, however, declined to accept the position taken up by the Secretary of State. Dr. Paton was arrested on a false charge of picketing, which was withdrawn. Actually Dr. Paton was in Madras to make inquiries about Red Cross work, and he had no connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement.[102]

In conclusion we might consider the all-round effect of the Civil Disobedience campaign and the measures by which the Government sought to repress it. On 13 October, 1932, Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, said in course of an interview :

"Eighteen months ago things were in a mess. I will guarantee that conditions are to-day a hundred per cent better than they were then, and I go further and guarantee that the people of India are a hundred per cent happier—now that they can be sure of protection and liberty to go about their business as they wish."

Diametrically opposite view was expressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the most renowned leaders of the Moderate Party, who never supported or sympathized with the Civil Disobedience Movement.

"Bitterness has increased tenfold and suspicion and distrust of Government is not peculiar to Congressmen but is shared by non-Congressmen.....I am absolutely certain that the sentiment of the people is decidedly anti-Government, and I have no doubt whatsoever that if Congress should decide to contest the elections they will sweep the board nearly everywhere."[103]

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The view expressed by the India League Delegation may be quoted in part:

"The Indian villager, in our experience, belied the stories about him that are so common. He is not apathetic, nor is he ignorant (though illiterate). He is fully aware of his plight and its economic and political causes. He is no admirer of the British Raj. He knows that the fight for Swaraj has to be carried on until it is won. He looks on the Congressman as his friend. Indeed, in these villages a Congressman or volunteer is always welcomed, every house, except that of Government loyalists, is open to him, and he retains the affection of the people. The Indian village is a homogeneous unit. It has a voice which covers Hindu and Mussalman, farmer and labourer. It is prepared to fight and suffer or make compromise as a whole. The subtle arguments and the distinctions which obsess the town politician do not agitate the villager. The women-folk, old and young, particularly in Hindu areas, are conscious partners in the awakening of the village, and it is this that lends to the resistance put up by the Congress movement much of its fighting material, and its tenacity of purpose is very great.

"In every village in India Gandhi's name was known and reverenced. In Gujarat, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and in the United Provinces the Pundit Nehru are household names. Their imprisonment has only added to the affection in which they are held and increased their prestige."[104]

The general impression of the methods pursued by the Government in dealing with the Civil Disobedience campaign has been thus expressed by the Delegation:

"We had not understood what the expression Police Raj, which we have heard used so often, meant till we came to India and saw it in action. The Police are a law unto themselves. Petty officials exercise very wide powers which are freely used. The statement that in India "the police beat first and inquire afterwards" is only partially true to-day, as there is no necessity for any inquiry. The Ordinances have destroyed every safeguard against police oppression, which obtains all over India and is by no means confined to the ill-paid ranks of the Force.

"Police methods are cruel and vindictive. Men are beaten inside lock-ups; brutal force is used in 'dispersing' resistors

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ten only one, as in the case of picketing), under-trials are ed in lock-ups, and property is appropriated or destroyed. lgar abuse and the infliction of humiliation and violent assault e pretty common. It is difficult to understand why force uld be used at all in effecting arrest of civil resisters, as it is mitted that they neither resist nor evade arrest. In any case, ating-up or *lathi*-charges, or kicks and bullying preliminary to, instead of, arrest, is a wanton piece of brutality. One ex- nation to us was that such methods were more effective and aper than arrests. The explanation carries with it its own demnation. Another gross abuse that appeared to be widely evalent was the practice of allowing the police to buy, directly indirectly, goods that had been attached or confiscated.

"JAILS.....We had great difficulty in obtaining permission see jails, and had to take refusals in several cases. The total ber of jails that the Delegation saw is eight. We have, how- r, collected evidence from ex-prisoners in different parts of e country. We have no doubt in our mind that ill-treatment political prisoners is widely prevalent. Even the jail code not observed by the officials, who impose several penalties for same jail offence, though the code allows only one at a time. itary confinements, different kinds of fetters, flogging, unoffi- l beating and kicks, the oil mill, and humiliating treatment among the methods which jail authorities use against political soners. The majority of the prisoners are in 'C' class and ted as common criminals. Their warders are criminal. The lity of food varies from jail to jail. Some of the food we have n is dirty, deficient and quite bad. The news recently pub- ed about beating in the Nasik Jail does not surprise us. The ctice is not confined to Nasik. Rae Bareilly, which we saw, vided enough evidence that the practice of beating by jail ficials was prevalent there.....

"OFFICIALS....They were willing to listen to us, but their ride was uncritical of excesses. The Ordinance mind per- des the administration. If a bureaucratic form of Govern- nt is bad, a bureaucracy ruling by Ordinances is a serious nace to the most innocent people. There are district officials o recognise that excesses are going on and some who even ct them. Even those latter, however, do little or nothing

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to check abuses and excesses. We think that the Ordinances responsible for this indifference to wrong-doing which appe to have affected even the better class of officials.

"THE FUTURE...We regret that the Government pe in its mistaken view that the coercion will crush a people's way of looking at the nationalist movement as an evil which be put down, of demanding a surrender from Mahatma G and of excluding from Government discussions any one is likely to disturb Government plans, is bound to fail. It a tragedy that the Viceroy's Government is by its policy block every avenue to real peace. The refusal to allow Ma Shaukat Ali to interview Gandhi in prison is an act of bel ency against Indian nationalism which will not allow any bri to be built across the present gulf. It is enforcing a blockade Indian nationalism. In the face of such a policy it is little wo that no Indian trusts British bonafides or believes in declara of good intentions.

"We are leaving an India which has seen ten months Ordinance rule. The Ordinances were originally meant for six months, and now the Government finds it necessary to give statutory permanence. No better proof of their failure is quired. Ordinances have only produced more of them and discontent. The volume of resentment and discontent—how expressed—has grown. The sufferings of the common peo have been great, but they have borne them with a courage endurance which has stood the test of savage repression."[23]

E. THE REIGN OF TERROR IN 1932

The one outstanding feature of the suppression of C Disobedience Movement in 1932 was the creation of a verita reign of terror, where any conception of rule by law and admi tration by civilized methods of modern age was conspicuous its absence. The British rulers in India again sank to the le of those barbarous tyrants of the Medieval Age, annals of wh brutality fill the mind of a modern reader with unspeakable h ror and whose modern parallel in Europe is only to be fo in the atrocities of Hitler and his associates in Germany. For nately for the historian, such an extreme condemnation of nation, which justly occupies a high place in modern world

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fully supported in the present instance by the greatest English-man now living, namely, Bertrand Russell, who wrote a Preface to the Report of the Delegation of the India League. This Pre-face is a severe indictment of the British rule in India in 1932, and should be read and re-read by every Englishman who wants to know its real nature and has any regard for truth and justice. The view of Bertrand Russell will be sufficiently clear from the following passage: "There has been no lack of interests in the misdeeds of the Nazis is Germany, they have been fully reported in the Press, and have been commented on with self-righteous indignation. Few people in England realise that misdeeds *quite as serious* are *being perpetrated* by the British in India."[106]

The repressive action of the Government falls broadly under two classes. The first is a series of Ordinances which practically suspended all the normal laws safeguarding the life, property, and personal liberty of the Indians, and placed them under the regime of executive orders. The most important among these were (1) Bengal Emergency Powers (Supplementary) Ordinance of 2nd January, 1932; (2-4) Emergency Powers, Unlawful Insti-gation, and Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinan-ces, all passed on 4th January, 1932; (5-6) Amending Ordinan-ces Nos. 7 and 8 of 1932; (7) Special Powers Ordinance of 1932; (8-10) Three Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinances, Nos. 9, 11 and 12 of 1932, passed respectively on 28th May, 30th June, and 26th July, 1932.

The second class comprises the actual measures taken against individuals, groups and organisations in order to put down Civil Disobedience.

The Report refers to the ten Ordinances which were in force at the time the Delegation visited India. After describing briefly their provisions and the judgements in courts, the Delegation observes: "It would appear not merely from what actually goes on in India, but from the decisions of courts that the rights that the Indian subject enjoys are in fact determined by the acts of "competent" authorities in India, in which category would come all executive orders and Acts" (p. 32). As against executive authority and "suspicion" and orders of the "Local Government" the subject has no rights in India.

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The Delegation sums up the position created by the Ordinances as follows :

"In 1932 the Ordinances and now the Acts recently passed deprived the Indian people of the rights of personal freedom and safeguards which, most British people believe, exist under British law everywhere."

"Martial Law conditions obtain now to the extent that there is : (a) Suspension of ordinary law ; (b) The substitution of executive discretion for law (in fact) ; (c) The use of soldiers for maintaining order ; (d) The use of armed police as a normal practice ; (e) The discretionary rule of the executive functioning in the main through the police (but not the military) ; (f) Billeting, punitive fines and commandeering of supplies ; (g) Curfew (h) The power to stop and search any person suspected of carrying arms or information ; (i) Blockading of areas (villages) ; Control of information about movements of police and military (k) Control of the movements of individuals and sometimes sections of the population by means of passports, etc., (even within a province) ; (l) Special tribunals and procedure displacing and barring judicial processes and the normal system and ideas of Criminal Jurisprudence ; (m) Quartering of troops on peasant villages ; (n) Firing by sentries on suspects and villagers who are alleged to fail to answer a challenge ; (o) Mass intimidation by the display of armed force in villages ; (p) Indemnity for official acts, civil and military, which is given in advance, not after, as even in martial law". (pp. 56-59).

Regarding the measures taken and the methods adopted by the Government the Report gives the following list.

(1) Declaring illegal disapproved organizations (not merely Congress).

(2) Confiscation of funds of Congress and other disapproved organisations.

(3) Control and right of examination of accounts of those likely to subscribe to any Congress or to allied activities.

(4) Arrest and imprisonment of leaders, national, provincial or local (right down to the village leaders), in the first few weeks of the Ordinance.

(5) Use of excessive force in dispersal of assemblies, ill-treatment in lock-ups and gaols.

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(6) Intimidation of villages, crowds, etc.
(7) Mass punishments, punitive impositions, victimisation of neighbours, relatives, etc.
(8) Confiscation of lands, cattle, utensils and personal belongings.
(9) Ill-treatment of women and children.
(10) Police and executive action and severe penalties for technical breaches of the law.
(11) Illegal police and executive action against flag-hoisting, use of handspun, closing of shops, processions, etc.[107]
(12) Censorship of the press, interception of correspondence, and interference with travel, etc.
(13) Imprisonment after summary trials or without trials.
(14) Searches, with or without warrant.
(15) Prohibition of meetings, or assemblies of more than five persons, and surveillance over every kind of meeting.
(16) Beating of pickets and volunteers.
(17) "Parole" orders (cat and mouse procedure).[108]
(18) Externment and internment at executive discretion.
(19) Marching of troops through villages (showing the flag").
(20) Police surveillance on an unprecedented scale.
(21) Destruction of property and closing down of social service and similar institutions. (pp. 142-44).

The Report then adds concrete cases under each of the above heads, with full details. It is a voluminous document, and only a brief summary must suffice.

I. TREATMENT OF WOMEN RESISTERS (Item no. 9)

"The worst cases of ill-treatment of women and children have, like most of the excesses and atrocities, occurred in the villages and inside the prisons...In many instances, of which we have the facts, the women were savagely set upon, beaten or insulted by the police with the object of preventing them from participating or to frighten them and others from such activities. In the many statements made to us or sent to us, complaints of foul and filthy language and threats of dishonour, either expressed or but thinly veiled, are made against all ranks of police officer." Ill-treatment and excess include :

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(1). Taking women resisters on police lorries and leaving them far away in lonely places.
(2) Actual beating and threats of violence.
(3). Abuse, indecent suggestions and insults.
(4). Compulsion to travel (as prisoners) in male custody.
(5). Rape and indecent assault, etc.

"The extent to which ill-treatment of women has occurred has varied from province to province." 'Bengal villages had the worst record and in Calcutta itsellf the 'beating of women' was done by the European sergeants.'

Caning of Women

"The Delegation arrived at Siddapur, Bombay Presidency (Kanarese area) on September 1st, 1932. The officials and the police whom we met assured us that all that appeared in Congress bulletins was untrue. Policemen never seized stocks of foodstuffs, grain or funds as alleged by Congress, and in no case were women beaten.

"While we were with the Mamlatdar and Circle Inspector of Police, shouts and cries were heard in the streets below. An old woman approached us and spoke in Kanarese. This was interpreted to us. She said that many women had been arrested and among them was her daughter, who had been beaten by the police. The Inspector and the Mamlatdar were unable to give any explatnation. The latter asked us to go with him to the police compound and see the prisoners. Squatting on the veranda were fifteen women and two girls, the latter aged seven and nine. The Sub-Inspector who had been with us at the beginning was now here and was walking up and down before the women and looking at them fiercely.

The Women's Story :

"They had come into the town half-an-hour after the Delegation's arrival. They were determined to make a demonstration. A crowd had followed them ; the shouting we heard in the bungalow was the shouting of the people. The Sub-Inspector and the police dispersed the crowd, arrested the seventeen women who had come from outlying villages, and had caned them on the way to the police station. They made no resistance and were

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non-violent, and yet they were struck from behind by the police as they were marched off.

Injuries

"On the right shoulder of one was plainly visible a recently caned stripe; another had a contusion on the head; a third showed a mark on the arm....

Official Admission

"We inquired if they were arrested. The reply was: "They are not arrested, Sir, they are only detained. They will be released tonight."[109]

"On being further pressed for the reason for beating the women, the Magistrate said: "Others must be shown that they must not do this sort of things. They will be released and no harm will come to them."

"While the discussion was going on the women protested against the Sub-Inspector (who had done the beating), and he blurted out, "You will get worse than this." The women defied him to do his worst.

"We took up the case with the Circle Inspector at the bungalow, later, and he denied knowledge of the facts of the case, but warned us that he knew of a case in which complaints had been made to Mr. Clee, Home Secretary to the Bombay Government, and in this case it was found that one woman had beaten all her arrested companions in order to make out that the police beat women.[110]

"We subsequently learned that the women were released at 10 that night, when it was raining very heavily. No food was given them and they were sent out of the town to walk many miles back to their villages."

A Hospital Case

"We took a statement concerning Mani Devi Temmana of village Vasare, Ankola, She, a widow of about forty, refused to vacate her house, which had been attached under the order for non-payment of land revenue. The head constable entered the house and beat the woman with his shoes until she was unconscious. She was then dragged out of the house and

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left in the field. Her neighbours picked her up and took h Ankola in an unconcious condition. She was admitted to public hospital for treatment. The incident took place tw twelve days prior to our visit."

Policeman in a Ladies Compartment

'Miss. P. Kameswari Amma, B.A., a young lady gra of the Queen Mary's College, Madras, was one of our hos Rajahmundry. Among other incidents she told us about a stable forcing himself into a second-class ladies' compartme a train. Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, M. L. C., interrogated Government of Madras in the Legislature on this matter, and Home Member replied that the Government had found the gation untrue. Miss Kameswari then wrote to the Home Me giving him all the facts. No attempt was made to obtain information from her, who was an aggrieved party, and on w behalf the matter had been raised in the Council. This is of those cases which, in our opinion, make Government "in gations" and denials unconvincing. We know the party conc in the case, and have not the slightest hesitation in believing version, which she has published and the Government has ignored. The police knew her as a Congress woman, and she had once been beaten by the police.'

Mrs. Nehru (mother of Jawaharlal) beaten

'Mrs. Motilal Nehru, the widow of the Pandit Motilal N was witnessing a Congress demonstration in Purshottamdas P Allahabad, on the 8th April, 1932. She was pushed off her c and fell down. She was beaten with *lathis* on her body an her head. She was wounded on the head and was bleeding fainted.'

Molestation

"We have in our possession copies of signed statements many women victims of Police Raj. Some of the statem from Bengal and Gujarat refer to cases of attempt at or mittal of rape on women by police.

"Mr. Neogy, M. L. A., referred to another form of terr tion of women which, he said, obtained in his district.

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formation, gathered in the different Provinces, is that the alleged thod was widely used in other parts of India as well, parti- ly in Gujarat and Madras.

"Mr. Neogy stated that ladies were arrested, taken into tody, then taken some miles away from their homes or places arrest to island Chars. Mr. Neogy explained that 'there are all islands thrown up in the middle of the rivers of Eastern gal, and these Chars are in many cases uninhabited and full jungle. The ladies are left in these places at dead of night.' Neogy also stated that he had with him several statements persons who had been treated in this fashion."

2. THE BENARES WOMEN CASE

It created a great sensation, and as it is a typical instance Government attitude in such cases it may be quoted at some

A number of women were alleged to be beaten by the police, the Government denied it. "A public meeting to protest t these incidents was held in Benares, presided over by Malaviya. The meeting demanded a public inquiry."

Officials Disagree

"A magisterial inquiry had already been ordered by the ict Magistrate, and the Deputy Magistrate, who made the liminary inquiry under his instructions,

(1) examined all the eight women in the case ;
(2) had four of them examined by a lady doctor ;
(3) held an identification parade of 100 constables ;
(4) examined the constables against whom the charges were

"After recording further evidence, the Deputy Magistrate d that the police were undoubtedly guilty.' The result was municated to the District Magistrate. Five constables were ended and their prosecutions ordered. The District Magis- e himself tried the case. The District Magistrate rejected sworn statements of the eight women and accepted that of the ed police constables and acquitted them.

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An Insinuation

"In his reply in the House of Commons the Secretary State said that.

(1) The case was a malicious concoction.
(2) That the preliminary inquiry was worthless.
(3) That the women were 'not members of respec families, but Hindu widows who had left the prote of their husbands' families and had no visible m of support.'

"The insinuation in the third item is one which attempt discredit the women's story by reflections on their chara That the Secretary of State should have chosen to make s statement against those who have not the access to the pub that a Minister of the Crown has, is regrettable.

Our Testimony

"We examined one of those women, Bagala Devi, whi were in Benares. Whatever may be the facts of the case we should like to place on record our view that the insinu in the official statement to which we have referred is wholly founded. The lady is a widow, aged 22, and stays with mother and brother. Her father was a physician. She Brahman. Her husband owned a little property in Jessore she still receives some support from her husband's brothers. suggestion contained in the official statement is as untrue is wicked.

Official Allegation on Oath

"The District Magistrate says of another of the wo 'Kulada Devi is an unattached woman, by trade a maid-ser She varied this by being the kept woman of a Bengali for a

"The lady was in jail, and we could not meet her. statement taken by Pandit Malaviya from Banamali Das, is the alleged paramour, says :

'Kulada-Ma (Mother Kulada) is a respectable Bra widow. She is about fifty years old. I am thirty, and m and have two children. For the last eight years I have Kulada-Ma. She has always treated me as a son and I treated her as a mother. The suggestion that there has

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improper relation between me and Kulada-Ma is a wicked

"Kulada Devi was a Brahmin cook, who in India is rather ifferent from a maid-servant, as she is described by the District agistrate, who is a British official. He cannot be expected to ow these differences.

Medical Evidence

"The Secretary of State further asserted that he felt sure that victims were medically examined. One of the doctors who the examination was never called to give evidence, and other, Dr. Thungamma, was not examined on certain points, d the inference drawn from her testimony is unwarranted.

"Kulada Devi stated in court that she had been examined Dr. Amarnath, a well-known practitioner in Benares, but he s not called. Pandit Malaviya questioned Dr. Amarnath, who d:

'I quite remember that a middle-aged woman, who said she a Congress volunteer, came to my residence in the afternoon 12th March, 1932. I remember it because she complained t she had been beaten and kicked by the police the night re. I examined her and found she had a swelling on her thigh. It was very tender and partially discoloured. I e her liniment to apply. She did not come to me again. rd three days after that, another Congress volunteer, this a young woman, came to my dispensary and complained in in her back and of fever. She also said she had been en by the police three or four days earlier. I examined her gave her two prescriptions, one for application and the for taking iternally. I find copies of the said prescriptions ed in my Mangala Pharmacy Register as Nos. 504 and 505, date 15th March, 1932. Her name is mentioned there ngala Sundari Devi.'

Prosecution for Perjury

"Lord Winterton, M. P., inquired whether any steps were taken to prosecute for perjury persons both in India and country who have repeated these statements.

"Major Beaumont Thomas inquired what action was being

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taken against the *Aj* newspaper, which, Sir Samuel Ho alleged was responsible for concocting the story.

"To both questions the Secretary of State replied that was already making inquiries.

The Pandit's Challenge Still Open

"Over a year has elapsed and no prosecution has b launched. Pandit Malaviya has published affidavits, on facts of the case, and repeated his allegations asserting that police lied, that the whole defence is a concoction, and that treatment of the women was revengeful and inhuman. He also stated that the District Magistrate 'unwittingly added gr tous insult to injury.' He has also referred to the vicio of the extra-judicial system of the Ordinances.

"The Pamphlet, 'The Congress Women Volunteers' C of Benares,' is signed by Pandit Malaviya and is publishe his son. No prosecution has been launched against either them so far on account of this publication."

This case has been treated at some length because it supp an authentic testimony to the absolutely worthless characte official statements in defence of officers charged with seri crimes against political workers in India. This denunciat applies even to the statements of the Secretary of State—a me ber of the British Cabinet—and, by implication, to those of t whole hierarchy of officials in India from the Governor-Ge down to the Police Constables who supply (or concoct) the formation.

The conduct of the Magistrate not only shows the trav of justice in political cases which had become the normal pr tice in British India in those days, but also the depth of degra tion to which an educated Englishman—a member of the ICS can descend in order to wreak vengeance on those whose o offence, real or supposed, was to defy the lawless laws pa by a Government which prided itself on being established law. The demoralisation of these high British officials was dered all the more pathetic by the absence of that spirit of valry and respect for women which is seldom wanting in English gentleman, at least at home. It is hardly necessary to

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but the revelations made in the Banares case were the rule rather than exception.

Molestation (including rape)

On this the Delegation observes as follows :

"We have in our possession copies of signed statements of many women victims of Police Raj. Some of the statements from Bengal and Gujarat refer to cases of attempt at or committal of rape on women by Police. In the reports and accounts[111] which we obtained in the places we visited were included assaults on women and attemps or committal of rape. There are also instances where the aggrieved party has been before us.

"At Barhee, Monghyr District, we met a woman named Shamma. A policeman in plain clothes entered her home on the 24th August. He took her in his arms and brought her to the yard of the house. He made indecent jokes and asked for intimacy, when she raised the alarm, and her husband, who heard the cry, fetched another policeman. A complaint was filed before the District Superintendent of Police. He took notes of the case. The policeman was taken to the Inspector of Police.

Allegations in The Assembly : Rape Cases

"On the 3rd December (after we had left India), Mr. S. C. Mitra, Member of the Legislative Assembly, placed in the Library a copy of a report of an investigation made on his behalf by an ex-captain, who served the Empire during the war, who visited thirteen villages. Mr. Mitra, in his speech, refers to the part of the Report[112] dealing with the oppression.

"He (the ex-captain) gives instances of two women on whom rape was committed. I have here their photographs, with their statements and thumb impressions, which I place on the Table of the House for the inspection of Honourable Members, as well as that of the Government. It is known that in Eastern countries chastity is so highly valued that when a woman loses her chastity she is outcasted. Therefore no woman in India will ever make a false statement that rape was committed on her. I read one of them. In the statements she says her name is Kusum Kumari Mondal. On the 15th September, on Thursday night, she was sleeping with her husband. At about midnight a constable of police came and took away her husband and all the

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male members of the adjoining house. Some time after, brother-in-law alone returned. Afraid to live alone, she went her brother-in-law's house. She was in bed with her sister-in-and other female members. A Pathan policeman came and away her brother-in-law. That policeman came back and the help of a torchlight picked Kusum up and forcibly dra her to her house and beat her; when she screamed, he ga her and committed rape on her. Her thumb impression and ments are laid on the table of the House.

'Another case of rape is that of Sushila Bala Pradhan Sutahata. I place also her statement with thumb impression the table of the House. To save herself from the police she shelter in the house of another woman Puti, a neighbour, was not assessed with any punitive tax because she was too p The police knocked at the door and asked if there were volunteers in the house and wanted to see the house and pe nally satisfy themselves. They opened the door. Instead looking for volunteers, they closed the door and forcibly Janaki and the other female into another room. Then she threatened and raped. These are the statements of the wo and there are their thumb impressions also. I place them o table of the House so that Honourable Members can see the they want to.

'There are six other statements of Khemankari Ban Girivala Roy, Bilashi, Parul Bibi, Bishnu Maiti and Sarasw Pal, who definitely allege that attempts were made to outra their modesty. I shall not go into details....'

II. THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE

"The use of force against the subject, except when it is legal punishment, can be justified only on grounds of neces and expediency. It should be the last and not the first res It should follow warnings and, in the case of assemblies, co mands to disperse. It becomes even less justified when it realised:

(1) That Civil Disobedience volunteers do not evade resist, and to carry out the requirements of the Ordinances the duties of the police as generally understood, their arrest is that is required.

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(2) That volunteers are beaten even (a) after they attempt to run away, (b) after they have been arrested, (c) when they take all the beating without retaliation, (d) after they fall semi-conscious or are otherwise on the ground, and (e) when the victims include women.

(3) That the beating is accompanied by vile abuse, drenching with coloured water, dragging along the roads and the infliction of other injuries.

(4) That the victims of the beating are not the volunteers alone but also innocent sight-seers, who are merely members of the general public.

(5) That 'dispersal' in this manner is not merely of 'assemblies' but of individuals. The police 'disperse' individual pickets, who cannot by any stretching of the law, be called a gathering willing to create a mob riot.

Each of these five assertions is based on our experience, and the admissions made in the Legislatures by Government spokesmen. We shall give here a few samples not necessarily of the worst or extraordinary cases of instances in illustration of each of the five categories mentioned here" (pp. 168 ff.).

According to the Delegation Report the Madras Government instructed the Police not to beat the volunteers while the members of the Delegation were present at the scene. Actually beating was stopped as soon as they appeared. Two instances may be cited. "In Calicut, however, the stopping of the procession was followed instantly by a shower of lathi blows on the volunteers on the left front of the procession. They immediately squatted on the road; a few more blows followed. In the meantime the police noticed that the crowd which gathered in the buildings on either side of the road was looking away from the procession. We had reached the spot from the opposite direction and had been noticed. We saw no more beating. This incident shows the police method and the lack of any justification of necessity. The arrests did not require force; at the same time we saw enough to verify for ourselves the widespread allegations against the police."

At Rochesan in Gujarat, the members of the Delegation reached before morning and hid themselves on the terraces of a house. What followed is thus described: "The procession con-

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sisted mainly of women, the total number being perhaps ab thirty or forty. Policemen with full-sized lathis met the pro sion near our house and the procession stopped. We witn the most savage beating that we had seen till then. The and women squatted down. Policemen swung their five lathis with both hands and delivered blows on the heads shoulders. One of the victims was an old woman, another w statement we took afterwards. It was a ruthless perform savage in the fury with which the police delivered the blo A few more extracts may be quoted at random, just to indi the nature of the police assault on picketers. "The pickets not arrested in the places we visited. They were dragged the road and blows with fists were delivered on their bodies the constables. In one of the places we saw a Sub-Insp directing the operations. The constables and Sub-Inspector shouting most of the time and we understood from our fri that they were abusing the crowd and the pickets in the filt language."

"In one case four Brahman boys and four fisher yo picketed a toddy shop and when they refused to move they w beaten by the police and fell senseless. Water was then po on them to revive them and afterwards, it is alleged, they w again beaten. This heartless conduct so incensed the fisher that they wrested the lathis from the hands of the police and h them to save the boys 'from being killed.'

"P.L.N.K. Chettiar, Ramnad district, a banker worth ab two lakhs of rupees, was present at an open-air meeting on 9th January, 1932. The Police Inspector said they should crowd there. Mr. Chettiar moved when a policeman beat with a lathi and fractured his knee. He fell. Someone in crowd carried him out. He was taken to a doctor, who said the leg must be amputated. He insisted on seeing his own do tor, whose certificate we refer to above. Mr. Chettiar will be able to bend his knee."

"The Delegation witnessed a Congress procession on the 1 September, 1932, at Burrabazar. It was stopped and the p cessionists were set upon by the police with lathis.... The monstrators were mainly students. We saw no signs or te cies to violence or resistance. No stones were thrown at

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...ace, there was no obstruction of traffic and no insulting behavi-
...r. A Congress flag was carried. The procession was soon sur-
...rounded by police constables. British sergeants then 'charged' the
...Congress volunteers, which is the name apparently given to the
...merciless beating with lathis which we witnessed. Those who
...dispersed were chased by the sergeants and beaten. The ser-
...geants then proceeded to deal in the same way with members of
...the crowd, chasing and beating them. One boy was arrested,
...and the police appeared to have captured some Congress flags."

"We saw the results of lathi blows on children, and some
...of the savage beating. The statements that we received and took
...at different places contain quite a number of instances of loath-
...some horrors, some of them unprintable. We propose to quote
...here one or two cases in which we saw the victims ourselves. On
...our return from Sylhet to Chittagong, a party of people came to
...see us on the steam launch. Among them was a frail little girl
...aged about twelve. We saw on her head scars of wounds inflicted
...by the lathis and on her back some marks of savage beating.
...That a child of such tender years, whose crime appears to have
...been that she was distributing handbills, such cruelty may with-
...out any apology be classed as gruesome. We cross-examined the
...child and we are convinced in our minds that the child was
...cruelly beaten."

Hair Set on Fire

"At Madura we met a Dhobie (washerman). He wore
...khaddar and picketed. He was beaten severely and then taken
...to the house of the Police Inspector, who was an Indian. He was
...again beaten, then kerosene oil was poured on his hair and set
...alight." The rest of the story may be said in the words of the
...victim himself. "The Circle Inspector's wife cried out in horrified
...protest. A constable put out the fire with his hands. There were
...burns all over my head. The Circle Inspector then beat me with
...his fist with one hand and a lathi in the other on the elbow,
...shoulder, wrist, knee-cap and thigh, and on my back and fingers.
...My hands were bleeding. I had five wounds on the head, six or
...seven on my left arm, seventeen on my right arm, displacement
...of three finger nails of the left hand....At the end the Circle Ins-
...pector asked me whether I had tasted Swaraj and asked me to

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apologise, and I was beaten again. The Circle Inspector's w
pleaded for mercy for me. The Circle Inspector became
angry and flung the lathi and rule at his wife."

'Four young boys, aged 7, 10, 12 and 16, were beaten, kic
and slapped for the alleged offence of their eldest brother,
was absent. The Police tied their legs with ropes and ha
them by their feet from the roof and beat them.'

At Mardan, when the Delegation was taking down
ments from the people, a crowd gathered in the adjacent
They behaved in a quite orderly manner and dispersed a
request of the Delegation who then resumed taking notes.
followed is thus described :

"About half-an-hour afterwards we looked out through
window out of curiosity. We saw in the lane, in front of
Hujra, a party of constables, armed with lathis and rifles,
up. When we returned to our work of taking statements,
suggested that those who had already spoken to us or had
business should leave, as it was rather close and warm. Some
the men inside then proceeded to leave. In a minute or
there was noise downstairs, and we looked through the win
We saw the party of constables pushing the people who w
leaving the place back into the Hujra and belabouring them v
lently with their full-sized lathis and hitting men with rifle bu
A number were savagely beaten with the lathis swung against
heads and bodies. An old man who was going away had
turban snatched, his hands tied up with it and his head subject
to rain of lathi blows. We also noticed that the consta
pounded people on their chests with the stout ends of the la
with great violence. Some of the men who were thus pu
back came upstairs, and we saw their injuries. In addition
contusions and bleedings, we noticed that the pounding on
chest had removed thick layers of skin and tissue.

III. FIRING ON CROWDS

"The instances to which we are about to refer relate to
where police have opened fire on crowds. In some cases
throwing at the police has been alleged. In no instance is
evidence of an actual riot which had to be quelled.

"In the course of a reply to a question by Sardar

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Singh, M.L.A., about the number of times the Police or Military had to use force in dispersing unlawful assemblies in 1932, Mr. Haig, the Home Member, gave the following figures of those killed and wounded: Killed...80, Wounded...319. The figures in the schedule obviously refer to casualties on account of firing, since total wounded by other forms of police action are many times the total given."

The Delegation refers to a number of cases of firing on village people either by police, military police, or troops:

"At Hashanabad a very large meeting of peasants was held on the 14th February, 1932. It was an illegal meeting, as it had been prohibited under Section 144. The police arrived and declared the meeting unlawful and ordered the people to disperse. The order was not obeyed and the police opened fire, killing two and wounding many others. Three of the wounded died in hospital later.

"Another village gathering on which the police opened fire was at Tamluk, in Midnapore District, Bengal, where numbers of village men and women had assembled to make salt as part of the Civil Disobedience programme. The police declared the assembly unlawful and made a lathi charge. The assembly did not disperse and they opened fire. (Press report 1-4-32).

"A third instance is that of an incident in Muzaffarpur. The official version is that a determined attack was made on the Belsar Thana, in the Sitamarhi Sub-Division, on the 28th February, 1932, by a crowd of 7,000, armed with brickbats and lathis. An officer and two men of the Gurkha Military Police were alleged to have been injured by brickbats. The crowd was dispersed by firing, killing four and injuring eight persons. These are the official figures.

"The unofficial version is that several thousand persons marched towards the Thana to hoist the Congress flag over the building, where the authorities, who had notice of the intended demonstration, had posted soldiers, and the Deputy-Magistrate was present to watch the situation. Crowds gathered; the police snatched the flags from the volunteers who tried to hoist it and the onlookers threw some brickbats, when a soldier beat a volunteer with the butt end of a rifle. Of those killed the youngest was twelve and the oldest thirty."

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Cases in towns and cities

"In Bombay, according to Mr. Haig's statement, thirty-
persons had been killed and ninety-one injured as a result
firing. In Allahabad the police dispersed a procession on
9th April by opening fire. They were men and women who
squatted on the road when prohibited by the police from proc
ing with the procession. It was reported that brickbats had
thrown at the police by members of the crowd. Several r
were fired."

Government Figures Challenged

"At Tehatta, in Bengal, a conference of the Nadia D
Congress Committee had been called on the 19th June,
Police interfered with the arrival of delegates, refusing to
the train to stop and prohibiting ferry boats from plying. D
this, about four or five thousand people, according to polic
ports (ten to twelve thousand according to Congress and
estimates), gathered at Tehatta, a country place, whose
population is 1,200 or so. Armed police were brought in, t
Nadia is a district of Bengal where the violence party h
following. The crowd was non-violent; police broke up
gathering with lathis, bayonets and the butts of rifles. The c
regathered in another place. The police now opened fire
wounded about twenty-five people and killed Satish Sardar.
Haig's figures are one killed and three wounded.

"Satish Sardar was not a Congressman but a spectator.
leaves a widow and five children between the ages of on
twelve. A number of people, including the wounded, were
on tried and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment
During the trial the police alleged that brickbats were thro
them, but no independent witnesses were called. There w
inquiry[113] into the firing and no compensation either for
widow and children of Satis Sardar or to any of the wo
A woman, Nital Chand Biswas, who received a bayonet w
in the hand on this occasion was acquitted at the trial. She
that while she was picketing the Union Court, one of the
police grabbed her by the throat and a rifle was pointed a
She was threatened with instant death.[114]

"We also interviewed a Moslem lad, Fazalulla, who

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been shot through the thigh. He had nothing whatever to do with the rioting, but had come into Tehatta to buy oilcakes for his flocks."

No Inquiry

"The practice that obtains in India, of not ordering an inquiry even after people are killed as a result of firing by the Police or the Military, coupled with the visiting of penalties on the publication of accounts in newspapers, justifies our giving here some of the information that we collected, side by side with the official version. Ordinance rule appeared obviously more arbitrary than even a Martial Law regime when Police, Military and District Civil Officers may shoot people dead or order firing and no inquiry is held after the incident and no compensation offered to the relatives of those killed, even when they happen to have been neutral citizens who are spectators."

IV. RAIDS AND SEARCHES

"The Ordinance conferred on Magistrates power to issue warrants, to search premises and to seize property suspected of being used or about to be used for any purpose prejudicial to public safety."

"Raids and searches were made by the police all over India. We have the figures of the total searches in six months in 1932. Two random instances would suffice to show the extent: Contai Sub-division of Midnapore District, 45 searches, Muzaffarpur (Bihar), 39, in approximately six months. The worst cases are in the villages."

"Mr. Neogy, a Member of the Assembly, gave an instance in the Legislative Assembly on the 2nd February, 1932. The house of Rai Bahadur G. C. Nag, a Government title-holder and pensioner, a retired Deputy-Collector, was raided one night. Mr. Nag was grossly abused by a European police officer. When he remonstrated, the officer told him, "If the Police Superintendent had come he would have beaten you." Mr. Nag's son and daughter were taken away and the lady was kept in custody without any charge and removed from place to place under male escort. The police smashed all the furniture in Mr. Nag's house. Mr. Neogy informed the Assembly that Mr. Nag had written to him about the facts."

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"Mrs. Purna Devi, whom we met in Lahore, informed that in 1930 her house was searched while her husband was prison. The police came at 2 a.m., and as she was alone told them she would not open the door till the morning. Then broke open the door and entered the courtyard and climbed the pillars and got into the house. She also said that searches were common. Three or four policemen would and turn places upside down. The police are supposed to ordinary citizens to witness the search. In fact, such people they bring are men in their own pay. Arrests are often made night."

"Mr. Abdul Matin Choudry read in the Legislative Assembly a telegram which had been sent to the Governor of Bengal the Imam of the Jama Masjid of Chittagong."

"Grossly insulting searches of about 150 respectable Moslem houses of Alkaran in the town made Wednesday, 16th instant on meagre information regarding absconders. Indignities caused to pardanashin ladies, some inside the houses and some dragged to considerable distance and exposed in public street after removing the male members under arrest to another place. Some pardanashin ladies roughly handled and rudely treated in the name of searches and Moslem males beaten and some grossly insulted...."

V. BEATINGS IN LOCK-UPS

"Beating, or other forms of torture, in a police lock-up, which are entirely illegal, appear to have been adopted by the police in almost every province. Madras, Gujarat, Bengal and the United Provinces furnished us with instances. It is at once one of the worst forms of atrocity and the most difficult to prove. We examined at some length the cases. One was that of a barber boy, aged perhaps nineteen, who was not a volunteer. He stated to us that he went near volunteer camps and that his sympathies were with Congress people. He had in consequence refused to shave policemen in his saloon. He was taken by the police one day and severely beaten in the lock-up. We saw marks of the beating all over the lad's body. Another young man whom we met there was a Congress volunteer, who had been arrested at Quilandy (Malabar) and severely beaten and kicked by police-

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with their boots. He was under treatment for several months afterwards. The police tried to extract an apology.

"Apart from these two instances on which we questioned these men and convinced ourselves, the reports of savage beatings in the lock-ups which appear to have been a special feature of the Calicut police methods, were mentioned to us by many people, mostly opponents of Congress....

"Mr. Russell, the Collector, received us in his bungalow, and our interview was most friendly. We took up the matter of the police lock-ups. He did not deny that such incidents took place, though he made no admissions. But he said that the police denied it, and since there was no independent testimony, all he could do was to ask the District Superintendent of Police to tell his men to use authority with discretion. The intervieiw confirmed our feelings about the police beatings in Malabar. The "evidence" that the Collector referred to would never be obtainable since in a lock-up the only people are the police and the victims.....

"Kushalbhai Vara Sabhai, aged 20, of Yorawadi, Taluka Mandavi, made a statement before us. He is almost blind; from a distance of two feet he described a watch as "a metal piece." His statement is as follows:

"In February, 1932, I was one of a party selling contraband salt. The police caught the party and took us to a police thana, beating us with lathis on the way. Four of us were separated and beaten again with lathis. I was made to sit and was kicked with heavy boots on my back. There was one European officer present. He compelled us to bend down and hold our toes; while we were doing this we were beaten on the back till the cane broke. Another cane was then brought. We were then asked to take care next time on pain of death, and driven away in different directions. I was in bed for fifteen days afterwards."

"Chunilal of Rastampur village, Rae Bareilly District (United Provinces), arrested on the 5th March, 1932, for picketing foreign cloth, in a statement made to us said that from the street he was taken by constables to Rae Bareilly kotwali. They let him sit there and said nothing for one day. The second day at 10 o'clock the Police Sub-Inspector came and took him by the ear and asked him to apologise. He declined. The Sub-Inspector then dragged

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him by the tuft (of hair) and ear and knocked him against the wall, several times. "From the 5th to 11th I was given water alone, and no food." Food was sent by his people, but the police did not allow it to be given to the man. They said that unless he apologised no food would be allowed. The Sub-Inspector came three times a day and beat him and knocked him about, with his hand and with a stick. There were four other people in the lock-up who were similarly treated."

"We were shown in many of the places that we visited medical certificates issued by qualified doctors relating to injuries inflicted by the police. We were also informed that in several places hospitals which received Government aid would not render medical assistance to the victims of police excesses."

"A Congress volunteer Kumaraswami, aged 27, was beaten to death at Tiruppur (Madras Presidency) on the 11th January 1932."

VI OTHER FORMS OF POLICE EXCESSES

"That photographs of Indian leaders, not only in shops but in private houses, were pulled down and taken away by the police, and the parties concerned either assaulted or threatened was frequently mentioned to us in India. In the earlier part of 1931 this form of police action was widely prevalent in Madras, Gujarat and other areas. We made inquiries of a number of shopkeepers....."

Investigated Cases

"The Police authorities asked the shopkeepers to withdraw all calendars bearing Mr. Gandhi's picture or that of other leaders. Otherwise they would share the fate of the tobacconist Nagindas. This latter gentleman had refused to remove Mr. Gandhi's photograph from his shop, and had been sentenced under the Ordinances to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine.

"On the day of our arrival at Sayan, the 31st October, 1931, three boys came to Sayan with framed portraits of Mr. Gandhi and a few Gandhi caps for sale. They were immediately arrested by the Head Constable. We went to the police station and asked for the Head Constable and saw the three boys. We asked the officer-in-charge for particulars and he told us that he had his orders to arrest anybody selling Gandhi pictures or khadi."

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white caps. He could not say under what law this was ordered, but his orders were to prevent anyone selling swadeshi."

"The ill-treatment of members of the public by the police is indicated by the views which Dr. Hogg, the British missionary, who is the Principal of the Madras Christian College, communicated to us, and we understand, to persons in authority. He says: "Government desires, and with all my heart I desire, that Indian youth shall not be seduced into sympathy with revolutionary methods, and yet Government is taking the most direct route to this undesired result, by the spectacle which lathi charges and beatings daily provided.

"It is impossible to employ police in this kind of work without their frequently overstepping intended limits and committing unauthorised excesses. And the combined effect of the horror I know of people feeling at brutalities witnessed, of the indignation at the lathi charges on inoffensive bystanders, of the resentment at the indignity of the coloured water douche and at the inhumanity of prohibiting immediate succour to the injured, is rapidly alienating persons whose habitual disposition has been strongly loyal."

"Dr. Hogg also gives an instance of what happens in Northern India, as told him by an Indian friend, a University professor:

"As I write this six of our dear boys are lying in our hospital, wounded in to-day's firing. Their fault, if it was a fault, was that they went to witness, but not to partake in, a meeting which turned out to be another Black Hole and Slaughter of the Innocents.....Our doctor saw seven lying dead, one being a lady and another a child...Organised terrorism like this may quell the present movement, but it will embitter and unite the nation... The Civilians must be mad if they fancy that we will be thankful for a reform which is to be granted only after our self-respect is taken in this brutal fashion."

Specific Instances

"About the excesses committed by the police on the public, a number of signatories, including 24 lawyers, of Madura, one professor, two first-class Hon'ble Magistrates, two merchants, and one

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member of the Madura District Board, in their memoran... state :

"For the past five days Madura is passing through a re... of horror during nights. Parties of Reserve Policemen in u... uniforms go about the streets at night after 9 p.m. and ma... all and sundry they can lay hands on.

"From the statements given by some of the victims ... appears :

(a) That innocent pedestrians have been beaten and s... of them robbed by the Reserve Police party.

(b) That shopkeepers have been plundered and article... the shops broken and otherwise damaged.

(c) That during the assault on the victims, if these h... happen to wear khaddar clothes, such khaddar cl... have been slipped from them and the victims have b... left in the streets stark naked. Such khaddar c... taken away from the victims have been burnt by ... police at the junction of streets and several other p... places.

(d) Instances have been reported of cases when peo... going in *jutkas* (horse carriages) have been plunde... beaten, and let off.

(e) On the night of 29.4.32 the son of Soyaj Aiyar, ... Advocate, was severely beaten with lathis, by ... Reserve Police, while he was standing innocently ... front of a house.

(f) There have been instances where very respectable peo... have been chased by the Reserve Police and escap... beating only by taking refuge in the nearest house.

(g) People are afraid of sleeping on pials (verandah) becau... of the incidents that are happening. Business is pa... lysed and shops are compelled to close much ear... than usual.

"Such acts of uncontrolled police licence are bou... to react on the temper of the people and incidenta... on the morale and discipline of the Reserve Po... themselves.

It is therefore prayed that an impartial inquiry be h... into the conduct of the Reserve Police from 25.4.32 ...

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"The District Magistrate, Mr. Hall, sent for the signatory first on the list, and asked him if he knew anything personally of these happenings. He said he had taken statements on oath and could produce them. Copies of the statements were sent to the District Magistrate along with the memorial.

"It was reported in the press in May (1932) that an official inquiry would be held. We were in Madura in August, 1932. Nothing further had happened till then.

"We have in our possession copies of eight statements taken on oath relating to this memorial, and the victims include petty shopkeepers, watchmen, bank clerks, and merchants."

Official Denials

"The allegations of atrocities made by public men have been denied or explained away by official departments or ...esmen in the Legislatures or in press communiques. In no ... has a public inquiry been instituted, and when, as in the ... of the firing at Hijli Detenue Camps, an official committee found fault with the official side, no action has been taken."

A Bezwada Memorial

"Twenty lawyers of the Bezwada Bar sent a memorial to the ...dras Government and members of the Legislative Council ...erning "police excesses in Bezwada" and other villages in ... District. They state that their memorial deals not with ...gue allegations, but particulars with dates and names whose ...enticity can easily be verified." They also state that the ...es are only illustrative, not exhaustive," and appeal for an ...ry and public inquiry."

The Official Denial

"Questions were asked about some of these cases in the ...dras Legislative Council in July. The Government at first ...ed knowledge, the usual answer, "No information," being ...rned. Questions were repeated and particulars of beatings, ...ries and excesses mentioned, on succeeding days, and in each ... the Government denied knowledge. The Home Member

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added that the "Government have no reason to suppose that volunteers were beaten in the manner indicated," the reason the supposition being that "it has not been brought to our notice

"The demand for the public inquiry was now supported a public statement issued by three members of the Legislative from the Telugu area, who stated that there was strong public feeling about these incidents and urged the Government to act

"The memorial was submitted on the 14th July, 1932; questions to which we have referred were asked on the 4th August and subsequent days. On the 17th August the Government issued a press communique in which the allegations were dismissed untrustworthy, and it was announced that Government "do propose to order any general inquiry into the allegations contained in the memorial."

"From a perusal of the papers relating to these requests for inquiry, the procedure adopted by the Government appears to be to plead "no information" when questions are asked in the Legislatures soon after the incident and suggest that there has been no time to inquire, and when a memorial with particulars is submitted at a later date to dismiss the whole affair as being a "belated" complaint.

VII. CONDITIONS IN JAIL

"The food that is prescribed under the rule is coarse and unsuited to the average prisoner even of the habitual criminal class."

The Facts

"In actual fact the flour contains sand and dirt, and the *chapathis* (bread) made out of it are unfit for normal human consumption. The food is often half-cooked, to make it weigh more. The grain troughs, we are told by prisoners, were dirty. The eating and cooking utensils we saw in Peshawar made one sick to look at. They were dirty in the extreme. Though jail gardens grow excellent vegetables, it is a well-known fact that these find their way to markets and supply the jail officials. The food of the Class C prisoner is mostly leaves and stalk. We were told this by men in jail, as at Rae Bareilly, and by almost every prisoner we met."

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Complaints

"Complaints led not to rectification of evils, but to punishments which included solitary confinement and fetters, beating and kicks. Worms and insects in grain and vegetable served to the prisoners are common. The complaint that the supply of drinking water was insufficient was common to almost every prison. For washing purposes the supply is even worse and the women suffered the hardship most.[115] At Benares Mrs. Usha Malaviya, who was a Class A prisoner, complained to the jail authorities about the hardship suffered by the women in Class B. One of the complaints was that there was insufficient supply of drinking water in the heat of the Benares summer. The result was that the women concerned were taken away and Mrs. Malaviya, in fact, became a solitary prisoner. In some jails, the water was foul and cases of typhoid were reported. Devadas Gandhi, one of the sons of the Mahatma, was victim of typhoid at one time while in jail.

Children

"There are two distinct problems concerning the juvenile inmates of the prison. First, there are those in various prisons in India sentenced to rigorous imprinsonment (Hard Labour) for Civil Disobedience offences under the Ordinances. The sentences vary from six months to a year and the age from 9 to 16 years. Their aggregate number is not large compared to the others, but detention of these in prison, specially under the conditions obtaining in Indian jails, is nothing short of a crime. Some of these young offenders are flogged or whipped ; they also do the labour of adults. Their youth makes them the victims of foul and abusive language and, we were told, of worse forms of tyranny. These boys were often unable to do the prescribed amount of labour and beaten in consequence. The jail Manual provides that juveniles shall not be kept along with adults, but our information about the prisons in the United Provinces is that the juveniles were kept along with habitual adult criminals.

Infants

"Then there is the problem of infants living in jails with their mothers. The jail rules provide that mothers may keep their

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children with them if the children are under six years of age. were informed that in the case of Civil Disobedience prisoners of Class C this rule was broken. The mothers put on to hard labour and the children isolated in another during the period. Even the dietary as prescribed in the Ma namely, half the adult prisoner's coarse food, is entirely able for infants. Further, there were no facilities for boiling milk supplied or obtained, which was not merely adulterated often dirty. We were told of the hardships of children by women prisoners in the United Provinces and the Bombay dency, one of these a mother, a school-mistress, who had baby under a year with her while in prison.

"These children are innocent of any crime or offence ever, and the infliction of hardship and cruelty on them in tender years should rouse the indignation and protests of decent-minded people."

Women Prisoners

"We were informed by women ex-prisoners that in Class prisoners were herded with habitual criminals and prostit Many of the women Civil Disobedience prisoners are yo women who have led sheltered lives, and the throwing of into the company of the habitual criminal and the prostitute is only against jail regulations but reprehensible."

Transport of Prisoners

"Women prisoners were escorted over long journeys policemen and head constables, without women warders, or female company. The policemen always insisted on occupy the same third class apartment, however small, as the wo prisoners.....They squeezed themselves in, used the same l tories, made vulgar jokes and sang ribald songs, and used language."

"Mr. Hall, the District Magistrate, as well as the jail sup intendent, had asserted that all educated women were given Cl A and B. But this we found was not true. The rice and d supplied contained worms. The mat (for bedding) was too d to be used. The women were ordered to break stones. T refused."

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"Bina Das Gupta, sentenced to ten months' rigorous imprisonment, stated that she was beaten in prison in June last. She was also given solitary confinement for one month. Arati Mukherjee, aged 26, it was stated to us, was beaten by a British police officer."

Latrine parade

"The term "latrine parade" was at first incomprehensible to us but we heard about it everywhere. There are an insufficient number of latrines, and they are not kept clean. To give an instance, in Meerut Jail, our information is that the time allowed for the "latrine parade" is ten minutes for 80 prisoners, who have to use ten seats among them. During the twelve hours that the prisoners are locked in, they are not permitted to use the latories.

Prison Labour

"Hem Chandra Rassler, who was a Class C prisoner in Chittagong Jail, in his statement made to us, said that he was set to work ten or eleven hours a day on the oil mill. It was for hours continuously without a break. At about 11 o'clock food was given to him which had to be eaten in a few minutes sitting on the mill. No bath or rest, even for a few minutes, was allowed.[116] He did this work for the whole of February and uptill the 22nd March.

'At the oil mill, politicals and others who do not work are beaten by convict overseers and warders. I was not beaten, but witnessed the beating of two young men who fainted. They were not politicals. The beating is done with hands and with batons.' Hem Chandra was transferred to Dum Dum after six weeks at Chittagong and given Class B. He was by profession a teacher and a weaving expert with a Government Certificate."

Mass Arrests

Numerous cases are cited where for a political crime, such as robbery and murder, number of people,—sometimes fifty, sixty, or even seventy,—were arrested, and released after two or three months. These were Congress workers.

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Shooting of Detenus

"Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials these internment camps were made to us in Bengal. There been cases of firing on detenues. The Bengal Govern appear, from the order we quote below, to have given powers to prison officials :

"If any detenue under the Bengal Criminal Law Amend Act, 1930, disobeys or neglects to comply with any order direction given or condition prescribed by virtue of any rule under Section 13 of the said Act, the authority which made order, gave the direction or prescribed the condition may use and every means necessary to enforce compliance with order."

"The shooting of unarmed detenues at Hijli in Septe 1931, by the armed guards of this camp and the findings of official committee, consisting of a British official and an In judge, which state that the shooting was 'indiscriminate' 'without justification' and resulted in serious injuries and deaths, should have been sufficient reason for the Bengal Gov ment to desist from placing such unrestricted powers as provi in the Order quoted, in the hands of prison officials."

Women's Camps

"Among the (women) detenues are many women, mo college girls, suspected of terrorist crimes, but not proved gu or charged with such. The condition of one of these places, Suri Camp, will be evident from the following account of a hu strike which appeared in the Press. Even the local officials w to agree that the conditions were unbearable. Seven yo lady detenues were sent to Suri and lodged in a room 25 feet 15 feet, part of which was used as a store and the remai portions furnished for the detenues. The south and east si of the room were completely blocked and the room had windows. The heat in this part of India is excessive in the months. The detenues petitioned for transfer to some other The Press report says that the petition was submitted in Janu and the magistrate assured the prisoners that their transfer been decided upon, and would take place about the middle April. No order came, and about the 15th April the Supe

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dent asked them to wait a little more. They then asked for mission to sleep on the verandah, as it was very hot. This quest was refused. The detenues, however, insisted on sleep- outside and the authorities called in the female warders, but detenues refused to sleep inside. Twenty-eight male warders re then requisitioned. Fearing insults, the detenues went in- the room and started a hunger strike.

"The District Magistrate sent for the guardians of the enues, and on their intervention the hunger strike came to an by the authorities agreeing to extend the lock-up hour."

Chain Gangs, Solitary Cells and Beatings

"R. M. Sangal, Banker of Rajasahi, stated to us: 'I was in a solitary cell for two months and allowed out only for an r each in the morning and evening. I was allowed no reading given no work. I lost 9 lbs. weight and suffered from monia. I was transferred from there to a cubicle 5 feet by feet by 7.1/2 feet, all sides wire netting in a house of 94 such icles.'

"In the Peshawar jail we ourselves saw prisoners under trial who had been in jail for over a year with bar fetters.

"Debedranath Sen, a University graduate of Dacca, was tenced to eight months in Class C, and after being in Dacca l for a fortnight was sent to Dum Dum jail. At Dacca he was handcuffed at night and put on "penal rice." At Dum Dum veral prisoners were handcuffed and prisoners were tied to each er. There was no attempt at escape by political prisoners in t jail."

"We take the following cases from the Report of the non- ficial jail Committee in the United Provinces:

(1) Sewa Ram of Bareilly was seen talking to Shiva Shankad of Muzaffarpur. He was given standing handcuffs for four days as punishment. He had to answer the calls of nature while still in standing handcuffs.

(2) Ram Dutta, of Bahampur (Gonda jail), was given solitary cell for not wearing jail cap. He actually remained in the cell for about a month.

(3) In April, 1932, Mata Prasad (Gonda jail), a lad of fifteen, was given work on the pumps. The boy got sores on his

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hands and asked the jailor for change of task. He was g
bar fetters as punishment.

(4) Rama Tirtha went on hunger stike in February-Ma
1932, as a protest against bad food, in Basti Jail, which l
one month. He was transferred to Gonda jail in a very
condition, but he was kept in solitary cell and put in bar fe
He became unconscious on the 6th March. The rest of
prisoners went on hunger strike in protest and there was a l
charge. Ram Tirtha, who at the time of the hunger strike
the lathi charges was lying in bar fetters, was tried a month l
when he had recovered and sentenced to additional imprison
for four months for creating a disturbance in jail.

(5) Bharat Singh, 20 years, of the village of Kanta, Alig
District, was chained at night along with twenty or so others,
under 20 years of age. During the day Bharat Singh was loc
in. This is confirmed in an independent statement made
Kandhan Singh, of Ranipan, aged 20, who says that after a f
days in jail he was deprived of his blanket and chained with
or so others, all boys, while sleeping on the verandah, which
were compelled to do, though it was the cold season.

(6) Madan Lal Parmi, aged 26, of Menak Chouk, Alig
was chained with 54 others and was also deprived of blanket

The above are random samples of punishments given in
jails and the alleged offences are mostly making complaints abo
conditions or of the ill-treatment of a fellow prisoner, hun
strikes or refusal to submit to some humiliation or other."

Assault by A British Official

Another case is described by Mr. Neogy, thus:

"Here I have an account which was made the subject of
interpellation in the Bengal Legislative Council regarding
assault that was committed by no less a person than a Europe
member of the Indian Civil Service, the Sub-divisional officer
the particular Sub-division where this assault took place, on a Ci
Disobedience prisoner on his refusal to give the usual thumb i
pression. This particular man was so ill on that day that he
to be carried on a stretcher to the Court. The Sub-divisio
officer, I understand, was holding his Court inside the jail p
mises, for the purpose of trying this offence of refusal to give

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thumb impression. Now this man having been carried on a stretcher was convicted to two months' rigorous imprisonment for having refused to give his thumb impression. Having received this punishment, this man, along with another who was not ill, was returning to their ward, when the Sub-divisional officer called them back. Some jail sentries were also called and the Sub-divisional officer then asked them again to give their thumb impressions. But they persistently refused. At this he flew into a rage, and, snatching a baton from a police officer, struck this sick man on the head, hip and other parts of his body. The police officer and the sentries also took up the cue and made free use of whatever they could put their hands on. The Sub-divisional officer sat upon the chest of this sick man, dislocated his thumb and forefinger joint by applying force, and then his thumb impression was taken."

The other prisoner, Mr. Neogy states, was assaulted. "His hand was fractured. He was struck on the head with a baton and kicked in the stomach. Both these men became unconscious, and the sick man's wound was bleeding profusely. Hearing the assault, the jailor rushed to the place and sounded the alarm, but on understanding the situation he stopped the alarm and tried to pacify the prisoners with the assurances that proper steps would be taken. It was found that the sick man had a deep and long wound on the forehead, apart from other marks of assault, and the fingers of both hands had been damaged, and abdomen swollen with kicks."

"The Berar representative interposed to say that in the Central Provinces similar treatment was meted out to an ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly."

The Official Version

"The Bengal Government's version of the case, elicited in reply to interpellation, was next quoted by Mr. Neogy, and it said:

"The prisoner refused to give his thumb impression as required under Section so-and-so of the Identification of Prisoners Act of 1920. He was informed of the fact that the provisions of the law clearly contemplated that such impression should be taken by force, if necessary, and after every effort was made to make

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him give his thumb impression, he resisted the officer discharg his duty. A struggle ensued (mind you, with a man who had be carried on a stretcher), and, in the course of the struggle, prisoner received minor injury. The prisoner was not delibe ly assaulted."

Another Case

"Another case is that of Mr. Dhiresh Chandra Chakrav M.A., editor of an English weekly in Calcutta, the *New E* who had been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment preaching the Congress programme at a meeting. Mr. Ne described the treatment meted out to him:

"He was removed from the Munshiganj sub-jail to Dacca Central Jail on the 27th January in a hand-cuffed st A large number of people gathered on the roadside and gre him with shouts of 'Bande Mataram'. At this, an Assis Superintendent of Police, who was then at Munshiganj Th rushed out and assaulted Dhiresh Babu with blows on the eye and temple. Being hand-cuffed, he could offer no resista The spectacles he wore were smashed to pieces. For the time was rendered unconscious. It was most fortunate that the bro pieces of glass only scratched the lids and did not pierce into eye, which had been narrowly saved. After this, the authori left him without any glasses, for days together, and ultima these had to be supplied from his home. This incident a formed the subject-matter of interpellations in the Bengal Legis tive Council, and this is what the Chota Home member said:

"Yes, one blow was struck, but there was a certain amo of provocation, and the officer was totally unaware that Dhir Babu was handcuffed."

VIII. NEWSPAPERS

Between January and July, 1932, security was demand from 109 journals and 98 printing presses in India. Th *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) had to deposit the maxim security (Rs. 2,000 each from the Keeper of the Press a Publisher) for publishing an article entitled "India in Trava by Prof. S. K. George, in its issue on the 25th May. The arti referred to Christian principles and non-violent resistance."

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In November, 1932, the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay "had been called on to forfeit its security of Rs. 10,000 and to pay another Rs. 20,000 for reprinting an article which was written by Mr. Gandhi two years ago in his paper *Young India*." Cases of five other presses are referred to.

IX. NO-TAX CAMPAIGN AND POLICE RAJ

"The no-tax campaign was pursued on a mass scale in the Allahabad and Rae Bereilly districts of the United Provinces, in the Kaira and Surat districts of Gujarat, in the Canarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, in certain areas of Bengal, such as Contai, Midnapore, and Tamluk, in Bihar and in the North-West Frontier Province. In the rest of India, this item of the Civil Disobedience programme was not widely adopted, and where it obtained it was a matter of individual rather than mass disobedience.

"We visited villages in all these areas and made close investigations. The campaign was still in progress everywhere except in the United Provinces. Gujarat, Bengal, and the North-West Frontier Provinces had suffered the most. In the villages in these areas Government servants resigned their posts and cultivators allowed their land to be seized. The extent of the movement may be gauged from the following figures taken from a number that we collected. In the United Provinces, in the district of Cawnpore, in one Tashil alone, 209 summonses had been issued, 193 attachments made, and 44 auctions had taken place.

"The Government measures included :

1. Proclaiming that landlord rents may be recovered as land revenue.
2. Police camps.
3. Special attachment officers.
4. Blockading of villages.
5. Prohibiting reaping of crops.

"Apart from these measures sanctioned by law, as under the Ordinances, the police terrorised the villages, and landlords took the law into their own hands and smashed up tenants' houses, and took their property with the aid of the police."

Police Camps

"Punitive police, for which the villagers had to pay, were

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stationed in many areas. Police camps were built round crops to prevent tenants reaping their crops. In Ras we crops rotting in the fields. In some places, police had the corn.....In some areas the tenants set fire to the crop than allow it to be reaped by others. The police encamp with the armed pickets, gave the place the appearance of under occupation.

"Attachment of property, usually a revenue process, has become a police job. The police raided the villages, beat foremost resisters, seized livestock, fodder, foodstuff from pulled down parts of houses, and none of these can be questi in a court of law even if Congress people decided to fight in court."

Blockading of Villages

"Villages were blockaded, to round up people, and particulaly noxious form of coercion. In the Gujarat districts police made a practice of blockading villages for twenty- hours or more. It is the residential part of the village whi thus besieged, and the object is to prevent people from going into the fields for their natural functions."

Looting And Pillage

"Where punitive police are stationed, entering of hou taking away of goods, looting and destruction take place as of Police Raj, according to the evidence we received and results that we saw. In the villages, mainly in Gujarat, loo has followed in the wake of tax collection."

Houses Entered

"We went into a large number of houses in the Gu villages and saw the destruction that had been wrought. Ute and furniture had been broken up where they had not actu been taken away. In Ras and Bochasan we saw house house, in which the huge earthen jars, in which grain is sto were broken up. These are part of the peasant's stock, and have been in possession of these families for generations. It stated to us that armed police had entered and broken up th with the butt ends of their rifles, or anything else they could hands on. Beds, food, etc., had also been taken away in vill

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Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, and Gujarat. We ve the particulars of a number of instances, some of which we e below."

"Khusalbhai Hathibhai made a statement that about 'fifty ficemen, who were brought from Anand by Revenue officer ilal Gandabhai, were posted at every corner in the village d practically all the houses were entered. They broke up ter pots, big jars, and boxes, and beat people, several of whom re aged men."

"We saw the results of some of the looting and destruction Bhanubil, in Sylhet.....The village belongs to a Zemindar, who alleged to have increased the rent from 13.1/2 annas to s. 2.80. The tenants refused to pay, and the Zemindar got a ree of ejectment. Armed Gurkhas and constables, headed by Superintendent of Police, helped in the ejection of the tenants. Zemindar brought his elephants and pulled down the houses, ich were razed to the ground and all the property trampled on. er fifty houses were thus destroyed.

"We met one of the victimised families. Lapoi Devi, whose sband was in jail, told us that these elephants were brought and three houses which belonged to her family, all in the compound, were destroyed.....Her father, Bijendranath rma, and her uncle Harimohan Sharma, were arrested, one being a member of an unlawful assembly and the other for spass, for building the house in which she now lived. "The lice," she said, "even now come into our houses and take away utensils, grain, beddings and clothes. The Sub-divisional ficer visits the house and abuses us from a distance."

"In Bengal, as in the North-West Frontier Province, police age has reached excesses comparable only to conditions under itary occupation in times of war."

Cases Cited In The Assembly

"Mr. S. C. Mitra cited[116a] in the Assembly cases,[116b] and oduced documents and photographs in evidence. The details uld not be published in the press owing to the Press Law. We ote some extracts :

"In the house of Mahendra Nath Jana, of Dalimba Chauk, ahata Police Station, all his movable properties were looted,

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and even the image of the goddess "Laxmi Devi" was thr away from its place. The other is about the occurrence in house of Jogendra Nath Kalsa, of Dundipur, on the 22nd Sep ber, 1932. Here the District Magistrate, Mr. Burge, and Sub-divisional Officer, Mr. Richardson, were also present w the police destroyed their granary and spoilt the paddy colle there.

"This is the photograph of that place (shown). Here another case where, in the village of Bar-Basudebpur, in the h of Brojalal Maiti, the Bhagwat-Geeta was torn to pieces and into the boiling handi, and the man was beaten. This is statement, and this is the photograph, which will indicate these things are done.....In the village of Hadia, they en the house of Kartick and burnt the doors and windows. In same village, in the house of Pran Krishna Das, they entered temple and stole ornaments even from the body of the image the family god. I particularly give these instances to show tha Eastern countries people are very sensitive when their religi sentiments are hurt in this way, so that the mighty Govern at Simla also should know how the day-to-day administration being carried on under the Ordinances that are now going to made law.....

"There are numbers of pictures taken. I am now show the House a few only to prove that we do not draw these pict from our mere imagination. Here is another case where, on 24th September, 1932, in the house of Bihari Lal Maiti, fo tax of Rs. 24.9, 320 maunds of paddy were taken away in absence of male members. Then this is another picture o place where Swadeshi Khadi is sold, and they have destroyed these things. Of course, they may have a special grudge ag the Swadeshiwallahs. This is the photograph of the house of Kumar Maiti, of Dar-Bera, where the doors and windows all been taken away, and property destroyed. Here is the pho graph of a place of the house of Rakhal Chandra Samanta, Hadi, where the corrugated tin shed has been destroyed. Here a picture of a house belonging to Gora Chand Kalsher, of D pur village, where the cottage has been destroyed and all thatched roofs have been brought down.....

"Here is a photograph of a place where all the trees, ba

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ses were cut, etc. How all these things are necessary for the lisation of a tax one can easily imagine. Here, on the 24th tember, 1932, at about one o'clock, the second officer of the ama, Dhirendra Nath Chatterjee went to the house of Sukumar ni for collecting the tax, but he destroyed his thatched house d his walls. This is another picture of a house of Keshab ndra Mandal, of Dundipur, where all the ceilings have been troyed. How the destruction of property or the ducking of a in the tank helps the realisation of punitive tax has got to be ained. This is another picture of a stationery shop belonging Nagendra Nath Das, where the entire property was destroyed. , this is the picture of a pharmacy where all the medicine es have been thrown out and destroyed."

Intimidation And Humiliation

"The presence of troops in the villages of Bengal is one of the e glaring instances of mass intimidation. Sieges of villages police and threats to women and those giving hospitality to gressmen, collective fines, and action against the neighbours persons arrested, are other forms.

Some Cases

"At Kareli, villagers stated to us that those who gave shelter non-co-operators were beaten. Villagers who took food and er to women non-co-operators were also maltreated. The ce sealed the doors of the temple where the non-co-operators e staying, Villagers removed the doors. They were charged theft. They were acquitted after six months, but had been en severely.. Some cases were treated in the Government pital at Broach.

"Sama Shankar stated that on the 18th September he was ped naked by the police. Bahji Bawa, aged 14, also stated he was stripped of his clothes and beaten by Constable homed Mustafa. Sub-Inspector Babu Bhai took out his e and threatened to cut off his genital organs. Jetha Bhai, d 19, made a similar statement, that P. C. Mahomed Mustafa pped him naked. P. C. Mahomed Mustafa was present en Jetha Bhai made this statement, and we asked him if it was . He said: "It was not I who stripped the boy naked; the b-Inspector did it." On second thoughts, he added: "Nobody

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stripped him naked. A search was made of everybody. asked, "What kind of a search? for weapons? These pe with so few clothes, can be searched without taking off clothes." Mustafa made no reply.

"Village of Gujera.—One hundred and fifty people arrested at a Taluka conference on the 18th September. were taken upstairs one by one and beaten. Six were se injured, others were given blows on the face and body. F were stripped naked. Inspector Khambatta and Sub-Insp Bapu Bhai were concerned in the beatings, but the former not present when the stripping took place.

"Desai Pursotam, aged 35, cultivator of Kareli, stated Sub-Inspector Babu Bhai slapped him and kicked him with boots till he fainted. He was taken the next day to Jam lock-up for two nights. He was then bleeding from the inte He was convicted for six months, and was in the jail hospi three days.

Women Insulted

"In Jahman Village (Punjab), women alleged att by the police to dishonour them. One lady said that her had been broken open many times, and if there was a pro tion of the police she would be willing to give evidence.

"Rami Nathabhai Kalidas, aged 65, stated that he was t to the village office, and his shirt and cap removed by force police entered the house, took utensils and other mov threatened his daughter-in-law who was ill in bed, with be and asked for her ornaments. The Mamlatdar (Magi Manibhai Gandabhai took her out of the house, locked it up took the keys away. His son was also brought to the v office. They were taken to the field after an hour. In th they were stripped all of their clothes, and they were ma bend and touch their toes. Two police with sticks were on side,, and whenever they tried to stand up they were given by the Mamlatdar.

"Gangaben, the wife of the owner of the field, was brought by the village police to see them in that condition. was questioned about her husband and ordered to look naked men.

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"The old man said he was kicked with nailed boots, at inter-
ls, violently. (Scars of nail marks were visible on his back.)
"Gangaben, the wife of Chaturbhai Bhajibhai, aged 26, who,
was alleged in the previous statement, was insulted and intimi-
ted, was then examined by us. She confirmed the story and
o said that the Mamlatdar used foul language."

Looting by Punitive Police

"Houses have been entered and property smashed. We have
eady referred to some of these. In Madhkaul, a small village,
e saw some of the results of the conduct of the punitive police.
emaries had been looted, women insulted, bayonets thrust into
itchen pots and vessels. In the village we saw a store which
d been wrecked. The kerosene oil in the store had been pour-
d over the stores of rice and pulses. The villagers, through their
kesman, told us a story of wrecking and looting.
"Complaints had sometimes been made to officials, but it was
le use, as the police did what they liked and the regular officials
d little control over them."

Terrorisation

"From the statements and information in our possession we
ld give instance after instance of the terrorising activities of the
ce garrison, which is what the punitive police resembles. They
y blackmail, and rob women, visiting the area, of their jewels.
"At Sheohar, Sobhai, a Moslem, told us the story of his
ughter, a married woman, who, while cutting corn in the field,
s rushed at by the punitive police and violated.
"At Midnapore, we saw people who had received wounds at
e hands of the punitive police. In Tamluk (Bengal) Pathans,
ijabis and Gurkhas have been planted all over the district.
e people had been beaten, robbed, fired on, and tortured, and
de to pay for the very force that was responsible for these
s."

Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Osborn, D. S. O., in his book, *Must
gland Lose India?*, quotes an official who told him: "I give
u my word that after some of my punitive police have been
tioned in a village for a few days, the spirit of the toughest
f the political agitators is broken." Lieut.-Colonel Osborn

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inquired, "How ?" "Well, they will help themselves to everyt... Within twenty-four hours there will not be a virgin or a four-... piece left in that village."

The account of the reign of terror in 1932 may be fitt... concluded with this boast of an English official in India that ... in 24 hours after the Punitive Police have been stationed ... village, not a virgin or a four-anna piece will be left in ... village.[117]

The seventeenth century British tradition in Ireland s... as an inspiration to British officials in India three hundred y... later.

F. THE END OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Deshabandhu C. R. Das is reported to have frequently ... the following observation about the virtues and failing... Gandhi's leadership : "The Mahatma opens a campaign ... brilliant fashion ; he works it up with unerring skill ; he ... from success to success till he reaches the zenith of his cam... —but after that he loses his nerve and begins to falter."[118] ... truth of this remark is well illustrated by the history of Ga... Campaigns both of 1921 and of 1930-33.

While the Civil Disobedience was going in full force in ... of the unabated fury of Govenment repression and the impr... ment of almost all notable leaders with nearly ninety tho... workers, Gandhi suddenly side-traced the whole Campaig... raising a side-issue and staking his own life on a satisfa... solution of the same.

It will be remembered that in the Second Round Table C... ference in London, Gandhi opposed with his whole might ... creation of a separate electorate for the Depressed Classes ... even rejected the proposal of Ambedkar to reserve a cer... number of seats in the Legislatures for them on the basis ... common electorate for Hindus.[119] In course of one of his spe... in the Conference with reference to the proposal of sep... electorate for the 'untouchables' he said : "If I was the ... person to resist this thing, I will resist it with my life."[120] ... March 11, 1932, Gandhi, wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare in the ... strain, and said that if the depressed classes were granted sep... electorate he would "fast unto death."[121] On August 17,[122] ...

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the Communal Award of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was announced. According to this Award the Muhammadan, European and with voters would elect candidates by voting in separate communal electorates, but provision would be made in the Constitution itself to empower a revision of this electoral arrangement after 20 years with the assent of the communities affected. The most important part of the Award, namely, that relating to the Depressed Classess, ran as follows :

"Members of the Depressed Classes qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the schedule. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the 'Depressed Classes' electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the Depressed Classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province (as was the case with the Muhammadans, Europeans and the Sikhs)."[123] Mr. Macdonald, however, promised to accept any alternative scheme mutually agreed upon by the Hindus and the Depressed Classes.

On August 18, Gandhi addressed a letter to the Premier that he had resolved to commence fast unto death at noon on September 20, and it will cease if only the scheme is revised and a common electorate is restored.[124]

It is needless to say that alarm and anxiety spread over the whole of India at the news of Gandhi's proposed fast unto death. Frantic appeals were made to him to desist from this grim resolve, but in vain. When the fast commenced on September 20, it naturally stirred the whole country to its depth and produced some commotion even in England, and an appeal was made over the signature of some influential persons, for a special prayer throughout the country. In India, September 20 was observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya summoned a Conference which met, first in Bombay and then at Poona. Dr. Ambedkar, the most prominent leader of the

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Depressed Classes, was induced to join it, and he fully exploited the situation to his advantage. After a prolonged negotiation and a great deal of bargaining, a settlement was arrived at on 24 September, i.e., the fifth day of the fast. A common electorate of all the Hindus was agreed upon, subject to two conditions. First, one hundred and forty-eight seats in the different Provincial legislatures were reserved for the Depressed Classes in place of seventyone. Eighteen per cent of the seats in the Central Legislature which were allotted to the general electorate for British India were similarly reserved for them. Secondly, there would be a primary election, by the voters of the Depressed Classes alone, of four candidates for each reserved seat, and the election by the General (Hindu) constituencies was restricted to these alone. The agreement, or the Poona Pact[125] as it came to be known, was ratified by the Hindu Mahasabha and accepted by the British Government, and the constitution amended accordingly. Thus the Depressed Classes benefitted both ways. They secured double the number of seats reserved for them in the Communal Award and also enjoyed the benefits of a separate electorate, though in a modified form.

For the time being all these considerations were absent from the minds of men who were only concerned with saving the life of Gandhi at any cost. This immediate object was achieved and Gandhi broke his fast on 26 September. It was not long, however, before people wondered whether the 'epic fast' was worth either the issue involved or the decision arrived at.

But whatever one might think of the merits or the demerits of the Poona Agreement, there cannot be two opinions on the extreme unwisdom of Gandhi's action from the political point of view. Jawaharlal's reaction on this, like that on Gandhi's suspension of non-co-operation movement in 1922 and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, may be taken as representing the views of those whose vision was not blinded by the mysterious influence of Gandhi:

"I felt annoyed with him (Gandhi) for choosing a side issue for his final sacrifice. What would be the result on our freedom movement? Would not the larger issues fade into the background, for the time being at least? And, if he attained his immediate object and got a joint electorate for the depressed

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classes, would not that result in a reaction and a feeling that something had been achieved and nothing more need be done for a while? And was not his action a recognition, and in part an acceptance, of the communal award and the general scheme of things as sponsored by the Government? Was this consistent with non-co-operation and civil disobedience? After so much sacrifice and brave endeavour, was our movement to tail off into something insignificant?

"I felt angry with him at his religious and sentimental approach to a political question, and his frequent references to God in connection with it. He even seemed to suggest that God had indicated the very date of the fast. What a terible example to set!"[128]

These and similar thoughts were uppermost in the minds of a large section of people after the immediate crisis was over. There can be no doubt that the effect of Gandhi's action upon the Civil Disobedience movement was disastrous. It diverted all attention from the actual fight, at least for the time being, when it was at its height. But far more disastrous was the fact that henceforth Gandhi devoted his whole energy and attention to the question of untouchability and seemed to have lost interest in the political issue. When questions were put to him whether political or social work should be done, he gave replies that were vague and not to the point. Gradually the idea dawned upon the minds of all that Gandhi's heart was no longer in the Civil Disobedience campaign.

In spite of such feelings the fight was kept on. The Independence Day on January 26, 1933, was celebrated with great enthusiasm all over India. Demonstrations were broken by force, large numbers were arrested, and at Badangunj in Hooghly District (Bengal) the police resorted to shooting for dispersing the Congress procession. Mrs. Gandhi was arrested while leading a procession of women at Borsad (Gujarat), and sentenced to six months' imprisonment on February 7, 1933. But the most outstanding event was the Calcutta session of the Congress, held on March 31, 1933. The enthusiasm and spirit of resistance manifested on the occasion was by no means less than that displayed at Delhi, in April, 1932. More than two thousand delegates were elected from different parts of the country of whom about

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a thousand were arrested before their start or during the journey. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected President and the old widowed mother of Jawaharlal Nehru decided to attend. Both these two, along with a number of other leaders, were arrested on their way.

In spite of the ban more than a thousand delegates met at the place selected for the session. The police soon arrived on the scene and began to strike the Congressmen with *lathis*. Even even while the heavy *lathi* blows were breaking their heads, the delegates who were in the centre of the circle, held the session under the Presidentship of Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta. Resolutions were passed reaffirming (1) the goal of independence, (2) Civil Disobedience, and (3) boycott of foeign cloth and British goods. About 250 persons, including 40 ladies, were arrested, but most of them were released. Mrs. Sen Gupta was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Malaviya, after his release, went to Calcutta and collected authentic information about the brutal assault of the Congress delegates by the Police. He challenged the Government to hold an inquiry, but the challenge was not taken up.

The following extract from the speech of the President-elect, the venerable Pandit Malaviya, reflects the feeling of the country at the time:

"It is estimated that nearly 120,000 persons, including seventy thousand women and quite a number of children, have been arrested and imprisoned during the last fifteen months. It is an open secret that when the Government started repression, the official expectation was that they would crush the Congress in six weeks' time. Fifteen months have not enabled the Government to achieve the object. Twice fifteen months will not enable it to do so."[127]

On this Subhas Bose comments:

"This was not the review made by a young hot-head but by one of the oldest and most moderate leaders of the Congress. Consequently, the response made by the country to the Congress appeal in 1932 and 1933,—in spite of lack of preparation, in spite of the sudden arrest of the organisers and financiers of the Party early in January, 1932, and in spite of the diversion caused by the Mahatma's fast in September 1932 and the anti-untouchability

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campaign thereafter—can by no means be regarded as unsatis-factory."[128]

But while the Congressmen continued their fight with grim determination and held aloft the banner of their freedom, Gandhi had no heart in the Civil Disobedience movement and his mind was fully occupied by the anti-untouchability campaign.

While the heroic fight and sacrifice of the Congressmen in Calcutta were still fresh in public memory Gandhi threw a bomb-shell in the shape of an announcement on May 8, 1933, that he would begin a fast of 21 days for purification of himself and his associates for "greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause." The Government issued a communique that they had decided to release Gandhi in view of the nature of the object of his fast and the attitude of mind which it disclosed. Immediately after his release, on May 8, Gandhi issued a long statement recommending to the President of the Congress to suspend Civil Disobedience Campaign for one full month or even six weeks. The reasons given for this momentous step were the following :

1. "The whole purpose of the fast will be frustrated if I allowed my brain to be occupied by any extraneous matter, that is any matter outside the Harijan work.

2. The secrecy that has attended the movement is fatal to its success.

3. Fear has seized the common mass. The Odinances have crushed them down, and I am inclined to think that the secret methods are largely responsible for the demoralisation. The movement of Civil Disobedience does not depend so much on the quantity as on the quality of men and women taking part in it.

4. During these three weeks (of fast) all Civil resisters will be in a state of terrible suspense.[129]

These arguments, on the face of it, are hardly convincing, to say the least of it. The first argument is entirely out of place, as the Civil Disobedience movement did not depend upon Gandhi so long as he was in prison and was actually being carried on without him. The next argument must appear to be most curious to any rational mind.[130] The third is really an admission of failure couched in a verbiage which does little credit either to the heart or head of a great leader. Besides, it was a matter of

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opinion, and not easily reconcileable to the facts stated abo in connection with the progress of the movement in 1933. A regards the fourth or the last argument, it is sufficient to point o that if the Civil Disobidience movement had survived Gandh 'epic fast' unto death, it could easily be kept alive during the f of three weeks. On the whole, an ordinary man cannot but r gard the statement as an effusion of a mystic and a saint. the same statement Gandhi made an appeal to the Governm of India to withdraw the Ordinances and release the Civil Disob dience prisoners. Unfortunately, Lord Willingdon was neit a mystic nor a saint, but a die-hard politician, and therefore not only paid no heed to the appeal, but gave Gandhi a stro rebuff.

An official *communique*, dated May 9, clearly explained t position of the Government of India. A mere temporary suspe sion of the Civil Disobedience movement would not suffice, b the Government must be fully satisfied that the movement definitely abandoned, before they could release the prisoners. T Government were determined not to let out the prisoners, as t release might lead to the renewal of the Movement. But t sting was in the tail. The *communique* concluded as follow "There is no intention of negotiating with the Congress fo withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience movement or of releas prisoners with a view to arrive at any settlement with them regard to these unlawful activities."[131] In other words, Wil don reminded Gandhi that the days of Irwin were over, and th would be no further agreement between him (Gandhi) and t Viceroy. It is an indication of the Government's view as to t extent of humiliation and disgrace which Irwin had brought up it by concluding an agreement with Gandhi.

The Acting President of the Congress, Aney, in obedience t Gandhi's request, suspended Civil Disobedience, at first for si weeks and then for a further period of six weeks. As soon a Gandhi had sufficiently recovered from the effects of the fast a informal Conference of Congress-men was held at Poona on Ju 12, 1933, to review the political situation and determine the futu plans. The official history of the Congress does not give either the names of those who participated in the Conference or t trend of discussion at the meeting. It merely says that the

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was a general discussion on the first day; next day Gandhi made an exhaustive statement "dealing with the points raised by the members of the Conference and placing before them his suggestions. It is evident, however, that there was sharp difference of opinion, for we are told that the Conference "rejected a motion for the unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience but also threw out a motion favouring Individual Civil Disobedience." In the end it was decided that Gandhi should "seek an interview with the Viceroy for arriving at a settlement with the Government."[132] It passes one's comprehension how such a proposal could be entertained in the face of the Government *communique*, of May 9, quoted above, definitely closing doors against any such negotiation. The Viceroy, as could be expected declined to interview Gandhi, (17 July), and the Congress had to look itself alone for this humiliating rebuff. This, we are told in the official history of the Congress, "forced the Nation, if it was to preserve national honour, to continue the struggle."[133] One would be naturally tempted to say that the national honour would have been maintained far better if the struggle were continued without eating the humble pie. Then, again, it must be regarded as a very poor service to the 'national honour' if we think of the way in which it was decided to continue the struggle. Mass Civil Disobedience was suspended and only those "who were able and willing were advised to offer Individual Civil Disobedience". As if this was not enough, "under the orders of the acting President, all Congress Organisations and war councils ceased to function in view of the suspension of mass Satyagraha."[134]

It is difficult to say how or why the idea of Individual Civil Disobedience was revived after it was rejected by the Poona Conference of 12 July. A member of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. F. K. Nariman, maintained that it was merely a protest against the Viceroy's declining to interview Gandhi. He made a caustic comment on the whole procedure and ideology of Gandhi. "Interview or Death", said he, "is the national slogan for the present.....This renewed fight in August last is not for Swaraj, nor even for political constitutional advance, but for the assertion of a supposed 'national right' of an unconditional interview." On the resolution about Individual Civil Disobedi-

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ence, he commented: "Does it need an Indian National Congr... to tell an individual to break laws on his own responsibility ... take the consequences?" Criticising the decision to disso... or suspend all Congress organizations he maintained that 'no ... can dissolve the National Assemblies that have come into exi... ence by popular vote.'[135] Mr. Nariman's scathing criticism ... the whole ideology and procedure of Gandhi leading to the s... pension of Civil Disobedience movement deserves special not... For, irrespective of the question whether and how far his vie... were right, they show that independent rational thinking was ... altogether dead in Indian politics, and there were at least s... leaders, even inside the Congress Circle, who successfully resi... what may be regarded as mass hypnotism exercised by Gandhi...

The history of Individual Civil Disobedience movement ... be briefly told. Gandhi "inaugurated the campaign" by disho... ing the Sabarmati Ashram which he had founded 18 years bef... He vacated the Ashram and disposed of its property, and thereb... "divested himself of any little germs of attachment to thi... mundane, which might possibly take root in his breast."[135a] Wh... ever we might think of this explanation by a devotee, there w... an unmistakable Gandhian touch in the offer of the land, buil... and crops to Government, which was, of course, not accepte... But there a solemn aspect, too. It naturally recalled to m... minds the statement that Gandhi had made on the eve of h... march to Dandi that he would never return to the Ashram u... Swaraj was won.

Gandhi decided to open the campaign on August 1, 1933, ... commencing his march to the village of Ras, but was arrest... during the previous night with 34 other inmates of the Ash... and all were sent to prison. Gandhi was released on August ... and served with an order to reside in Poona. Gandhi, havi... disobeyed the order, was arrested again on the same day an... sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Gandhi's example w... followed by hundreds of others all over the country. An im... portant decision taken at this time must be noticed. When th... Civil Disobedience campaign was resumed in January, 193... Vallabhbhai Patel, the then President of the Congress, drew ... a list of persons who were to succeed him as Acting Presid... one after another, as each was put in prison or otherwise una...

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Aney was the President when Civil Disobedience was
act. Aney was the President when Civil Disobedience was
spended in May, 1933, but he offered Individual Civil Disobe-
ance and was arrested on August 14. His successor, Sardul
Singh Cavesheer, followed his example, but before doing so he
issued orders terminating the office of the Acting President. Thus
the last vestige of Congress organisation was voluntarily destroy-
ed "with a view to facilitate the campaign becoming truly one
of Individual Civil Disobedience."[137]

As Gandhi was refused facilities in prison for conducting the
Anti-Untouchability Campaign, he resorted to a fast on August
8, a step incomprehensible to even Nehru.[138] As Gandhi's
condition became very critical he was released unconditionally on
August 23, 1933. Gandhi, however, regarded himself as not
free to resume Ciivil Disobedience till the full term of his impri-
sonment was over, and devoted the period to the furtherance of
the Harijan movement.

By that time the Individual Civil Disobedience "was dead
like a door-nail." Referring to the commencement of the New
Year, 1934, the official history of the Congress records: "The
progress of events in the line of Civil Disodedience was none too
satisfactory. The prisoners who were released were fagged. The
provincial leaders who had promised at Poona Conference to
hold their Provinces if Mass Civil Disobedience were given up
and Individual Civil Disobedience continued, did not carry out
their pledges, except in a few cases. Those who were released
from jails found themselves unable or unwilling to face another
conviction."[138a] Slowly and silently the movement faded away,
and during the upheaval caused by the great earthquake at Bihar
on January 16, 1934, it passed away unnoticed into the limbo of
oblivion.

Thus ended the Civil Disobedience movement, the third and
the last to be led by Gandhi in person. Whether the Anti-
Untouchability Campaign which he substituted for it was nobler
and more useful to the country and calculated to bring it nearer to
the avowed goal of independence within a shorter period, we
need not pause to discuss here, but leave everyone to form his
own judgment.

The only material issue that faced the Indian public on May
29, 1933, was that the great Civil Disobedience movement came to

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an ignoble end, in spite of all the brave and noble words uttered by Gandhi on the eve of his famous march to Dandi. "Civil Disobedience," said he, "once begun this time, cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive."[139] The most puzzling thing to an Indian was the leader's order to lay down arms and retreat even before the issue of victory or defeat was clearly decided.

The sudden suspension of Mass Civil Disobedience campaign on May 8, 1933, without any rhyme and reason undoubtedly came as a stunning blow to many. But Gandhi's action did not evoke much open criticism at the time, because the whole of India was preoccupied with the question of his health. Only Vithalbhai Patel and Subhas Bose, who were in Vienna and thus at too great a distance to be affected by the passing scene of the movement, issued a manifesto condemning Gandhi's decision to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement and stating that it virtually undid the work and the sacrifice of the last three years. According to the manifesto, it signified the failure of the Civil Disobedience campaign, as also of Gandhi's leadership and the country required a more radical policy and leadership. Not much attention was drawn to it, for "even friends thought that it was an outrageous act to criticise the Mahatma when his life was in jeopardy because of the fast."[140]

Mr. F. K. Nariman, the Bombay leader, soon after his release made a bitter attack on the ideology and conduct of the Campaign by Gandhi. He also suggested that the "remedy lies in securing for Gandhi, in place of the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, another political task-master, a plain-speaking outspoken giant and not lip-sealed mummies who always shake their heads like spring dolls, perpendicularly or horizontally, according as the Mahatma pulls the strings staight or sideways."[141] But barring a few exceptions like these, the Congressmen, as a whole, openly or tacitly approved of Gandhi's policy and continued to follow his lead.

Judging at this distance of time, in a detached spirit, the whole conduct of Gandhi appears to be a mystery and seems absolutely unjustifiable on the part of an ordinary man who does not 'see things in a flash and acts upon impulse (as is claimed for Gandhi by his devotees),[142] but thinks and acts in the light

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intellect and reason. It is inconceivable why, in course of a *fight to a finish* for independence, and after a definite rejection of the claim of R. T. C. or British Government to frame a constitution for India, the Congress or its leader should take notice of any particular item of the constitution as proposed to be framed by the British Government. The Congress or Gandhi could not accept the proposed constitution without stultifying themselves and rendering meaningless the launching of the Civil Disobedience campaign in 1930, or its resumption in 1932. Even the Congress held in Calcutta in March, 1933, reiterated the position that no constitution frarmed by the British Government "can be worthy of cosideration by, or acceptable to, the people of India."[18] What was then the meaning of all this fuss about a particular provision of the constitution which the Congress was pledged to reject in toto?

But it was something worse than a fuss. By staking his life on the Communal Award Gandhi gave away the whole moral justification of thie Civil Disobedience campaign. What was still more deplorable, he sounded the death-knell of the fight for Independence for which hundreds of thousands had undergone untold miseries and sufferings. All this was done for the sake of an issue which, whatever its value or necessity, certainly must yield in importance to freedom, and whose only satisfactory solution depended upon it. It has been urged that he took a vow to resist the dismemberment of the Hindus with his life, and the 'fast unto death' was therefore obligatory upon him. But it may be argued, in the first place, that to one who was equally resolved not to accept, as binding, any constitution framed by R. T. C. or the Government, Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award should not have been interpreted as a dismemberment of the Hindus. Secondly, the only just and honourable way in which he should have fought it with his life, was to continue the grim struggle which he had begun till his death.

If the first fast was indefensible, the second one, leading to the suspension of Civil Disobedience campaign was not only a blunder of the first magnitude but a great tragedy. After plunging the whole country in a terrible welter of chaos and sufferings, the leader of the Campaign suddenly cries halt and surrenders, simply because his mind was bent upon another campaign of an

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altogether different kind. One may well wonder whether a 'saint' has the right to play drakes and ducks with the li... and fortunes of his countrymen in such an irresponsible manner... The only justification that Gandhi or his blind devotees ... vouchsafed for his strange conduct leading to all the terri... consequences, is contained in the two statements which he is... on September 15 and 20, 1932.[144] The fast, we are told, ... intended to sting Hindu conscience into right religious conditi... Referring to the great value of fast as a means of purification ... says: "Having made a serious attempt to attain self-purificati... I have developed some little capacity to hear correctly and clea... 'the still small voice within. My present penance I have undo... taken in obedience to this voice."[145] All these are, of cour... above the heads of those who are neither mystics nor saints, a... a historian, at least, should not belong to the one or to the ot... category. Nor should he accept the view, even though advan... by a man of the stature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that Ga... "was a unique personality, it was impossible to judge h... by the usual standards or even to apply the ordinary canons ... logic to him",[146] if the implication is, as it seems to be, that ... would be unjust or improper to judge Gandhi in this manner.

An individual, in his private capacity, is certainly within h... rights to place implicit faith in a person, accept his opinion a... judgment without question, and regard him as an infallible g... or divinity. But such rights or pivileges should not be exercis... by anyone while openly passing judgment on that person in h... public capacity, particularly when he plays an important role ... the public affairs of the country. It would be a dereliction o... duty on the part of a historian, dealing with Gandhi, the politi... leader, if he fails to judge him by the same standard as shou... be normally applied to all persons of that category. It has be... very painful to the author to pass adverse comments on a m... of Gandhi's stature, but he derives comfort from the thought th... in doing so he has paid the highest tribute of respect to Maha... Gandhi by trying to uphold the great ideal of TRUTH which w... the most characteristic feature of his life. The author humb... claims that in delineating the life and character of Gandhi h... has been inspired solely by a respect for truth, logic and justi...

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CHAPTER VII

REVIVAL OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

A. THE FIRST PHASE (1923-28)

I. BENGAL

The history of the revolutionary or the so-called 'terrorist' ement up to 1917 has been discussed above.[1] There was a parative lull in the activities of the terrorists for some time that. Armed with the provisions of the Defence of India the police seized a large number of people on mere suspicion, the terrorist methods adopted by the Government told upon morale of the small band of men who had been carrying on unequal fight for more than a decade. The police ruthlessly ed out the few terrorist leaders still at large. But some of did not surrender without a good fight, and one such inci- is worth recording.[2]

Nalini Ghosh, a leader of the *Anusilan Samiti*, with about thers, went in hiding in Gauhati (Assam), and lived in separate houses in two batches. At the early hours of the ning on 9 January, 1918, the police surrounded one of the ses. The order by the Police to open the door was replied by a d shot and it was the signal for firing on both sides. The revo- naries, however, managed to escape by a back door to a hill where they were joined by the other batch. The police rounded the hillock and a free fight ensued between the two. n the revolutionaries exhausted their ammunition, all except were arrested. One of these two, with a few others, were ted six months later after another free fight in Dacca. Several s were similarly traced and arrested during 1918, but not re they shot dead some of the police party.

These arrests and police measures did not stamp out the rist organizations, but the suspension of their activities, for time being, generated a false sense of security. Encouraged

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by this the Government decided to release all the political pr
ners on the eve of the introduction of new Reforms, in orde
create a favourable atmosphere for their working. A Royal P
clamation was issued on 23 December, 1919,—the very da
which the Government of India Act got the Royal Assent—
ing a general amnesty to all political prisoners.

The terrorists who had been interned under the Defen
India Act were all included in the general amnesty. Earl
1920 these were released and the amnesty was gradually ex
to most of the leaders of the revolutionary movements.[3]

The return of the political prisoners—even from the A
mans—early in 1920 was shortly followed by the launchi
the Non-co-operation movement by Gandhi. A number o
revolutionaries accepted his non-violent programme and j
the movement. There were, however, others who had no
in the effectiveness of this programme, but at the intercessi
leaders like C. R. Das, they agreed to give Gandhi a chance
suspend revolutionary activities.[4]

The suspension of Non-co-operation movement by G
early in 1922 and his imprisonment, shortly after, were fol
by the revival of revolutionary activities. The annual meeti
the Bengal Provincial Conference was held in Chittagon
April, 1922. The revolutionaries from different parts of Be
took advantage of this to meet together and draw up a plan
programme in secret. The resurgence of revolutionary mo
in 1923 was indicated by the open and frank praise of re
tionaries in the various periodicals in Bengal. "The *Am*
Bazar Patrika referred to them as selfless youths with indom
resolution, who kindled the lamp of life by undergoing de
The *Prabartak* extolled Kanai Lall Dutt. Highly appreci
biographical notices of Jatindra Mukherji and his three associ
now appeared in many papers. It was explained, however,
this laudation did not necessarily imply adoption of their met
The *Sarathi* set forth the following justification: "We may
adopt their methods, but are we not on that account to re
their renunciation, their heroism, and their patriotism?"[5]

"At the end of July, 1923, 'Red Bengal' leaflets made
appearance. The first issue announced the initiation of a
paign of assassination of police officers, the second impress

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the political leaders of Bengal the necessity for the existence of an active violence party."[6]

The old *Anusilan* and *Yugantar Samitis* were revived and a new revolutionary organization was set up in Chittagong by a young man named Surya Sen. Before the end of 1923 he established a number of branches in different parts of the Chittagong District, and one of his early successful undertakings was the raid on the office of the Assam Bengal Railway in Chittagong. Four young men with revolvers entered the office in broad daylight, took out the sum of Rs. 77,000 from the treasurer, and managed to escape. Surya Sen and a few others were arrested, but were acquitted for want of evidence against them.

The *Yugantar* party also committed several dacoities, including raids on two post-offices, in and near Calcutta. A persistent effort was made to kill Sir Charles Tegart, the Police Commissioner (C.I.D.), who was a terror to the terrorists. In January, 1924, Gopimohan Saha, engaged for the purpose, shot dead a European, Mr. Day, whom he mistook for Tegart. When capital punishment was awarded to him he declared, unmoved, that every drop of his blood would serve to spread revolutionary ideas in every household. He wrote to his mother not to lament but to be proud of a son like him, and expressed the hope that every mother might bear a fearless son like him. During the period of a month and a half that he was in jail, his weight increased by five pounds. The courage and self-sacrifice of Gopimohan were highly appreciated by the Congress leaders and a resolution to this effect was passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference at Sirajgunge. A similar resolution moved by C. R. Das at the All-India Congress Committee created a tense atmosphere to which reference has been made above.[7]

In March, 1924, the Police discovered a big manufactory of bombs in Calcutta, and seized a large number of bombs full of explosives and shells for the same. Another large manufactory of bombs at Dakshineshwar, about 3 miles to the north of Calcutta, was raided by the Police on 10 November, 1925. These indicated that the revolutionaries had considerably improved their knowledge and skill in the preparation of bombs. There were other centres, too, for preparing bombs. Revolutionary leaflets were regularly distributed in the streets of Calcutta.

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The Bengal Government took alarm at the revival of 'torrorist' activities on a large scale and passed a new Ordinance in 1924, arming the Executive with powers similar to those they had under the Defence of India Act. It was followed by arrests on a large scale, and about 187 persons, including Subhas Bose, were put behind the bars. A large number was kept in detention in villages, and movements of all suspects were under surveillance. A Bill was later introduced under which the special powers were to remain in force for five years. As the Legislative Council refused leave to introduce the Bill it was certified by the Governor.

Attempts were made by the terrorists to kill a number of Police officers (C. I. D.) who took a leading part in tracing and arresting the revolutionaries. Most of these attempts failed, but there was one daring and successful instance in May, 1926, when a Special Superintendent visited some terrorist prisoners inside the Alipore Central Jail. A fatal blow was dealt on his head with an iron bar by Pramode Choudhury, a member of the Hindusthan Republican Association in U. P., who was arrested at Dakshineshwar (bomb manufactory) along with several other members of the same association.

II. THE UNITED PROVINCES

As in Bengal, so in U. P., revolutionary activities were brought to a standstill after 1918, but were revived in 1923. In addition to Sachindra Sanyal,[8] three other Bengalis,—Jogish Chandra Chatterji, Rajendra Nath Lahiri and Satis Chandra Sinha,—took the leading part in this re-organization which covered the whole Province with a network of revolutionary centres.

It has been stated by some that all this was part of an All-India revolutionary organization, with its headquarters in Calcutta. This view finds some support in the fact that a Conference of the revolutionaries, held at Kanpur in October, 1924, was attended by revolutionary leaders from different parts of India. In any case, it was at this Conference that a central All-India organization was set up under the name of Hindusthan Republican Association. All the powers of control were vested in a Central Committee consisting of representatives from each Province. The Committee was to supervise and guide the work in differ-

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Provinces, and to maintain contact with the outside world. Unanimity of all members was required to carry a proposal, but once accepted it must be given effect to without any question. The Conference also drew up a plan and programme of work. The Association set up Provinicial Committees with clear direction as to the programme of work and the method to be followed in carrying it out.

The following brief account of this Association is included in a note on "Terrorism in India" prepared by the Government of India, which was submitted by the Secretary of State for India to the Joint Committee on Constitutional Reforms on 30 November, 1933.[9]

"Probably the most persistent terrorist organizaition outside Bengal is the Hindusthan Republican Association, subsequently styled the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association or Army. This was originally started, after the failure of Gandhiji's first mass civil disobedience campaign, by two Bengalis in the U. P. The rules of the Association stated that 'the object of the Association shall be to establish a federated Republic of the United States of India by an organized and armed revolution.' Each Provincial organization was to have its various departments and each was to concentrate on crimes of violence with a view to collect money and arms ; for the enforcement of discipline assassination was made permissible. This Association has since its inception been very loosely knit ; at times it has almost ceased to exist, but it has frequently come to notice subsequently, and has even been established in Madras. It has functioned in Bihar, U.P., Punjab and Delhi."[9a]

It is further stated in this note that as early as 1925, if not before, Sachindra Sanyal was in touch with M. N. Roy, who was charged by Russia with the task of spreading Communism in India as has been related above.[10]

In accordance with the decision of the Kanpur Conference the revolutionary movement in U. P. was thoroughly organized by Ramprasad Bismil. The organization followed the same pattern as in Bengal, and the financial difficulties could only be met by committing dacoities. Ramprasad, however, introduced a novelty. He decided that the object of the dacoity must be to

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secure the money belonging to Government, and not to any private individual. His most notable exploit was the dacoity on 9 August, 1925, in a railway train proceeding from Kakori towards Alamnagar, in the section Shaharanpur-Lucknow of the Northern Railway, Alamnagar being the last station before Lucknow. About 10 young men had boarded the train and stopped it by pulling alarm chain. The guard was held at the point of a revolver, and indiscriminate shots were fired to keep the passengers in their own compartments. A few entered the mail van, broke open the iron safe (in which money collected from the different stations was kept), and decamped with a large amount. The Government instituted a vigorous inquiry and after a great deal of searches and arrest of many suspects discovered the whole plot.[11] Altogether about 40 persons were arrested of whom 15 were let off as there was no evidence against them. The remaining 25 were tried by a Special Magistrate, who found 22 of them guilty. These were tried by a Special Sessions Judge. The Kakori Conspiracy Case dragged on for about a year, in course of which the prisoners had to resort to fasting as a protest against cruel treatment to them in jail. Two leading figures were subsequently arrested and tried. Finally four were sentenced to death, four were transported for life, and four, including two approvers, were acquitted. Twelve were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from 14 to 5 years. There was a great public agitation against the capital punishment and a proposal to commute the sentence to imprisonment for life, moved in the Legislative Council of U. P., was supported by all the non-official members. A few leading citizens of U. P. made an appeal for mercy both to the Governor and the Viceroy, and the condemned accused having unsuccessfully filed an appeal to the Privy Council sent a petition for mercy to the Emperor. But nothing availed. On 19 December Ramprasad was hanged, his last words being "I wish the downfall of the British Empire." His colleague Roshan Singh bravely went up to the gallows with a copy of the 'Gita' in his hand and '*Bande Mataram*' on his lips. Ashfaqulla stepped to the gallows with a copy of the *Quran* tied round his neck. Just before the noose was put round his neck, he said, "I tried to make India free, and the attempt will not end with my life." and died with a smiling face.

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B. THE SECOND PHASE (1928-34)

I. BENGAL

1. The Chittagong Armoury Raid and its Repercussion.

There was a lull in the activities of the revolutionaries after 1927, and the Government felt justified in relaxing the rigours imposed upon them. By September, 1928, the Government released all the detenus who had been interned under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Ordinance of 1925, and the Act itself was allowed to lapse in 1930. But within a fortnight occurred the Chittagong Armoury Raid, perhaps the most daring of the revolutionary enterprises in India.

This raid was not an isolated incident, as is generally supposed but fomed part of a comprehensive plan. When the revolutionaries were set free in 1928 they received a hearty ovation all over the country and were for some time almost lionized by the public. Taking advantage of this popular sentiment the released revolutionaries founded different organizations under the patronage of younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. On account of the failures of revolutionary movements in the past the younger generations had lost faith in the old leaders and formed themselves into what was known as Revolt Groups or Advance Groups. They wanted complete independence of India, and it was as their spokesmen that both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose fought against the Colonial status recommended in the Motilal Nehru Report, as mentioned above.[12] Besides, the new groups did not attach much importance to murder of individual officials, but preferred an armed rising. It may be noted that the two thousand volunteers in the Congress session in Calcutta in 1928, who were drilled in military uniform by Subhas Bose, the General Officer Commanding, were mostly recruited from these young revolutionaries.

It is said that the plan of armed rising was discussed on the occassion of the annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Rangpur, early in April, 1929, and that it was decided in a meeting at Calcutta in November, 1929, to launch simultaneous attacks on the armouries in Chittagong, Mymensingh and Barisal. It was in accordance with this plan that Surya Sen organized the raid at Chittagong. But no definite and reliable evidence is available on this point.

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Surya Sen, a resident of Chittagong, while studying in B.A. Class in Berhampore College in 1916, was initiated revolutionary ideas by a teacher there. On his return to C gong in 1918, he organized a revolutionary party, but joined Non-co-operation movement in 1921 and became a teacher of local national school. Hence he was known as Master-da.[13] the suspension of Non-co-operation movement he revived revolutionary organization, as mentioned above. He was soned for two years and went in hiding after release. B renewed his revolutionary activity after 1928 when membe the revolutionary groups in Chittagong were released along other detenus.

He had able lieutenants like Ananta Singh and G Ghosh. They decided "to inspire self-confidence by demon ing that even without outside help it was possible to figh Government." They planned "to raid the Government arm and seize arms, cut off communications and raid the Euro club." For a week Chittagong would be free, and then the Government brought in troops "they would fight wi yielding and die fighting." This heroic action, they th would inspire new generations to fight for the freedom of Motherland.[14]

In accordance with this plan Surya Sen, after having regular military preparations, issued a manifesto in the nam the Indian Republican Army, Chittagong Branch. It was an declaration of war against the British.[15] After giving a det account of the atrocities perpetrated by them in India, Republican army appealed to every Indian to offer his supp to its endeavour to destroy the British rule in India by an a attack. This manifesto was widely circulated in the tow Chittagong on 18 April, 1930.

The same night, at about 10 p.m., "four batches of var strength set out from the Congress office in Chittagong. was to capture the Police Armoury, one to capture the Aux Force Armoury, one to massacre the Europeans in the Club the fourth to destroy the telephone exchange and telegraph o A party was sent two or three days before to destroy the rail lines. The Club happened to be deserted and the party de

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to attack it joined the other groups. The Police Army party consisted of about 50 youths clad in khaki, led by Ananta Singh and Ganesh Ghosh, dressed in Officer's uniform. The Police sentry was shot down; the party broke into the Armoury and Magazine and armed themselves with muskets, revolvers, and ammunition. Practically the same thing happened in the Auxiliary Force Armoury attacked by a small party led by Lok Nath Bal, and the sentry together with another sepoy and the Sergeant Major were shot dead. The place was then forced open and pistols, revolvers, rifles and a Lewis gun were taken away."[16]

But the raiders, in their hurry, forgot to take the cartridges kept in a separate locked room. This rendered useless the rifles and the Lewis gun which they had seized. While they were engaged in ransacking the Armoury they fired at the carriage of officials killing a railway guard, two taxi-drivers, and a Constable in the Magistrate's car. After having carried off the arms the raiders soaked the building with petrol and set fire to it. They were repeatedly fired at from the barracks but managed to reach the Police lines. "The telegraph office party led by Ambika Chakravarti seized and chloroformed the telephone operator, hacked the telephone Board to pieces and set fire to it. The Telegraph Master was fired at when he came to the operator's assistance, but he returned with a gun and drove the raiders off before they destroyed the telegraph office. This party then went to the police lines and joined the main party."[17] There they all stood in a line, in right military style, and declared the Provisional Independent Government of India with Surya Sen as President. "A counter-attack under the Deputy Inspector General of Police was organized, and although few in number and poorly equipped, it succeded in forcing the raiders to leave the town and retreat towards the hills. The raiders thus had to abandon their further project of raiding the Government treasury and massacring the Europeans in the town. Meanwhile another party cut all telegraph communications between Chittagong and the outside world, and attempted to interrupt railway communications by removing a rail and derailing a goods train; yet another party attempted, unsuccessfully, to derail the down mail train to Chittagong at a place 70 miles from Chittagong on the same night. Information of the raid was sent out by wireless from a

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ship in the harbour and reinforcements reached Chittagong on the 20th April."[18]

Fifty-seven revolutionaries, armed each with a revolver (or pistol) and a musket, after wandering, through hills and dales for thee days practically without any food, took position on the 22nd morning on a hillock, named Jalalabad hill, but were not attacked by the British force till 5 p. m. Then followed a regular pitched battle which continued till the British force retired about 8 p. m. In the first few volleys[19] from the British machine guns eleven revolutionaries fell. The casualties on the Government side were heavy, but exact figures are not available. It is said that Sir Charles Tegart, while assaulting the raiders, taken prisoners, cursed them and said, "you have killed 64 of our men."

The British forces made three attempts to climb the hill but were repulsed each time. It was, however, clear to the revolutionaries that they could not carry on this unequal fight for long. So they decided to disperse in several groups and carry on guerilla warefare as long as possible. It is not possible to describe in detail the arrest of individuals or groups and their numerous clashes with the British forces. Only a few may be briefly noticed.

There was a free fight, for several hours, on 6 May, both in land and on the river Karnafuli near Chittagong, in which four out of six revolutionaries were killed and the remaining two surrendered. Another free fight took place at Chandernagore on 31 August, when the Police Commissioner, Sir Charles Tegart, surrounded a house in which a few of the Chittagong raiders were in hiding. One of them was killed and the others were arrested.

Surya Sen and a number of Chittagong revolutionaries were still at large. The British assembled a large force and ransacked the whole of the district, but could not capture the great leader. The Chittagong Armoury raid left a long trail of revolutionary incidents all over the district to which reference will be made later. In the meanwhile it had a great repercussion upon the revolutionaries all over Bengal.

"The news of this coup, unprecedented in the annals of terrorism, gave a fillip to the younger section of the revolutionaries who were already fired with enthusiasm to drive out the

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British from India by the force of arms. The elderly leaders considered that an adequate supply of arms and man-power had not yet been collected and therefore counselled delay, but after the Chittagong raid the younger section could no longer be restrained. Recruits poured into the various terrorist groups in a steady stream and these included women and young girls who from this time onwards are found assisting the terrorists as housekeepers, messengers, custodians of arms, and sometimes as comrades.

"In May the leaders of the main Yugantar party in Calcutta drew up a programme of terrorism and made arrangements for the manufacture of bombs. The principal features of this programme were :

(1) The murder of Europeans in hotels, clubs, and cinemas simultaneously in Calcutta and the districts by bombs.

(2) The burning of the aerodrome in Dum-Dum with petrol.

(3) The cutting off of the gas and electric supply of Calcutta, by destroying the gas works and the electric power stations.

(4) The cutting off of the petrol supply of Calcutta by destroying the depot at Budge-Budge.

(5) The disorganization of the tramway service in Calcutta by cutting overhead wires.

(6) The destruction of telegraphic communication between Calcutta and the districts in Bengal.

(7) The destruction of bridges and railway lines by dynamites and hand grenades."[20]

The result was that in 1930 there was an 'alarming recrudescence of the terrorist movement in various parts of India, and notably in Bengal.' It continued during 1931 and 1932. The number of outrages committed during 1933 was considerably lower than in any of the three preceding years. There was a still more marked decline in terrorist crimes in 1934. The miserable collapse of Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement synchronised with this decline. Both were largely due to legislation giving unrestricted autocratic powers to the Police and the Executive, and the terrible measures of repression adopted by the Government.

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The Government had re-enacted the Bengal Criminal L Amendment (Part Continuance) Act on 1 April, 1930, w continued for five years the sections relating to trial by sp procedure. After the Chittagong raid, however, the lost po of arrest and detention were immediately conferred by Ordi and this was replaced by Act VI of 1930 on 16 October, 19 Altogether 2,167 persons were dealt with under this Act, of w 1,351 were in gaols and detention camps, and 288 in village home domicil, making a total of 1639, on 30 November, 19 There were, besides, 19 State prisoners under Regulation III 1818.[21]

'By the middle of July, 1931, the Government found the existing legislatioin was not sufficient to cope with the ter rist menace. On the 9th October, 1931, Act XXIII was pa to provide against publication of matter inciting or encourag murder or violence. On 29 October the Government of B promulgated Ordinance IX of 1931 widening the scope of Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, so that action could taken not only against persons actually concerned in the co mission of terrorist associations, but also against those who members or helpers of those associations. It also widened schedule of offences. On 30 November, the Bengal Emerge Powers Ordinance XI of 1931 was issued. Chapter I of Ordinance provided for emergency powers which would ap immediately to the district of Chittagong. Military and P were to combine in operations to round up terrorists and abs ders in that district, and to render these operations effective District Magistrate was given powers, among others, to comm deer property, limit access to certain places, regulate traffic transport, and impose a collective fine upon recalcitrant inh tants. Chapter II provided for special tribunals and spec magistrates and a procedure designed to overcome delaying tics. On the expiry of the Ordinances the powers conferred them were embodied in the Bengal Suppression of Terro Outrages Act, 1932, and the Bengal Criminal Law (Arms a Explosives) Act, 1932, passed by the Legislative Council.

Early in 1934 was passed the Bengal Criminal Law Am ment Act which replaced without time limit various tempor Acts about to expire.

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Reviewing the situation at the end of 1933 an official Report

serves:

"Though the number of fresh arrests has declined in recent
nths, the present monthly average is still disquietingly high
d indicates that considerable recruitment is still going on.

"One reason for this is that subversive propaganda and
ivities have been so rife in recent years that they have succeed-
in creating a revolutionary mentality which has permeated
ost every stratum of the literate Bhadralok society. To a
rtain extent the unemployment problem among the educated
ddle classes in Bengal has been a powerful accessory to those
o have deliberately sought to bring about this result, but the
nours which have been chiefly responsible for the propagation of
volutionary ideas are a subversive Press, and successive orga-
ed movements for defiance of the laws by the methods variously
own as non-co-operation and civil disobedience."

"Nothing is more noticeable in the history of the revolu-
ary movement than the connection between the recrudescence
violent propaganda in the Press and of terrorism. Contrary to
e expectations of Gandhi his movements have, on many an
casion, broken out into violence, and even when they have, in
t, remained non-violent, succeeded in engendering a violent
entality towards the Government which made young men
sily succumb to the arguments of the terrorist recruiters. It
a remarkable fact that a large percentage of the recruits to the
rorist movements are found to have made their political *debut*
civil resisters."[23]

"The net result of these facts has been greatly to widen the
ld of recruitment to the terrorist ranks. Gone are the days
en elaborate ceremonies of initiation and administration of
ws, before an image of the Goddess Kali, were necessary to
sure the devotion of recruits to the terrorist cause.[24] It is suffi-
nt now-a-days to give a boy a few seditious books to read,
d to supplement this by instructions from persons who have
n his trust and confidence. Further, good moral character is
o longer essential in a recruit. Throughout the Province,
dents in schools and colleges are now far more deeply permeat-
d by a spirit of unreasoning resentment against the Government,
d of defiance of authority, and there are a large number of

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districts in which some or all of the educational institutions h terrorist groups connected with them under the control of main leaders. The result is that murders are now committed youths unknown to the police, at the bidding of their leaders

Another recent development was the advent of the fe terrorist. This was suggested by the Government to be due the fact that the women took an active part in picketing d the Civil Disobedience movement in 1930, for "the step f non-violence to violence is a short one. Of those detained the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act 15 are women."

The same official Report refers to some other ancillary f tors which helped the growth of terrorist movement:

"The subversive movements in general and terrorism particular received encouragement from the Calcutta Corp tion. It was captured by the Congress in 1924, and C. R. Das Mayor, offered employment to those who had suffered in "country's cause" mostly as teachers in Corporation Pri schools which multiplied from 19 in 1923-4 to 225 by the e of December, 1931. The attention of the Corporation was dra to the fact that Corporation teachers took part in the illegal m ments and the Corporation Schools were being used for unla purposes. The Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation, reply, brought counter-charges of ill-treatment to the teachers the police. The Corporation passed resolutions expressing sor at the death of terrorists and even named streets after them.

"Such attitude of open sympathy to the terrorists by t Corporation and the Bengal Provincial Congress and the pu tributes paid by them to persons convicted of terrorist crime h been a perpetual incitement to emotional youth to undertake fu outrages. Factors such as these did not weigh the scale aga Government in their campaign of 1916-19."[26]

2. General Review of Revolutionary Activities.

Some idea of the revolutionary activities in Bengal, in acc dance with the programme of the Yugantar party mentioned abo during the period 1930 to 1933, may be gained from the follow table :[27]

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I. Classified Statement of the Number of Cases of Outrages year by year.

	1930	1931	1932	1933
Murderous Outrages	7	5	5	3
Attempts at Outrages	4	6	14	3
Robberies	16	41	68	34
Attempted Robberies	1	7	—	—
Bomb-throwing	6	7	3	—
Bomb explosions	1	—	4	3
Armed raids	1	—	—	—
Total	36	66	94	43

II. List of Casualties due to Terrorist Outrages

	1930		1931		1932		1933	
Class	killed	injured	killed	injured	killed	injured	killed	injured
Officials	11	12	5	13	6	10	1	1
Non-Officials	10	14	4	3	6	27	—	—
Terrorists	26	4	—	1	5	3	2	—

i. Murder of Officials

A number of Indians were murdered as they were supposed to be police informers. Some of the most daring attempts to murder officials are noted below, year by year.

Year 1930

1. Reference has been made above to an unsuccessful attempt to kill the Police Commissioner Sir Charles Tegart in 1924. A fresh attempt was made on 25 August, 1930, when two revolutionaries, Anuja Charan Sen Gupta and Dinesh Chandra Majumdar threw bombs at the car of Tegart near Dalhousie Square, Calcutta. One of the bombs exploded behind Tegart's car but it was not damaged and escaped. As a result of the explosion Anuja was killed and Dinesh, though seriously injured, tried to escape but was caught. The Police discovered a bomb factory and arrested quite a large number of members of the Yugantar Party who were tried in the "Dalhousie Square Conspiracy Case" and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying between 20 and 5 years.

Sir Charles Tegart was one of the ablest Police Officers. Although his life was miraculously saved, he seems to have been

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demoralised by the incident and shortly after retired from service. The attack on Tegart was followed by searches and arrests and inhuman atrocities all over Bengral, specially in Calcutta.

Dinesh Majumdar was condemned to transportation for life (18-9-30). But he fled from prison in Midnapore and took refuge in Chandernagore along with other revolutionaries (7-2-32). The Police Commissioner Quinn surrounded the house where they lived (9-3-33). Some were arrested, but many fled, Quinn being shot dead while pursuing them. Dinesh safely reached Calcutta but was arrested and was hanged on 9-6-34.

2. On 29 August, 1930, Mr. Lowman, Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, and Mr. Hodson, Superintendent of Police, Dacca, visited the Mitford Hospital in Dacca. A student of the attached Medical School shot at them with a revolver at a fairly long range. Both were seriously wounded. Lowman expired after a few days but Hodson recovered. Binay Bose, who fired the shots, was seized by a by-stander but threw him off and managed to escape.

3. The same Binay Bose with Sudhir Gupta (Badal) and Dinesh Gupta—all dressed as Europeans—entered the Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, at about 11 a.m. on 8 December, 1930. They rushed into the office room of Mr. Simpson, the Inspector-General of Prisons and shot him dead. As soon as Mr. Nelson, I.C.S., the Legal Remembrancer, attracted by the noise of the firing, came out of his room, he was shot in his thigh and fell down. The revolutionaries then went down the corridor, firing indiscriminately into the rooms of other European officials, one of whom alone, Mr. Townend, I.C.S., was wounded. The three revolutionaries then attemped to commit suicide as they knew that escape was impossible. Badal took Potassium Cyanide and died immediately. Binay and Dinesh shot at their own heads. Binoy died after a few days, but Dinesh recovered and was hanged (7 July, 1931). Reference may be made in this connection to the letters written (in Bengali) by Dinesh from the prison. They give us an insight into the high ideals that inspired the revolutionaries.

Year 1931

1. On 17 April Mr. J. Peddie, District Magistrate of Midnapore, visited a local school. At about 7-30 p.m., while Mr. Peddie

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ss attending an exhibition of manual work in the school, he was ally shot from behind at close range by two young men who naged to escape.

2. Mr. R. R. Garlick, the Sessions Judge of 24 Paraganas, d sentenced to death Dinesh, one of the murderers of Mr. mpson mentioned above. On 27 July, while sitting in Court Alipore, a young man shot him through the head and he mediately died. The murderer was shot by a Sergeant on duty d fell down severely wounded. But he committed suicide by ing Potassium Cyanide. A piece a paper was found on his dy containing the words: "Down with the Court which un-ly sentenced Dinesh Gupta to capital punishment"—Bimal pta. His real name was Kanailal Bhattacharya.

3. Inspector Ashanullah was held chiefly responsible for the rors that were let loose upon the people of Chittagong after e Armoury raid. He was shot dead on 30 August. Brutal rorism was let loose on the Hindus of the town.

4. On 14 December, Mr. C. G. B. Stevens, the Magis-te of Comilla, was in his Bungalow when two girls, Santi ush and Suniti Chaudhuri, approached him with a petition. r. Stevens was reading the application when one of the girls t at him and he immediately fell down dead.

5. D.I.B. Inspector, Sasanka Bhattacharya was shot dead Tarakeswar Dastidar on 16 March in a village in the Chitta-g district.

6. Unsuccessful attempts were made to murder Mr. Cassells, mmissioner, Dacca Division (21 August), Mr. L. G. Durno, trict Magistrate, Dacca (28 October) and Mr. Villiers, the sident of the European Association (29 October). The last o were seriously wounded, and the assailants in each case naged to escape.

Year 1932

1. On 30 April, Mr. R. Douglas, the District Magistrate of dnapore, while presiding over a meeting in the District Board ce, was shot dead. The murderer was hanged.

2. Kamakhya Sen, a Sub-Deputy Magistrate at Munshiganj Dacca District), had rendered himself notorious by his oppres-ns on the people. While he was on a visit to Dacca and sleep-

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ing in the house of a Deputy Magistrate, he was shot dead 27 June.

3. On 29 July Mr. Ellison, Superintendent of Po Tippera, was shot dead at Comilla.

4. A daring attempt was made to kill H. E. Sir Sta Jackson, the Governor of Bengal. While, as Chanc he was delivering his address at the Convocation of Calcutta University, a girl named Bina Das fired several shots him, but missed and was caught.

5. Phani Ghosh, once a member of the Hindusthan Re lican army, became an informer of the Police. He was dead at Betiah (Bihar) on 9 November.

6. Unsuccessful attempts were made to murder Sir Al Watson, the Editor of the *Statesman* (5 August and 28 Sep ber), Mr. Grassby, Addl. Supdt. of Police, Dacca (22 Aug and Mr. Luke, Supdt. of Rajshahi Central Jail (18 Novem

Year 1933

On 2 September, Mr. Burge, Magistrate of Midnapore, w about to join a football game in the field, was shot dead by young men. One of them, Anathbandhu Panja, was shot by the body-guards of the Magistate while the other, Mrig Nath Datta was caught and beaten to death.

Year 1934

An attempt was made to kill Sir John Anderson, Gover of Bengal. On 8 May he attended the horse race at Le (near Darjeeling) and was going to award a cup to the w when he was shot twice by two young men, Bhawani Pra Bhattacharya and Rabindra Bandyopadhyaya. The Gover remained unhurt while the assailants were wounded and seize

Year 1935

1. A Police informer, Kalipada Bhattacharya, was m dered by Amulya Bhusan Chaudhuri on 4 June.

3. A Daroga, Ershad Ali, was murdered on 15 June by detenu named Rohini Barua for persistent and deliberate treatment.

The most important terrorist act after 1935 was the m

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of Sir Michael O'Dwyer by Udham Sing on 13 March, 1940, at a meeting of the East Indian Association in Caxton Hall, London.

ii. Chittagong Revolutionaries (1930-34).

For three years after the Chittagong Armoury Raid the group of revolutionaries under Surya Sen carried on their activities in spite of numerous arrests and amid a veritable reign of terror launched throughout the district.

First, in June 1931, there was a conspiracy to blow off the Jail and other office-buildings by means of dynamite with a view to rescuing the revolutionaries—including the leaders and rank and file of the Chittagong Armoury Raid—who were then confined within the Jail building, and then to immobilize the whole machinery of district administration. But the plot was revealed to the Police by a traitor in the party. Arms, electric wires, explosives, daggers, etc., were unearthed both inside and outside the Jail, while in the Court premises and other prominent places of the town dynamite was found buried underground.

The plot was nipped in the bud, but it is said that the Government were so much terrified that they made a compromise and let off the conspirators with a light punishment.

The trial of the accused in the Armoury Raid Case ended in 1932, and fourteen of them were transported for life to the Andamans. Some of the revolutionaries were in hiding near the village of Patiya, P.S. Dhalghat, which was surrounded on 13 June, 1932, by the Police and a military force under Capt. Cameron. About 10 p.m., Cameron raided the house of a widow named Savitri Devi who harboured Surya Sen and four of his trusted lieutenants who were still at large. Cameron was shot dead while ascending the staircase, and there was a prolonged fight. Two of the revolutionaries, Apurba Sen and Nirmal Sen, died, but so effective was their fight that Surya Sen and two young girls—Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Datta—managed to escape.

Three months later, on 24 September, 1932, this Pritilata Waddedar led a group of revolutionaries to raid the Railway Institute at Pahartali, Chittagong, which was frequented by the Europeans and Anglo-Indians of the town. A large number of

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ladies and gentlemen, engaged in dance and other merrim... were startled by the sudden explosion of bombs and revol... shots. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians defended themse... with revolvers and crockeries. One, a lady, was killed ... thirteen were seriously wounded. Pritilata, being struck by ... revolver shot, took Potassium Cyanide to evade arrest. The ... of her party escaped.

In February, 1933, when Surya Sen was in hiding in a vi... called Gairala near Chittagong with three others, a large G... force surrounded the house on the 16th and both sides op... fire. The owner of the house and his brother were killed bu... revolutionaries escaped. While Surya Sen got out of the h... and tried to hide himself he was seized by a Gurkha sol... Thus was the great leader arrested at last. The villager, who ... revealed the hiding place of Surya Sen to the police, was mur... ed in broad daylight on 8 January 1934.

Surya Sen suffered greatly in the hands of the Police, bu... military officer who took charge of him is said to have tre... him with great respect and consideration. Some Br... military officers made highly appreciative remarks ... his courage and military skill as a general. There is a s... current showing how the spirit of Surya Sen was sustained by ... love and esteem in which he was held by the common peo... Once, while fleeing before the police, he took shelter from ra... under the eaves of a thatched house in a village. Standing th... he overheard the mistress of the house, while lighting the even... lamp under a Tulsi plant—a common custom with the Hindu ... pray to God that Surya Sen might be saved from all dan... Surya Sen was hanged after trial but his career has shed a bri... on the revolutionary movement in India. Tarakeswar Dastid... was also hanged and Kalpana Dutt was sentenced to imprison... ment for life.

But the death of Surya Sen did not put an end to terro... activities. On 7 January, 1934, four boys, all in their teens, m... a murderous attack on the Europeans assembled to watch ... cricket match in Chittagong. They threw bombs on the cri... ground and fired shots. Two of them died on the spot and ... other two were hanged after trial.

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iii. Cruelty to prisoner

The inhuman treatment of the revolutionaries, both in prison d during internment, forms a black chapter in the history of Bri- sh administration in India in the first half of the present century. he gruesome details remind us of the Mediaeval Age or the eatment of the Jews in German camps during the Second World ar, the number affected being, of course, much smaller.

Reference has been made above (p. 419) to a widow named avitri Devi who gave shelter to Surya Sen. All the inmates of e house, five in number including Savitri and her son Rama- shna, were sentenced to imprisonment for four years. Rama- shna, who had been suffering from serious troubles in the lungs, as awarded severe punishment for infringement of jail discipline d for days together his hands and feet were chained. His alth was shattered and the mother, kept elsewhere in the same ison, learning of her son's condition repeatedly asked for per- ission to see her son. The permission was always refused, but as granted only after the death of her son. Such refinement cruelty is unworthy of a civilised nation.

From the official records of prisoners in Bengal alone we e to know of a large number of cases where the revolutionary soners were not properly treated even when they suffered from nged illness, and had a natural death or committed suicide. many cases suicide was also committed as a result of tortures. e note below a few cases from official records of Bengal.

I Suicide

1. Nirendralal Bhattacharya in Hooghly jail (27.2.36).
2. The dead body of Nanigopal Chakravarti, an internee, was found floating in water in a *Bil* in 1936. Whether he committed suicide as a result of torture or beaten to death, remains a mystery, for many questions were asked in the Assembly but the Government refused to make any statement.
3. Nabajiban Ghosh was reported to have committed suicide. But though the Government admitted that he left a letter addressed to his father, the letter was never produced.
4. Santosh Chandra Ganguly, M.Sc. student of the Dacca College (17.10.36).

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5. Krishna Pankaja Goswami hanged himself with a r... (22.11.36).
6. Mahendra Lal Biswas fasted unto death (1936).

II Death after long suffering from various diseases without any proper treatment.

1. Sudhangshu Kumar Datta, an internee, in a vi... suffered from various diseases and died (1-3-36).
2. Manindra Nath Ukil suffered from breakdown of he... in various jails for five years until he was reduced t... skeleton and died on 11.5.36.
3. Manik Lal Chakravarti. No information of illness w... given to his family. Only a letter dated 22.5.36 conv... the news of his death to the family.
4. Banalata Das Gupta died of prolonged illness without ... proper treatment on 1st July, 1936.
5. Mahendra Chandra Roy died of prolonged illness ... 4.2.37.
6. Satkari Banerji suffered from various diseases during ... long prison life from 1916 to 1937, and died on 6.2.37.
7. Prafulla Nalini Brahma, a girl student, died of prolon... illness after a prison life of six years (22.2.37).
8. Gopal Meru of Midnapore died after a prolonged ill... on 28.12.37.
9. Rabindra Nath Chakravarti died of illness after a pris... life of six years on 26.8.37.
10. Harendra Nath Munshi died in Dacca jail on 30 Janua... 1938, as a result of forced feeding when he refused ... take any food.
11. Nirmal Das Gupta died on 13.3.38 after a prison life ... six years.
12. Divakar Patra died after six years of prison life ... 16.6.38.

iv. Clash between the Police and the Revolutionaries.

1. Many revolutionaries from Bengal took refuge in Fre... Chandernagore. The French Mayor, at the instance of the Brit... Government, went on 10 March, 1933, to seize a revolution... and surrounded his hiding place. When the Mayor was about ... enter the house the revolutionary fired and came out, and

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discriminate shooting escaped through the police net. The ayor was seriously wounded.

2. On 22 May, 1933, there was a prolonged fight between revolutionaries and the Police who surprised them while resid- in a house in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. The former in- ded two leaders who had escaped from prison. They fought their cartridges were exhausted and then got down by the rain- of the house. But they were arrested. These included sh Majumdar.

3. Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, set up a mber of 'village guards' to keep watch over the revolutionaries. ere was an open clash, in 1933, between the Village-guard of bbog in Dacca District and some armed revolutionaries, who lled one guard and wounded a few. All the revolutionaries aped except one who was tried and hanged.

In addition to the above 5 reference may be made to the clash tween the unarmed revolutionary prisoners in the Hijli detention mp (in Bengal) and their sepoy sentries in 1931. to which refer- ce has been made above (p. 342). Two of the revolutionaries re killed and twenty wounded, four of them seriously.[27a]

II. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE BENGAL (1928-34)

1. Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association.

The police terrorism that followed the train dacoity at Kakori prisonment of most of the leaders, general round-ups, searches d arrests, harassment of suspects—had a very adverse effect on revolutionaries. It is thus described by one of them. "Men o had professed sympathy with our cause would now avoid us. ys who had talked tall began now to leave the gymnasium we d started in Kanpur for physical culture and as a recruiting ntre. The whole province was in the grip of panic."[28] The se of frustration caused by this state of things was heightened the practical cessation of all political activities by the Congress.

An attempt was made by the revolutionaries still at large to eak this stagnant calm. Chandra Sekhar Azad, the sole re- ining absconder of the Kakori Conspiracy Case, took the ding part in re-organizing the revolutionary movement. The me of the Association was changed to "Hindusthan Socialist

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Republican Association" with a Socialist State in India as its objective. The party was reorganized with a Central Committee and Provincial and District Committees under it. All decisions were to be taken in these Committees, and majority decisions were to be binding upon all. About this time they were greatly influenced by the events in Russia and the Labour-strikes in Bombay (under Girni Kamgar Union), Calcutta and Kanpur. But armed action was still regarded as the immediate task, specially the murder of the hateful officials, which would break the stagnant calm. When mass movement was unleashed the Association would "link themselves with that movement, act as its armed detachment and give it a Socialist Direction."[29]

The first overt act of importance of the newly organized Association was the murder of Mr. Saunders, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Lahore. When the Simon Commission arrived at Lahore Railway Station (30 October, 1928), Lala Lajpat Rai, the great Indian leader, was assaulted by the Police in a general *melee* against thousands of people, assembled there, who were showing black flags to Simon Commission and shouting "Simon, go back". Lajpat Rai's death, shortly after on 17 November, 1928, was generally believed to have been caused by this assault. To avenge his death Bhagat Singh shot to death Mr. Saunders in broad daylight, but managed to escape.

2. Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta[30]

The next activity of the Association was not only more daring but a very significant one. When, after the murder of Mr. Saunders at Lahore, the people were suffering terribly at the hands of the Police, a feeling slowly gained ground that while the revolutionaries effect their escape and hide themselves, the people have to suffer the consequences of their crimes. In order to remove such a feeling the Association decided to send two members to commit a crime and then court arrest. It was also felt that the crime should have two objects in view; first, to create a great sensation all over India in order to remove the political lethargy from which the country had been suffering and, secondly, to give wide publicity to the aims and objects of the Association and stimulate the revolutionary urge in the country.

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Early in April, 1929, the Trade Disputes Bill, intended to rtail the rights of labourers to strike, was being discussed in e Legislative Assembly, Delhi. The Government also sought troduce the Public Safety Bill, the object of which was to eck the Communist movement in India by cutting it off from ternal influences. As the provisions of this Bill had direct aring on the Meerut Conspiracy Case,[30a] then pending before Court, Vithalbhai Patel, the President of the Assembly, re-ested the Government to withdraw either the Bill or the Conspi-y Case. As the Government refused to do either, Patel declar-that he would give his ruling on the admissibility of the Bill soon as the Trade Disputes Bill was voted upon.

The public attention was thus focussed on the proceedings the Assembly, and it was mainly for this reason that the dustan Association decided that Bhagat Sing and his friend nkeshwar Datta should throw two bombs on the floor of the sembly Chamber, New Delhi. Care was taken to prepare two bombs as would not cause any fatal or even serious injury, d it was settled that they should be thrown only if the Trade putes Bill was carried, and then, immediately after the result voting was declared.

Bhagat Singh and his comrade attended the Assembly for a days in order to select a site where the explosion of the bomb s not likely to hurt anyone seriously. On 8 April, 1929, they k their seats, selected beforehand, in the visitors' gallery. Just en the fateful hour was approaching, Sir John Simon, anxious hear the President's ruling on the Public Safety Bill, entered Chamber and took his seat quite close to the place where gat Singh and his friend were sitting. These two exchanged ces and were urged by an instinct to shoot Simon, the indirect se of the death of Lajpat Rai. But they controlled themselves decided to carry out the allotted task. As soon as the sident declared that the Trade Disputes Bill was carried and ceeded to give his ruling on the Public Safety Bill, Bhagat gh dropped a bomb on the floor, and within five seconds nkeshwar threw another. They also fired a few revolver shots d dropped from above copies of the Red Pamphlet on the floor.

No one was killed, four or five persons were slightly hurt, d only one was more seriously injured. The chamber was

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enveloped in smoke and there was a regular stampede—mem-bers, visitors and officials running helter skelter. Bhagat Sing and Batukeshwar had a very reasonable chance of effecting their escape in the mellee, but true to their purpose, they remained standing in the empty hall, and as soon as a few sergeants entered, Bhagat Sing and Batukeshwar threw away the revolver and offered themselves for arrest.

On 6 June, they jointly made a long statement in the Court and six days later they were both sentenced to transportation for life. They greeted the sentence with loud shouts of *Inquilab Zindabad* (Long live the Revolution)—a slogan first uttered by them while throwing the bombs and destined to become hereafter a regular war-cry in India.

The Red Pamphlet as well as the Joint Statement got a wide circulation all over the country. These two documents, while serving admirably the purposes of propaganda, deserve very close reading as they throw a good deal of light on the aims, objects and ideals of the revolutionary party.

The Red Pamphlet is a short document and we quote below the opening para and the concluding portion:

"It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear—with these immortal words, uttered on a similar occasion by Villant, a French Anarchist and martyr, do we strongly justify this act of ours.

"Let the Government know that while protesting against the Public Safety and the Trade Disputes Bills and the callous murder of Lala Lajpat Rai, on behalf of the helpless Indian masses, we want to emphasise the lesson often repeated by history that it is easy to kill individuals but you cannot kill ideas. Great empires crumbled while ideas survive. Bourbons and Czars fell while revolutionaries marched triumphantly ahead.

"We are sorry to admit that we, who attach so great a sanctity to human life, we, who dream of a very glorious future when man will be enjoying perfect peace and full liberty, have been forced to shed human blood. But the sacrifice of individuals at the altar of a great revolution that will bring freedom to all rendering exploitation of man by man impossible, is inevitable. Long Live Revolution."

In the Joint Statement, which is a fairly long document, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta give an elaborate justification

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f their conduct. "Bearing in mind the words of the late Mr. R. Das, once Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which appeared in the famous letter he had addressed o his son to the effect that the bomb was necessary to awaken England from her dreams, we dropped the bombs on the floor of e Assembly Chamber to register our protest on behalf of those ho had no other means left to give expression to their heart-nding agony. Our sole purpose was 'to make the deaf hear' nd give the heedless a timely warning".

Why the Legislative Assembly Chamber was selected for omb-throwing is thus explained :

"Our practical protest was against an institution which, nce its birth, has eminently helped to display not only its worth-lessness but its far-reaching power for mischief. ....It exists nly to demonstrate to the world India's humiliation and help-lessness and it symbolises the overriding domination of irrespon-sible and autocratic rule. Time and again the national demand as been pressed by the people's representatives, only to find the aste paper basket as its final destination....Resolutions regard-ng the repeal of repressive and arbitrary measures have been reated with sublime contempt and Government's measures and roposals rejected as unacceptable by elected members have been nsured by a stroke of the pen.....Finally the insult of what e considered an inhuman and barbarous measures was hurled n the devoted heads of the representatives of the entire country nd the starving and struggling millions were deprived of their rimary right and sole means of improving their economic elfare."

The 'Statement' then emphasizes the fact that the bombs ere deliberately prepared in such a manner as would not kill ut only slightly injure a person, and this was what actually ppened. After narrating how they surrendered of their own ccord and were prepared for any penalty, Bhagat and utkeshwar observed :

"By crushing two insignificant units, a nation cannot be rushed. We wanted to emphasise the historical lesson that *ettres de cachet* and Bastilles could not crush the revolutionary ovement in France. Gallows and Siberian mines could not extin-uish the Russian revolution. Blood Sundays and Black and Tans

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failed to strangle the movement of Irish freedom. Can Ordinance and Safety Bill snuff out the flame of freedom in India?"

3. The Lahore Conspiracy Case and the Hunger Strike

The bomb-throwing in the Assembly was followed by discovery of a huge bomb factory at Lahore with materials enough to prepare seven thousand bombs. Another big bomb factory was discovered at Saharanpur in May, 1929. Some members of the Association, as soon as they were arrested, divulged all the secrets of the Association and searches and arrests took place all over North India. Within a few weeks almost all the leaders of the Association and a large number of members were arrested and the Government instituted the Lahore Conspiracy Case against them in 1929. Bhagat Singh, who was sentenced in connection with the throwing of bombs in the Assembly Chamber, was also an accused in this case and brought to the Lahore jail.

The Lahore Conspiracy Case has been rendered famous by the hunger-strike of the undertrial prisoners in jail. The idea of the hunger-strike was originally conceived by Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta when they were confined in the Delhi jail after their trial in the Bomb-throwing Case mentioned above. The hunger strike was actually begun by them on 15 June when they were transferred to two other jails. Their object was two-fold. The first was a political one to which reference will be made in the last section of this chapter. The second was a question of principle. The crime for which the revolutionaries were imprisoned was defined in law as waging war against the king, and they regarded their act as such. So they demanded the right to be treated as war-prisoners and not as ordinary criminals. In a written statement Batukeshwar Datta said that the hungerstrike was not aimed at wresting certain concessions and comforts for jail life, nor was it started simply as a protest against misbehaviour of officials, as was believed by many.[31]

In the course of the Lahore Conspiracy Case the other comrades of Bhagat Singh also began the hunger-strike. The Lahore Conspiracy Case, which began on 10 July, 1929, gave an opportunity to all the under-trial prisoners to meet, in Court, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar who, being convicts, were kept in

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separate jail. They all decided, after discussion, to resort to hunger-strike with effect from the 12th July.

The Government tried forced feeding, but refused the concessions demanded, viz., classification of revolutionaries as political prisoners; better food and clothing; supply of books, newspapers, and writing materials; immunity from hard labour and humiliating work; supply of oil, soap etc.,; and discontinuance of forcible feeding. The prolonged fast created great commotion among the public, and huge demonstrations were held all over India. The Government at first refused to yield, but after about two months they gave assurance of favourably considering the demands. The prisoners broke their fast save and except Jatin Das. He developed pneumonia, but refused to take food or medicine. He only uttered one sentence: "I shall stick to the last". He did stick to the last and died, after 64 days' fast, on 13 September, 1929. A large crowd gathered outside the jail gate to pay respect to the dead body, and the scene was repeated at all principal railway stations when it was conveyed by train to Calcutta. Even the Police Superintendent of Lahore, Mr. Hardy, took off his hat and bowed to the dead body of one who, like the Irish revolutionary, Terence Mc. Swiney, triumphed over the might of British Imperialism by his heroic resolve to die. The family of Terence Mc. Swiney sent condolences on the death of Jatin Das, as mentioned above.[32]

The hunger-strike had serious effect on the trial of the Lahore Conspiracy Case. As the prisoners refused to attend the Court, the normal legal procedure could not be followed. Besides, the heroic fast of the prisoners had evidently produced a great moral effect. Two approvers retracted their confessions and a few prominent crown witnesses refused to give evidence against the accused. There was hardly any chance of proving the guilt of the accused. In this predicament the Government promulgated on 2 May, 1930, Lahore Conspiracy Case Ordinance which gave summary powers to a Special Tribunal to try the prisoners in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, untrammelled by any rule or legal procedure, and undisturbed by fear of any appeal against its decision. The accused were *lathi*-charged by the police even in the open Court.

The farce of the trial by the Special Tribunal went on for

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several months and its judgment was delivered on 7 Oct 1930. Three,—Sukhdev, Rajguru and Bhagat Singh,—were ... ded capital punishment; seven were transported for life, ... a large number was sentenced to long terms of imprisonm... The repercussion of Bhagat Singh's death on the Congress ... at Karachi which commenced on 29 March, has been mentio... above.[33]

4. Revolutionary Activities after 1929

The Lahore Conspiracy Case gave a death-blow to ... Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association. Almost all ... prominent leaders were either dead or in confinement, with ... exception of about half a dozen who had managed to ... arrest and were in hiding. One of these, Chandrasekhar Az... now collected a few members and reorganized the Associati... Its first activity was directed towards the murder of the Vice... by way of revenge for the Lahore Conspiracy Case. A ... bombs exploded under the Viceroy's Special train near Delhi ... December, 1929. The train was damaged but the Viceroy ... not hurt.

Chandrasekhar next planned an armed revolution and ... this purpose secured more than Rs.14,000 by an armed robb... on a firm in Delhi, on 6 July, 1930. In course of investigati... in this case the police got information about the secret plac... Chandrasekhar. One of his trusted lieutenants was arrested ... few days later with a large stock of arms, and the po... discovered a bomb factory in Delhi, with a stock of chemic... enough to make explosives to fill about 6,000 bombs. Chandra... sekhar fled to the Panjab, and his presence was signalized by t... explosion of a series of bombs which killed and injured a fe... officials. The police made a vigorous but fruitless search for hi... in course of which they arrested a number of revolutionaries an... discovered several depots of arms and small bomb factories. T... Government instituted two cases, Second Lahore Conspiracy Ca... and the New Delhi Conspiracy Case. Although Chandrasekh... was the principal accused, he remained in hiding and the Gover... ment offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 to anyone who could se... Chandrasekhar Azad, dead or alive. He was constantly on t... move, in an attempt to rally the few workers who were still

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large. He arranged to meet an old worker in the Alfred Park at Allahabad on 27 February, 1931. One of those who knew it communicated the news to the police. About a dozen police in plain clothes surrounded Chandrasekhar as soon as he entered the Park. Chandrasekhar fired at the police and seriously wounded two high officials. But he himself was riddled with bullets and fell dead. Thus ended the career of a great revolutionary in India.

The death of Chandrasekhar was a serious blow to the underground organization in North India. A number of revolutionaries were seized with despair, gave up terrorist activities, and joined the Congress or the Communists. A few even served as informers to the police.

But the revolutionary activities continued in U.P. and the Panjab, as in other parts of India, during 1930-34. The preparation of bombs, attempts, often unsuccessful, to murder officials and police informers, revolver fight between the police and the revolutionaries faced with unexpected and impending arrest, and armed robberies were the chief activities.

A few prominent incidents may be mentioned.

i. U. P.

On 1 April, 1932, five revolutionaries were arrested while trying to destroy the Dufferin Bridge over the Ganga near Banaras.

On 16 July, 1932, two bombs were thrown in the Bristol Hotel, Kanpur, where a number of Europeans were engaged in entertainments. But the bombs did not explode.

ii. The Panjab.

On 22 February, 1930, a country-made bomb was thrown at the Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, suspected of helping the police, when he was addressing a meeting of the students. One student was killed and eleven were wounded.

On 23 December, 1930, when the Governor of the Panjab was leaving the University Hall after the Convocation, he was fired at and injured in the arm and hip. Two English ladies, one Inspector of Police and one Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police were also wounded, and the last-named subsequently died. The assailant, Har Kishan, was arrested and hanged.

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On 11 May, 1932, the wires on the Railway line were c
near Ludhiana.

iii. Delhi.

On 1 February, 1932, a bomb was placed on railway l
near the Hardinge Bridge, Delhi, in order to wreck the Spec
Train carrying the English members of the Lothian Commi
The bomb exploded but there was no damage to the train.

iv. Bombay and Sindh.

In April, 1930, out of sympathy with the G. I. P. Rail
Labour Strike, attempts were made unsuccessfully to dest
railway stations and railway bridges, but railway lines w
damaged by bombs near Bombay.

On 22 July, an attempt was made on the life of the Act
Governor, Sir Ernest Hotson, during his visit to the Fergus
College, Poona. A student of the College fired pointblank at
Governor who had a miraculous escape, the bullet striking
metal button on his pocket book.

On 30 October, 1932, a passenger from Portuguese Goa w
arrested on the S. S. *Hiravati* with four revolvers and a lar
number of cartridges.

A small bomb factory, set up by a new revolutionary grou
called *Anandamandal,* was discovered in 1933. They tri
threw bombs at Empire Theatre, Bombay. Another bom
factory was discovered at Ahmadabad. Many copies of a lea
threatening death to dealers in cloths made in England w
also seized.

Many bombs exploded in Sholapur. According to offici
reports they were thrown by the revolutionaries in sympathy wi
labour strike in textile mills.

v. Central Provinces.

On 21 August, 1931, a bomb was thrown at the Divisio
Commissioner while he was visiting a scout rally at Burhanp
But the bomb did not explode.

On 24 September, two English military officers, travelli
in the Punjab Mail, were struck with knife near Dongargar
Railway Station. One of them later succumbed to the injuri

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wo revolutionary young men were arrested in this connection nd transported for life.

vi. Madras.

A branch of the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association as established in Madras. On 16 March, 1933, a revolver was und on the seat of the Governor in the Legislative Assembly all. It was left there as a symbol of the fate awaiting the ritish rulers. On 26 April, 1933, four revolutionaries in military ess raided the Travancore National Bank in the heart of the ty and decamped with all the money in the treasury. The lice arrested 22 persons in connection with these and other in- dents and the Madras City Conspiracy Case was instituted gainst them.

vii. Rajputana and other Localities.

In November, 1934, a young man with a revolver was arrest- d at Ajmer. According to official reports a member of the industhan Socialist Republican Association, an accused in the ahi Conspiracy Case who had fled from justice, establilshed a anch here, but almost all its members were arrested.

Some terrorist activities—explosion of bomb—were reported om Peshawar, but they were confined to Hindus. Some armed oberies took place in Assam and Burma, and there were also empts to murder officials in Burma. According to official re- rts the terrorist movement in these two Provinces was "practi- lly confined to Bengalis."[34]

The official report further observes :

"To sum up, terrorism has its birth in Bengal, and where it as shown its head in other Provinces it can almost invariably e traced to Bengali influences. It is at all events true to say, at in no Province but Bengal is there that widespread and eep-rooted terrorist mentality which is essential for its develop- ents."[35]

5. General Review

It would appear from what has been said above that the evolutionary movement, which became a potent force in Indian olitics during the *Swadeshi* movement, continued, with checks nd breaks, up to the end of the Civil Disobedience movement of 930-31.

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Gandhi. The two movements—one violent and another non-violent—went on side by side, and it was almost inevitable that each should be influenced by the other. There was a temporary swing of the revolutionaries to Gandhian non-violence in 1920-22 but the suspension of the Non-co-operation movement brought it to an end. Many old revolutionaries, mellowed by age and experience, remained in Gandhi's camp, or retired from politics, while new recruits joined the revolutionary groups and revolutionary ideas got a firmer grip on the people.

With the passing of time the revolutionary ideas widened in scope and became more and more associated with the political currents of the time. The ideas of an armed revolution still swayed the party, but there was a more conscious attempt to bring the organization in a line with the national movement and make revolutionary mentality more broadbased in the country by raising the political consciousness of the people to the futility of Gandhian way of non-violence and negotiations with the British Government. As noted above, the revolutionaries pressed their resolution for complete independence in the Calcutta Congress (1928), but Gandhi carried his compromise proposal against them. To counteract Gandhi's move was one of the objects of the hunger-strike conceived and resorted to by Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta in 1929 as mentioned above.[36] The general position is thus explained by the latter :

"The hunger-strike by the political prisoners in jail was not an isolated action, detached from the poliltical or national movement of the country. Revolutionary political prisoners always struggled and sacrificed their lives in prisons and exiles in order to awaken the nation and strengthen the national movement in the country. This hunger-strike by the Lahore prisoners and the martyrdom of Jatin Das did make definite contributions to this end. The decision for this hunger-strike was taken by myself and Bhagat Singh when our trial was going on in Delhi jail in connection with the Assembly Bomb Case. The Indian National Congress in 1928 under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru declared 'Dominion Status' as the goal of the Congress. The extremist section within the Congress, though few in number, pressed for complete independence. Gandhiji effected a compromise between these two trends of thought and assured

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country that complete independence would be declared as the goal of the Indian National Congress in the next session, if the British did not accede to the demand of 'Dominion Status' within a year's time. Such was then the political situation in the country. The leaders believed more in the efficacy of negotiation than 'direct action'. The question of complete independence and of 'direct action' for its achievement was thus shelved off in the year 1928. The spirit of inaction prevailed everywhere in the country.

"Under such conditions I and Bhagat Singh thought of starting hunger-strike after our trial in Delhi Assembly Bomb case (June, 1929). We planned for this hunger-strike while we were in Delhi jail and we had this confidene that by taking to such a course, we would be able to arouse the nation from its slumber and infuse the spirit of self-sacrifice among the people of the country and strengthen the forces of direct action against the imperialist government."[37]

The idea of throwing bombs on the floor of the Legislative Assembly was also partly inspired by the same motive. That these expedients quickened the national consciousness of the people and indirectly helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the growth of revolutionary mentality among ever-increasing circles is abundantly proved by the country-wide enthusiasm evoked by the hunger-strike and martyrdom of Jatin Das as well as of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. A spontaneous movement developed and centred round the hunger-strike. June 30, 1929, was observed as Bhagat-Datta memorial day, and meetings were held in many places, specially in the Panjab. The A. I. C. C. issued a circular to observe 18 August, 1929, as "Political Sufferers' Day" all over the country. The people held meetings and organised processions in defiance of section 144 and the lathi-charge and other oppressions of the police. The whole country seemed to have reverberated with the new revolutionary cry of *Inquilab Zindabad*.

The tumultuous enthusiasm for the revolutionary heroes particularly stirred the younger section, and even Gandhi had to bend before the new force in the Karachi Congress, as noted above. Gandhi fully realized the new situation and wrote in the

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Young India 'that the year 1929 remained as the period of [illegible] awakening among the youth of India.'[38]

A notable feature of the revolutionary movement during [illegible] period under review is that the ideology of the revolutionar[illegible] was more clearly formulated and more widely promulgated. S[illegible] idea of it may be formed from the Joint Statement issued [illegible] Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta during their trial for [illegible] Assembly Bomb Case referred to above. After explaining [illegible] reasons for throwing bombs, as quoted above, they declared:

"Others have as keenly felt as we have done, and from [illegible] the seeming sereneness of the sea of Indian humanity, a veri[illegible] storm is about to break out. We have only marked the end [illegible] the era of utopian non-violence of whose futility the rising ge[illegible] ration has been convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt."

They then proceeded to explain what was 'violence' and w[illegible] was not:

"Force, when aggressively applied, is 'violence' and is there[illegible] fore morally unjustifiable. But when it is used in furtherance [illegible] a legitimate cause it has its moral justification. Eliminatio[illegible] force at all costs is utopian and the new movement which h[illegible] arisen in the country and of which we have given a warning [illegible] inspired by the ideals which guided Guru Govind Singh [illegible] Shivaji, Kemal Pasha and Riza Khan, Washington and Garib[illegible] Lafayette and Lenin".

Far more interesting is the 'comprehensive ideal of revo[illegible] tion.' The revolutionaries had not only destructive but also co[illegible] structive ideas. They not only wanted to replace British Imper[illegible] ism by a republican form of Government in India, but they al[illegible] wanted to place it on a socialistic foundation. This was alre[illegible] indicated by the addition of the word 'Socialist' to the origi[illegible] name of the Association. What they meant by socialist structu[illegible] was fully explained in the Joint Statement:

"Revolution does not necessarily involve sanguinary str[illegible] nor is there any place in it for individual vendetta. It is not [illegible] cult of the bomb and pistol. By 'Revolution' we mean that [illegible] present order of things which is based on manifest injustice [illegible] change.... Radical change, therefore, is necessary and it is [illegible] duty of those who realize this to reorganize society on a socia[illegible] tic basis. Unless this is done and exploitation of man and [illegible]

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nations by nations, which goes masquerading as imperialism, is brought to an end, the suffering and carnage with which humanity is threatened today cannot be prevented and all talk of ending wars and ushering in an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy."

The Joint Statement then goes on describing the final outcome of all this—the ultimate goal:

"This is our ideal...If (our warning) goes unheeded and the present system of Government continues...a grim struggle must ensue, involving the overthrow of all obstacles and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletarial to have the way in consummation of the ideal revolution."

The ideological development undoubtedly indicates a growing influence of Communism. But as yet this influence was fully subordinated to nationalism, and the revolutionaries did not allow themselves to sacrifice the national to the international or supranational ideal as the Indian Communists did in 1942.

Another interesting characteristic of the revolutionary movement is a high degree of development in technical skill as displayed by the preparation of superior types of bombs, to which reference has been made above. This was accompanied by a higher efficiency in military skill and strategy of which a typical example was furnished by the Chittagong Armoury Raid in 1930. As mentioned above, it was conceived in the same spirit which animated Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta and gave a similar fillip to the growth of revolutionary mentality. But the Chittagong revolution, carried under the guidance of Surya Sen, would also stand out for ever as a unique example of a regular military campaign, conducted with consummate skill by a master strategist and backed by heroic courage and sacrifice, which exercised a profound influence upon the people.

The revolutionary movement did not die out in 1934. The new Constitutional Reforms of 1935 took away the edge of both the violent and non-violent methods in Indian politics. But the revolutionary spirit, like that of Gandhi's *Satyagraha*, was not lost upon the people. When Gandhi sought to revive the Civil Disobedience movement in 1942, but was prevented from launching it by his sudden arrest, the revolutionary spirit raised its head and the cult of non-violence was submerged under that of vio-

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lence. As we shall see, the wide-spread but shortlived outbreak
1942 was the product of an admixture of the revolutionary vi
lence and a spirit of non-violent resistance inculcated by Gandh
The two streams joined together and gave a new form to this
last battle for India's freedom fought on Indian soil.

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CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN POLITICS (1934-37)

I. THE FRAMING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

The third and last session of the Round Table Conference was held in London on 17 November, 1932. The members attending it were much less in number than those in the preceding session, and there was no representative of the Congress. The decisions taken by His Majesty's Government in the light of the Conference were published in a White Paper issued in March, 1933. It was condemned by leaders of all sections of Indian opinion. "One could not see in it any family resemblance to many of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference Committees." This was in flagrant contravention of the assurances given by Lord Irwin in July, 1930, when he said that any agreement "at which the Conference is able to arrive, will form the basis of the proposals which His Majesty's Government will later submit to Parliament." For all the regard that the British Government "paid to the opinions of the Indian members of successive Round Table Conferences, they might never have convened them."[1]

The proposals embodied in the White Paper were referred to a Joint Committee of the Houses of British Parliament who consulted Indian delegates, nominated by the Government. But in spite of prolonged discussions and deliberations, the proposals were not materially changed. A Bill prepared on the basis of the White Paper was introduced in the Parliament on 19 December, 1934, and, in spite of strenuous opposition of the die-hard section of the Conservatives led by Churchill, was passed on 2 August, 1935.

Every section of public opinion in India expressed dissatisfaction with the Government of India Act of 1935. The spokesman of the Moderate Party, C. Y. Chintamani, observed : 'Indian

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opinion was almost stunned by the result of years of agitation and cogitation, and many sections of it, including the Liberal felt and said that it would have been far better if no reform had been attempted.'

The main features of the Act may be summarised as follows: "In the provincial sphere, Burma was separated from India and two new Provinces, Orissa and Sind, for the formation of which there was a long-standing demand, were created. In view of the federal form of Government envisaged at the Centre, the Provinces were endowed for the first time with a legal personality. Dyarchy was abolished, and all the Provincial subjects were transferred to popular control. Certain 'special responsibililties' were, however, laid upon the Governor as before. Bicameral Legislatures were established in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Assam, and the other Povinces continued to have only unicameral Legislatures. The official blocs vanished, and the nomination of persons to represent backward classes and other interests ceased. There was no change in principle in the allocation of seats among the different communities and special interests, the Communal Award, as modified by the Poona Pact, regulating the distribution of seats among the former. Property qualifications continued to be the main basis for the franchisement, a very much higher standard being adopted for the Upper Houses. Franchise for the Lower Houses was fixed at a much lower level than before, and this resulted in more than a four-fold increase in the number of voters."

"As regards the Centre, the Federation of India was to be inaugurated only after Rulers representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States and entitled to occupy half of the seats allotted to them collectively in the Federal Upper Chamber had executed Instruments of Association."

"As the country was considered to be not yet ready for the transfer of full responsibility at the Centre, a dyarchic executive was provided for, as was hitherto prevalent in the Provinces."[2] It is not necessary to describe the Federal Government as proposed in the Act, for it never came into operation, and there was no change in the Central Government, except the establishment of the Federal Court, Federal Public Service Commission and the Federal Railway Authority.

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II. REVIVAL OF THE SWARAJYA PARTY

The year 1933 found the Congress straying in wilderness. The Civil Disobedience campaign was slowly dying a natural death, but there was nothing else to take its place. Gandhi had realized the futility of *Satyagraha* as a political weapon. He felt that "the masses have not received the full message of *Satyagraha* owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission." Therefore after "an intense introspection, searching of the heart, and praying upon God", Gandhi decided that henceforth no one but himself should carry on Civil Disobedience, and the rest should devote themselves to the constructive programme. On April 2, 1934, he drafted a statement to this effect which may be looked upon as the funeral epitaph on *Satyagraha*.

Before this statement was actually issued a number of prominent Congressmen proposed to revive the Swarajya Party to fight the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly on two main issues, namely, (1) repeal of all repressive laws, and (2) rejection of the Constitutional scheme outlined in the White Paper in favour of the National Demand outlined by Gandhi at the Round Table Conference. Gandhi not only welcomed the revival of the Swarajya Party and its decision to fight the forthcoming elections, but also felt that it was 'not only the right but the duty of every Congressman who believes in its utility, to do so'. The decision of 1923, reversed in 1929, was re-asserted in 1934. Gandhi issued his statement, with some modifications, on 7th April. The Working Committee and All-India Congress Committee met in Patna on 18-20 May, 1934, and, as recommended by Gandhi, suspended the Civil Disobedience movement and accepted the entry into Legislature as a part of the programme of the Congress. The Working Committee, in accordance with the resolutions of the A.I.C.C., called upon all Congressmen to give up Civil Disobedience and the movement was officially terminated on May 20, 1934.

The Government of India, being satisfied that the Civil Disobedience movement was really dead, lifted the ban on the Congress organizations, except in Bengal and N.W.F.P., on June 12, and announced a general policy of expediting the release of the Civil Disobedience prisoners.

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A Parliamentary Board was set up in accordance with decision of A.I.C.C. in its meeting at Patna on May 18-19, 19 This Board naturally asked the Working Committee to form its policy with regard to the White Paper proposals and the Co munal Award. The matter was considered by the Working C mittee in its meeting at Bombay on June 17-18, 1934. The cussion revealed a fundamental difference of views betwee section led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and M. S. A on the one hand, and the majority of the members on the o regarding the Communal Award. It made the separate el rate of minorities the general rule rather than an exception, also allotted to every community, other than the Hindu, num of seats far in excess of its numerical strength. The positio the Hindus in Bengal was specially deplorable. Out of th seats in the new legislature only 80 were allotted to them against 119 to the Muslims. It was natural that the Mu opinion would favour the Award while the Hindus would be against it. Even the Muslim members of the Working C mittee, who only a short while ago prevented Gandhi from a ing a separate electorate, now favoured the Award. To p them the Hindu Congress members refrained from definitely demning it. The resolution passed by the Working Com condemned the White Paper and suggested that the consti should be drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the pro if necessary, to the important minorities, to have their repre tatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to minorities.

The resolution then added :

"The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award lapse automatically. Among other things, it will be the du the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of repre tation of important minorities and make provision for other safeguarding their interests."

As regards Communal Award it said : "The Congress c to represent equally all the communities composing the Na nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long a division of opinion lasts. At the same time, it is necessary

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declare the policy of the Congress on the communal question. solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the ongress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution, falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties oncerned, and, conversely, to reject any solution which is not greed to by any of the said parties."

None could possibly interpret this as anything but a very n veil to cover the full-fledged support to the Communal Elec- ate. This face-saving clause, however, could not deceive that y small section of political leaders who had not yet surrendered ir conscience and judgment to the safe keeping of Gandhi.

Malaviya and Aney were opposed to the attitude of neither cepting nor rejecting the Communal Award, and proposed to initely condemn it. After the passing of the resolution they ered their resignations but were persuaded to withdraw them. e question was again taken up by the Working Committee at Banaras meeting (July 27-30), but no compromise could be ved at. Thereupon Malaviya resigned the Presidentship of Congress Parliamentary Board, and Aney the membership of Congress Working Committee and of the Parliamentary ard.

It soon appeared that the non-committal attitude in regard e Communal Award was disapproved by a very large section the Hindus. Not to reject the Award was indeed a negation ationalism, so long advocated by the Congress, for which the ervailing 'non-acceptance' could hardly make amends. The gress evidently still cherished the hope that they could arrive an agreement with the Muslims. But in view of the growing mmunal spirit displayed by the Muslims, including good many kers who were hitherto regarded as National, there was hardly justification for such hope. It is somewhat strange that the gress failed to realize what was patent to everybody that mmunalism swayed the entire Muslim community with the pro- e exception of a mere handful of leaders who had scarcely following. Not only Jinnah, but many others had, one one, renounced the nationalist ideals and joined the rank of mmunalist Muslims. Even the Ali Brothers, on whom Gandhi sed his faith, denounced his leadership. But Gandhi's opti- m never faltered up to his dying day. This was the real

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tragedy of Congress politics under the leadership of Gandhi a leadership which was not boldly disowned till it was too to undo the mischief. Nothing indicates the absence of real in Congress politics more clearly than the hope expressed in concluding para of the Working Committee's resolution about 'agreed solution'. Any man with a modicum of common sense should have known that it was nothing short of crying for moon. On the other hand, the Congress leaders must have been remarkably short-sighted if they failed to realize that such platitudes, emphasized by repetition, could have only one sible effect, namely, increasing the intransigence of the Muslim die-hards. The greatest disservice done by Gandhi to the cause of Indian nationalism was his frank admission, in season and out of season, that no solution of communal problem would be acceptable to him or to the Congress which is not supported by the Muslims in general.[3] This placed in the hands of the Muslim reactionaries the power to put a veto on the constitutional progress of India—a power which they fully utilized in the Round Table Conference. It also proved to be the most formidable weapon which Jinnah wielded with admirable skill during the political negotiations of the forties. The resolution passed by the Working Committee on the Communal Award in June 1934, perhaps with the most laudable motive, proved fatal to the unity of India and paved the way to Pakistan.

The resignation of Malaviya and Aney led to a split in the Congress ranks. They summoned a Conference of Congressmen and others who were of their opinion, which met in Calcutta on August 18-19, under the Presidentship of Malaviya. It led to the formation of a separate Party with the object of carrying on agitation against the Communal Award and the White Paper, in the Legislatures and outside, and of setting up candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly for the promotion of that object.

The Conference requested the Working Committee to call a meeting of the A.I.C.C. with a view to revising its resolution on the Communal Award. This was considered and rejected by the Working Committee in its meeting at Wardha held on 25 September. The Working Committee issued instructions to all Congress organizations to help the Congress Parliamentary Board in election activities and forbade them to support any party

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candidate opposed to the official policy of the Congress. The Working Committee rejected the proposal of releasing, on the grounds of conscience, candidates for election to the Assembly from the obligation to conform to the decision on the Communal Award.

Shortly before the meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha on 25 September, Gandhi had decided to retire from the Congress and made no secret of it. On 17 September, he issued a lengthy statement[1] to the press in which he reviewed the fundamental principles in which he believed, but to which scant regard was paid by most Congressmen including even those who always unhesitatingly followed his lead. Reference may be made to a few of them, as far as possible in Gandhi's words.

(1) "I put the spinning wheel and khadi in the forefront. Hand-spininng by Congress intelligentsia has all but disappeared. The general body of them have no faith in it.... The khadi clause of the Congress Constitution has been almost a dead letter from the begnning." I am held "responsible for he hypocrisy and evasion about the working of the khadi clause."

(2). As regards prohibition of entry into legislature, many have supported it, against their own conviction, simply out of regard for me. "Many have despaired of resisting me. This is a humiliating revelation to a born democrat."

(3). I have fundamental differences with the Socialist Group in the Congress. "If they gain ascendancy in the Congress, as they well may, I cannot remain in the Congress. For to be in effective opposition should be unthinkable.

(4). "The policy advocated by some in regard to the States is wholly in difference from what I have advised."

(5). "Even on untouchability my method of approach is perhaps different from that of many, if not of most Congressmen." Many think that it was a profound error for me to have disturbed the course of Civil Disobedience Movement on account of it.

(6) Non-violence "is a fundamental creed with me" but after 14 years of trial, it still remains only a policy with the majority of Congressmen. It has not yet become an integral part of the lives of Congressmen."

(7) There is still more uncertainty about civil resistance. It has been increasingly difficult for me to carry the reason of

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fellow Congressmen with me in all the resolutions recently passed on the subject, whilst they have generously voted for them. Even the memory of the sense of oppression which they experienced at the time of voting, without an intelligent belief in these resolutions, oppresses me just as much as they were oppressed."

(8). The growing corruption in the ranks of the Congress.

There cannot be two opinions on the lofty moral tone and sincerity displayed in every line of this long statement. By itself, it at once puts Gandhi on a high pedestal of moral sensibility and saintly character. It is not every age, it is not every nation that can show a political leader publicly confessing his own failure and the shortcomings of his devoted followers and probing into the causes for the same, as Gandhi did. As a candid statement of the policy and programme of Gandhi, the leader and a testimony to the wide gulf that separated him from his opponents and even his devoted followers, it is the most revealing document that we possess. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it fully sustains and supports those who have criticized the views and actions of Gandhi and his blind followers from a rational considerartion of the political point of view.

It is, however, difficult to approve of his issuing the statement on the eve of the annual session of the Congress. Gandhi himself has left no doubt about his object in doing so. While some leaders endorsed his decision to retire from the Congress others were opposed to it. In view of this, Gandhi says, he postponed the final decision till after the October session of the Congress. Then follows the most significant sentence : "One attractive idea behind the insistence on postponement was that it would enable me to test the accuracy of my impression that a very large body of the Congress intelligentsia were tired of my method and views, and programme based upon them, that I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic and representative organisation, it was dominated by my personality, that in it there was no free play of reason." As one sure method "of testing the truth or otherwise of his impression," Gandhi not only mentioned the reasons of his retirement but also made some definite proposals to amend the Congress Constitution in order to remove the shortcomings complained of by him. Gandhi could not

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by this act that he was waiting to see if his proposals were accepted by the Congress, for this would mean a vote of confidence in him and rejection, as untrue, of the contrary impressions hitherto entertained by him. In any case the Congress looked upon the proposals of Gandhi as a test of confidence in him and accepted them all without any substantial change. This was, of course, a foregone conclusion. But two important questions remains to be answered.

First, the question arises whether the proposals of Gandhi were calculated to remove the defects pointed out by him. To the ordinary mind they were not. In any case, subsequent events have proved that while the changes no doubt entrenched Gandhi in a secure position in the Congress by weakening the opposing elements, they had little effect on the inherent beliefs and practices, so strongly condemned by him. To take a typical example, will the franchise, based upon spinning and habitual wear of Khaddar, serve to create a faith, almost overnight, in its efficacy among the Congress intelligentsia, the lack of which, during 14 years, was the first item complained of by Gandhi? The same thing may be said about non-violence.

Secondly, what was there to show that the approval of the proposals by the Congress was not *one more* instance, as it undoubtedly was, where the members supported Gandhi against their own conviction simply out of regard for him and without any "intelligent belief" in the proposals themselves? Gandhi himself noted the general prevalence of this spirit of abject subservience among the Congress members and condemned it in the strongest possible language. Yet it should have been apparent to the meanest intellect that nothing was more calculated to bring out habitual, almost slavish, spirit into play than the threatened retirement of Gandhi from the Congress, if his proposals were not accepted.

If Gandhi had been a much lesser man than he really was, he would have been justified in regarding his statement as a clever but ignoble device to rehabilitate his dwindling popularity and strengthen his position in the Congress by exploiting the blind faith of his devoted followers while there was yet time. But as it is, it is more reasonable to hold that while his moral stature was very high, his judgement of ordinary

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men and things was very poor. His robust faith in the sense justice of the British people even after Amritsar tragedy, strong belief in the national feelings of the Muslims in Ind and his judgement of the views and personalities of Ali Broth are of a piece with his childlike faith in the sincerity of Congr members who voted for his resolutions.

The annual session of the Congress was held at Bombay October 26-28, 1934. The most important item was, of co the consideration of the proposals made by Gandhi about revision of the Constitution of the Congress. The propo change in the creed ('truthful and non-violent' in place of 'leg mate and peaceful) was circulated to the Provinces for opini The rest were virtually adopted.

It is necessary to describe in detail the changes made the Congress Constitution by Gandhi's proposals. Suffice it say that spinning 500 yards of well-spun yarn per month (or so other form of labour accepted as its alternative) was made essential qualification for membership of the Congress; habi wearing of wholly hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar was m a necessary qualification for holding any office; the number Congress delegates was reduced to a maximum of 2000 (14 rural and 511 urban); the A.I.C.C. was reduced to half strength.

Shortly after the session Gandhi announced that he wo not remain even a primary member of the Congress. But the official history of the Congress says, he left with a vote confidence and a standing invitation to re-enter, which, as shall see, he did ere long. But it is a moot point to decide what extent the Congress was actually free from his influen even during this brief interval. The Bombay Congress set up All-India Village Industries' Association, as part of the activi of the Congress. It was to work under the advice and guida of Gandhi, as an autonomous body but apart from politics. other words, Gandhi could maintain his effective leaders through this all-India organisation as well as interference f the Congress.

As regards political programme and activities of the Cong Gandhi's influence remained as great as ever, as the new W ing Committee was more submissive to him than the retiring

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his exit from the Congress, for the time being, was more ostensible than real.

III. THE NEW LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1935)

In the meantime the Government had decided to summon new Legislative Assembly under the provisions of the Act of 935. The elections for the Legislative Assembly took place rtly after the Congress session. The followers of Malaviya d Aney stood from the "Congress Nationalist," as distinguished mere "Congress," Party. They secured all the general ts in Bengal. The Congress got only one seat in the Punjab, swept the polls in other Provinces. The most outstanding ess of the Congress was the defeat of R. K. Shanmukham tti, who had made the Ottawa Agreement on behalf of India was later elected President of the Assembly. He was strong- backed up by the Government which virtually made it a test tion for the Ottawa Agreement. But though he stood from Commerce constituency in South India, he was defeated by Congress candidate.

The strength of the different parties, as they emerged the polls, was as follows :

i. Congress.....44
ii. Congress Nationalist.....11
iii. Europeans.....11
iv. Nominated officials.....26
v. Nominated non-officials.....13
vi. Independents.....22

will thus be seen that while the Government could normally mand no more than 50 votes (iii. iv, v), the Congress nd ii. who voted together except on Communal Award) had ajority of five over them. The Independents (vi.), all but e of whom were Muslims led by M. A. Jinnah, thus held balance. The Liberal Party was eliminated.

The Government suffered several defeats and the Budget thrown out twice. But all this had no practical effect, as Governor-General certified the Bills and measures rejected by House against the Government opposition.

The Congress Party moved a resolution to the effect that the vernment should not proceed with any legislation for reforms,

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based on the Report on the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which Jinnah moved an amendment. Its second and third cl strongly condemned the proposed scheme of Provincial and C tral Government in such terms that the Government spokes observed that it was as much a rejection of the proposals as more direct rejection of the same by the Congress. But the point in the amendment of Jinnah was the first clause which as follows :

"That this Assembly accepts the Communal Award, s as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various c munities concerned."

The Congress group remained neutral as regards the clause which was put separately to vote and carried. The sec and third clauses were supported by the Congress, and thr opposed by the Government and nominated members, were ried by 74 against 58 votes.

Outside the Assembly the Congress continued to work Hindu-Muslim unity. There was a prolonged negotiation on subject between Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Cong and Mr. Jinnah from 23 January to 1 March, 1935, but it duced no tangible result.

The Government proceeded with its usual programme keeping down rebellious activities. The detenus in Bengal al numbered about 2700, and such was the vindictive policy of Bengal Government that they thwarted the endeavours of Congress to raise money to relieve the distress of the help families of the detenus.[5]

IV. MUSLIM POLITICS (1930-35)

Mention has been made above how the Hindu-Muslim fra nity, artificially created by Gandhi at the behest of Muham Ali and other Pan-Islamists, tumbled down like a house of c as soon as the Khilafat movement came to an ignoble end, and bitter feud between the two communities, signalized by comm riots, marked the succeeding period. Most of the so-called M lim nationalist leaders—who were really Pan-Islamists masq ding under this disguise—now appeared in their true colour.

Muhammad Ali, who was the principal lieutenant of Gan in his *Satyagraha* campaign in 1920-21, refused to join him in

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second campaign in 1930. At a meeting of the All-India Muslim Conference at Bombay in April, 1930, attended by over 20,000 Muslims, he bluntly stated: "We refuse to join Mr. (no longer Mahatma ?) Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the seven or millions of Indian Musalmans dependants of the Hindu Mahasabha."[6] He made no secret of the fact that the Muslims, as a whole, were guided by Pan-Islamism. He told the members of the Round Table Conference that Islam was not confined to India. "I belong," said he, "to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim World. ...We are not nationalists but supernationalists."[6a] In his address as Congress President in 1923 he reminded the audience that "extra-territorial sympathies are part of the quintessence of Islam."

But the influence of the Ali Brothers and their group was on the wane, and Muslims under the leadership of Jinnah and others now concentrated their attention to the improvement of their political status at home. In this they were aided by two factors. The first was the clever move of the British Government to declare openly that no political concessions could be granted to India unless there was a fair measure of agreement between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. The second, a consequence of the first, was the oft-repeated open declaration on the part of Gandhi, supported not only by the Congress but also by the Moderate leaders, that there could be no solution of the constitutional problem of India so long as the two communities did not agree on a common plan. The Muslims fully exploited the situation and pitched their demands higher and higher.

In this clever manoeuvring for power, Muhammad Ali Jinnah stood head and shoulders over the other Muslim leaders. His early career has been described above. The acceptance of the Nehru Constitiution by the Indian National Congress in 1928 and the ultimatum issued by it to the Government had a strong reaction on Jinnah. His failure to carry the Convention with him[7] had mortified him beyond measure, and he looked upon the resolution of the Congress as a determined move to ignore the Muslim claims, and an indirect but unceremonious rejection of the claim of

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Muslim League to be heard upon such an all-important problem. Piqued at what he regarded as an insult to the Muslim community he first organized an All-Parties Muslim Conference and then summoned the adjourned meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi on 28 March, 1929. Here he repudiated the Nehru Constitution and laid down his famous "fourteen points" embodying the minimum demands of the Muslim community, which ran as follows:

(1) The form of the future Constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the Provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all Provinces.

(3) All Legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of Minorities in every Province without reducing the majority in any Province to a minority or even equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature, Mussulman representation shall not be less than one-third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present; provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.

(7) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is advised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other Provinces.

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(11) Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the Services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by local self-governing bodies.

(13) No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

But though Jinnah was defeated at the Convention the lapse of the Nehru Report[8] was a great triumph for him. It also killed the Nationalist Muslim Party formed by Ansari in 1928 and left the field open for commual Muslims.

Henceforth the Muslims gradually drifted further and further apart, as is evidenced by their attitude to the Round Table Conference. The All-India Muslim Conference demanded that the Muslims should be represented in the Round Table Conference only by men who truly represented the community and enjoyed its confidence. In other words, The R. T. Conference should not have the benefit of hearing nationalist Muslims like Ansari, but would consist of communalist Muslims alone. Nothing could be more gratifying to the British Government, and they acted upon this principle. When Gandhi agreed to attend the second session of the R. T. Conference, he got from Lord Irwin a definite undertaking that Ansari would be nominated by the Government of the R. T. C. "In answer to the demand for the fulfilment of Irwin's promise, Lord Willingdon pleaded that the Mussalman delegates were opposed to Dr. Ansari's delegation."[9] The Muslims gained their points and wholeheartedly supported the Communal Award, but, as mentioned above, Jinnah otherwise supported the Congress and joined it in denouncing the Act of 1935.

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There was a good prospect of settlement with the Muslim and a committee appointed in November, 1932, for the purpose by the Unity Conference, settled a number of outstanding issues between the Hindus and Muslims. There was an agreement also on the question of Muslim representation in the Central Legislature which was fixed at 32 per cent.[10] But before the work of the Committee was concluded Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, forestalled its decision. He announced that His Majesty's Government had decided to allot 33-1/3 per cent of British Indian seats in the Central Legislature to the Muslims, and not only to constitute Sindh into a separate Province but also to provide it with adequate funds as subvention from the Central Government. Thus the fruits of the labour of the Unity Conference which had sat for weeks and after great efforts had succeeded in reaching an agreement on all points as between Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and other Indian communities, were cruelly snatched away by the very timely interference of Sir Samuel Hoare. "It was not to be expected that an agreement could be reached between all parties when it was clear that some group or other could always be found to object to any agreement however just, and when the British Government were prepared to offer better terms than any that an agreed settlement could secure for a group willing to accept the highest bid."[11] A further attempt was made again early in 1933 for arriving at a settlement between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League, but it proved unsuccessful. On the eve of the election campaign in 1936 there were, in addition to the Muslim League, led by Jinnah, various parties among the Muslims, each dominated by a strong personality. In the Punjab Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain had set up a Unionist Party. In Bengal a Krishak Praja Party was established under Maulavi Fazlul Haq. In U. P. the Nationalist Agricultural Party was a creation of the leadership of Nawab of Chhatari. In Sindh Sir Abdulla Haroon and in Bihar Sayyid Abdul Aziz refused to join hands with the League. In the North-West Frontier Province Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, a follower of Gandhi, formed the Khudai-Khidmatgars or Red Shirts, a party wedded to the policy of the Congress.[12]

The election manifesto of the Muslim League showed a close resemblance to that of the Congress, save and except the

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communal demands of Jinnah mentioned above. But an borate explanation was offered to show that it was not com- nalism and did not bar a hearty co-operation between the communities. The 'Lakhnau Pact' of 1916 was hailed as e of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history India.' If the Muslims demanded that their minority position ould be safeguarded in the structure of the constitution, that as not communalism. "Anyone conversant with world history ould realise that this was a natural claim and that its accept- ce was essential in order to obtain the whole-hearted and ing co-operation of the minorities who must be made to feel at they can rely upon the majority with a complete sense of nfidence and security."[13] Indeed this part of the Muslim eague manifesto might reasonably appear to some to be a bold d for a second Lakhnau Pact, recalling the memory of days en Jinnah was spoken of in Congress circles as the 'Ambass- dor of Hindu-Muslim Unity.' But the sting was in the tail.

The second part of the manifesto chiefly concerned the slims. The League stood for the uplift of the Musalmans a separate entity by promoting their religion, language, and tural interests. The problem was not merely to educate the ddle class Muslims, but also to bring about the entire social generation of the seventy million Muslims. This could only achieved if the Musalmans stood united in a solid bloc as salmans, and refused to be exploited by others.

Henceforth Jinnah always stressed the need of maintaining unity and solidarity of the Muslims as a separate political d social entity. This idea was fully shared by the other slim political parties.[14]

It was not long before Jinnah advanced one step further d regarded the interests of the solid bloc of Musalmans as a ecial concern of the Muslim League alone. He looked upon e Muslim community as forming an exclusive sphere for the slim League activities and would not brook interference with slim affairs by any other body. He warned the Congress not interfere in Muslim affairs, and tacitly implied that no Muslim o was not a member of the Muslim League should be regarded a true representative of the Muslims. The Congress retorted

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by saying that it represented the whole of India and as was concerned with the interests of both Hindus and Muslims.

The result of the elections held in 1937 belied the claims of both the Congress and the Muslim League. Of the Muslim members in various legislature, only 26 were Congressmen, most of whom were elected in the North-West Frontier Province. Whatever might be the excuses or explanations offered, it was a clear indication that the Congress organization had no contact with the Muslim masses and had very little influence over them. The Congress could not, therefore, advance any reasonable claim to represent the Muslims. An analysis of Muslim members elected to the various Provincial Legislatures clearly indicated that the Muslim League also had no such claim. Of course, no other Muslim Party fared bettter as an all-India organization, but most of them had no pretence to any such claim.

It is not a little curious that the Muslim League had a specially bad record of election success in those Provinces like Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh and North-West Frontier Province where the Muslims formed the majority community and fared much better in the Provinces which had a strong Hindu majority with a significant and vocal Muslim minority. The reason is that the Muslim League had no special positive programme which distingushed it from the other parties and had no local influence in any Province. It throve only on its assumed character as a bulwark of defence against Hindu attack. The Provinces with a Muslim majority had no genuine fear of such an attack, and were not therefore susceptible to the propaganda of the League. Is is only when the Muslim masses learnt to look upon the problem from an all-India perspective that the Muslim League emerged as the most powerful Muslim organization, indeed the only organization that could save the interests of the Muslims who formed a perpetual minority in India.

The election results in 1937 clearly proved that there was no such mass-consciousness among the Muslims, and consequently the Muslim League had as yet little influence in shaping Muslim politics. The credit of Jinnah lies in the fact that he succeeded in developing this political consciousness among the Muslims within an incredibly short time. This was achieved by

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comprehensive programme of propaganda and activities—both
y and foul—, and the intransigence of the Congress high com-
nd helped its growth. They took their stand on the theory
hat the Cogress represented the whole of India and made the
me mistake as the British did in respect of the Congress.
ey ignored the Muslim League as having no influence over
e masses and only representing a "microscopic minority" of
e Muslims, to use Lord Dufferin's words with reference to the
ngress. But they discounted the idea that there may be a
ional urge among the Muslims limited to their own com-
unity, and even though one may denounce it as rank com-
unalism, its effect upon a political organization may be the
me. The factors leading to the consciousness of a separate
ity among the Muslims have been noted above,[14a] and though
nationalist may disapprove such a development, a statesman
n ignore it only at his peril. Jawaharlal Nehru in particular,
ong the Congress leaders, must be held highly guilty in this
spect.[15] The Congress made an attempt to contact the Muslim
nses, but failed. It did not learn the obvious lesson of coming
terms with the Muslim League till by its own folly
e League had attained a position when it could dictate its
n terms, and demanded Pakistan as the only basis of settlement.

As could be easily anticipated, the estrangement between
e Hindus and the Muslims manifested itself into communal
ts. It would be a tedious task to give an account of all the
ts that took place during the period under review. Reference
s already been made above[16] to the very serious riot at
pur in 1931.

There was a horrible incident during the communal riot at
rwabad early in 1935. It culminated in the burning alive of
e whole family of a Hindu, Doctor Jivaram, including children
d patients.[17] On March 19, 1935, serious disturbances occurred
Karachi over taking in procession the body of Abdul Qaiyum,
o was sentenced to death for murdering a Hindu alleged to
ve insulted Islam. On the 29th June a dispute between the
uslims and the Sikhs about a mosque, situated within the pre-
cts of a Sikh temple known as the Shahidganj Gurudwara,
d to serious troubles in Lahore. "In the spring of 1936, in
o quarrels over processional music in the United Provinces,

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two people were killed and 159 injured. In the following aut a dispute arising in Bombay from building operations at a H temple, which were regarded as likely to result in disturbance worshippers at a neighbouring mosque, developed into rio which lasted from October 15 to 19, broke out again on No ber 2, and continued intermittently till the beginning of De ber. The hooligans of the city made the most of their cha there was much looting and arson; the police had to open on several occasions, and troops in lorries paraded the distu area. The casualties amounted to no less than 93 killed 632 injured. In the spring of 1937 there was a minor outb in the United Provinces caused by a Moslem sacrifice of a lock, and another, which lasted for three days, at Madras, ari from the celebration of a Hindu festival. Rioting also recu at Bombay over Hindu processional music near a mosque: people were killed and 65 injured."[18] Indeed such riots come to be looked upon as normal events in Indian life.

V. THE CONGRESS 1935-36.

1. The Socialist Programme of Jawaharlal Nehru

Although, as mentioned above, Gandhi retained his influ over the Congress, the failure of the Civil Disobedience ment led to an appreciable weakening of his leadership in country. This was clearly indicated by the very outspoken co demnation of the policy of Gandhi by K. F. Nariman,[19] a m ber of the Working Committee of the Congress from 193 1933, and the fact that neither the A.I.C.C. nor the Subje Committee of the Congress in the Bombay session (Octob 1934) agreed to substitute the words 'Truth and Non-violen in the creed of the Congress for the expression 'peaceful a legitimate means.' Another cause operating in the same dir tion was the emergence of the new creeds of Socialism, pa cularly in its extreme form, Communism, in Europe. Th new ideas, which convulsed Europe, had also great reperc on India, particularly upon the younger generation.[20] The em gence of a Socialist left wing in the Congress, clearly notice in the Congress session of 1934, "was a sure indication of t resurgence of the radical or left-wing forces in the country. was accompanied by a phenomenal awakening among

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untry and the students, and to some extent, among the wor-
For the first time, there emerged a centralised All India
ants' Organisation, called the All India Kisan Sabha, the
prominent leader of which was Swami Sahajananda Sara-
The students' movement also, which had gone through
ups and downs in the past, was centralised under the
rship of the All India Students' Federation. The All India
e Union Congress, which had experienced two successive
—in 1929 at Nagpur and again in 1931 at Calcutta—was
again unified under a joint leadership representing all shades
inion, both Right and Left. In the literary world, too,
was an attempt to organise the progressive writers."[21] "The
ress Socialist Party began to rally the younger generation
also the more radical elements inside the Congress and
g the Indian people in general. For the time being, both
graha or Civil Disobedience and revolutionary terrorism had
their charm and in the vacuum created thereby, the Congress
alist Party naturally made headway. The Communist Party
dia, a small group which had been declared illegal by the
ish Government, instructed its members to join the Congress
alist Party and thereby use the public platform of the Con-
Socialist Party, in order to push forward its own organisa-
and objective. It did succeed in extending its influence
g a section of the students and factory workers."[22]

The Socialists had two notable leaders in Pandit Jawaharlal
u and Subhas Chandra Bose. In an article, entitled 'Whi-
India,' Nehru "pleaded for social and economic equality, for
ending of all special class-privileges and vested interests."[23]
Press statement issued on 18 December, 1933, he said: "I
believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today
es between some form of Communism and some form of
cism, and I am all for the former, that is Communism. I
ke Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything
re than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist
er to preserve itself at any cost. There is no middle road
ween Fascism and Communism. One has to choose between
the two and I choose the Communist ideal. In regard to the
hods and approach to this ideal, I may not agree with every-
g that the orthodox Communists have done. I think that

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these methods will have to adapt themselves to changing ditions and may vary in different countries. But I think that the basic ideology of Communism and its scien interpretation of history is sound."[24] Subhas Bose did not agree with Nehru. He thought that Nehru's views were fu mentally wrong as there was no reason to hold that our ch was restricted to the two alternatives. He believed that a thesis between these two was possible, and hoped that India discover it.[25]

But Nehru definitely veered round to Communism in Presidential speech at Lakhnau Congress in April, 1936. mentioned above, there was already a Socialist wing in the C gress, and the Communist ideals had also spread in India. they had not yet become a force in the body politic. The spe pleading for Communism by the President of the Congress to give it an undue importance and divert national energy its goal of attaining independence.

Further, Nehru's views created a somewhat awkward sit tion in the inner politics of the Congress. Gandhi wing, hi opposed to Communism, reigned supreme in the Congress, though Nehru's views strengthened the Socialist left wing never wavered in his personal allegiance to Gandhi. He therefore drifted along, without joining either the Gandhi wing or other radical party. The situation is described as follows in official history of the Congress: "Jawaharlal came in India of communistic and Marxian ideas. The achievements of Congress disappointed him. He found himself as one against the world. ...He made the best of the situation by taking three ardent socialists into the Working Committee,—Sri Jayaprakash Narain, Narendra Deo, and Achyut Patwardhan."[26]

But the remaining ten members formed a solid Gandhi block against Communism. Nehru realized his own position, viz., that he did not represent the majority view-point, though, as the President of the Congress, he was supposed to represent that organization. He offered his resignation but was persuaded to withdraw it. That the difference between Nehru and the Working Committee did not lead to such consequences as happened three years later was very largely due to the magnetic personality of Gandhi. The intellectual Nehru fought against his programme

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theory, but the emotional Nehru always submitted to his
ority. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the
decade, than the gradual conversion of Nehru, step by step
stage by stage, to the views and practices of Gandhi. One
t well ponder how and why a dynamic personality like
aharlal Nehru made such an abject surrender to Gandhi—
om whom he himself said that "Ideologically he was sometimes
ingly backward,"[27] and again, 'much that he says seems to
with a medieval Christian saint and not at all with modern
chological experience and method.'[28] Fortunately Nehru has
self answered this question on behalf of himself and many
ers who were insensibly drawn within the magnetic circle
Gandhi: "How came we to associate ourselves with Gandhiji
ically and to become, in many instances, his devoted follo-
s? The question is hard to answer. ...Personality is an in-
able thing, a strange force that has power over the souls
men, and he possesses this in ample measure. ...He attracted
ple. They did not agree with his philosophy of life, or even
many of his ideals. Often they did not understand him.
the action that he proposed was something tangible. Any
n would have been welcome after the long tradition of in-
n which our spineless politics had nurtured; brave and
tive action with an ethical halo about it had an irresistible
al...and we went with him although we did not accept his
sophy....

"How he disciplined our lazy and demoralized people and
e them work—not by force or any material inducement, but
a gentle look and a soft word, and, above all, by personal
mple! Umar Sobhani called him "beloved Slave-driver."[29]

It was not long before the truth underlying the confession
Nehru was practically demonstrated. He was re-elected Pre-
nt of the next Congress held at Faizpur in Maharashtra, in
cember, 1936. Just a month before that the new Com-
ist constitution was introduced in Russia—U. S. S. R.—
ch claimed to usher in a new era of political, social, econo-
, and cultural progress. "Capitalism was wholly liqui-
ed. ...The merchants and speculators were completely driven
t of the field and the entire commodity circulation passed into
hands of the co-operative and the collective farms." It was

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therefore quite natural that at "Faizpur the atmosphere ... have been surcharged with socialist slogans, emphasising ... rights of workers and peasants on the one hand and decla... against the forces of Imperialism and Fascism on the ... Indeed the suggestion of the Socialist Party at the ... Committee of the Faizpur Congress urged that 'the Co... declares the solidarity of Indian people with the enslaved pe... of the world and with the people of the U. S. S. R."[30]

But in sharp contrast to all these the President, Jawa... Nehru, had considerably mellowed down in his enthusias... Communism. The official history of the Congress attri... this change to the "schooling that the President of Lu... had for well-nigh a year in the University of life."[31] It ... perhaps be more correct to say that the schooling really ... place in the University of Sabarmati under its presiding ge... Gandhi. In any case the change was significant. "The ... gress," said the President, "today stands for full dem... in India and fights for a democratic state, not for social...

2. The Congress Ministry

A general election under the new Act was held in ... It was significant from many points of view. It forced ... Congress to come into close contact with the masses and ... aroused political consciousness among them.

"The enfranchisement of 3 & 1/2 crores of voters, incl... the wives of men voters and those that could sign their ... gave an impetus to the awakening of women with their ... consciousness on the one hand, and the progress of literacy ... one bound on the other. Thousands of women came forw... to register their names as voters and thousands more of ... rate men who had just learnt to sign their names."[33]

Though the Congress condemned the new constitution ... troduced by the Act of 1935, it contested the election. T... position of the Congress in the new Legislatures may be su... med up as follows :

'The Congress had absolute majority in the Legisla... Assembly in Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Prov... ces, Bihar and Orissa. It was the biggest single Party in ... Provinces, namely Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the N.W.F...

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the Assemblies of Sindh and the Punjab it was comparatively a smaller minority. The total number of Muslim seats in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 482. Out of this number the Congress contested 58 seats and won 26, i.e., 46 per cent of the seats contested. The total number of Labour seats in the 11 Provinces was 38. Of these the Congress contested 30 and won 18 i.e., 90 per cent of the seats contested. The total number of seats reserved for landholders in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 37. Out of this number the Congress contested 8 and secured 4. The total number of seats reserved for Commerce and Industries in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 56. Out of these the Congress contested 9 and won only 3.'[34]

The all-important question of the acceptance of office was discussed by the A.I.C.C. in its meeting at Delhi on 17-18 March, 1937. After a debate of two days an amendment opposing acceptance of office was defeated and A.I.C.C. "authorised and permitted the acceptance of office in Provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the Legislature, provided the Congress party in the Legislature was satisfied and was able to state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to constitutional activities."

The Governors of the Provinces, in which the Congress obtained a clear or near majority of seats in the Legislature, were not prepared to give any assurance in the terms demanded by the Congress leaders regarding the exercise of their special powers, and the negotiations therefore failed. In a *Communique* of the United Provinces Government it was stated that the obligations laid upon the Governor by the Government of India Act and the Instrument of Instructions were clear and specific and that it was clearly not in the power of the Governor to meet such a demand.

The other Governments made similar declarations. Gandhi, who claimed to be the sole author of the office-acceptance resolution of A.I.C.C. (18 March), issued a statement on 30 March, 1937, in which he said :

"My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition. I felt that this object could not be secured unless there

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was a gentlemanly understanding between Governors and their Congress Ministers that they would not exercise the special powers of interference so long as Ministers acted within the Constitution."

After a prolonged controversy the Viceroy made a long pronouncement promising "the utmost degree practicable of harmonious co-operation" between the Government and the people and 'to avoid in every way consistent with the special responsibilities for minorities and the like which the Act imposes, any such clash of opinion as would be calculated unnecessarily to break down the Ministry.' Although it did not materially differ from the pronouncements of the Governors and certainly did not concede the original demands of the Congress, the Congress Working Committee decided to permit Congressmen to accept office (7 July, 1937). The Congress Ministries were therefore formed in the Provinces where the Congress members formed a majority in the Legislative Assembly.[25]

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the work done by the Ministries set up under the Act of 1935. Many useful and beneficent measures were passed in all the Provinces and the Congress Ministries, in particular, tried to carry out the Congress programme of primary education, prohibition and uplift of the Harijans, i.e., depressed classes, including the untouchables. It must be mentioned that the non-Congress Ministries of Bengal and the Punjab also passed several salutary measures for improving the material condition of the masses.

3. The Muslims and the Congress Ministry

It was taken for granted both in the Report of the Simon Commission and the discussions in the Round Table Conference that the main communities, particularly the Muslims, ought to be, and in fact would be, represented in the Provincial Ministries. But it was not made a statutory obligation, as was suggested by some Muslim leaders, for it was felt that "no single party would be strong enough to do without minority support. But this was belied by the result of the elections. In five Provinces the Congress obtained clear majorities. In two others they only needed the support of one or two sympathetic groups. Broadly speaking, therefore, there was no neces-

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for the Congress to come to terms with minority parties, even with the strongest of them, the Muslim League."[37]

When the Congress decided to accept office they proded on the general principle that in the Congress Provinces Ministers should be selected solely from the Congress ty. In other words, the member of a minority organization bluntly told that he must either repudiate his own organiza- (like the Muslim League) and join the Congress by accept- its creed, or must give up the hope of taking a share in government of the country.

This question was brought to a head in U.P. where the slims, though numbering only 16 per cent of the population, ied a very high position not only in comparison with the slims in other parts of India, but also as compared with the bs in U.P. This was mainly due to the Aligarh Univer- and the local traditions of the Mughal Age. There were nt leaders and local magnates whose name and fame d among the Muslims all over India.

The result of the election in 1937 was very significant so as the Muslims were concerned. Out of the 228 seats in Provincial Assembly 64 were reserved for Muslims chosen separate Muslim electorates. At the polls in 1937, 26 of se seats were won by the Muslim League, 28 by the In- ndent Muslims, 9 by the National Agricultural Party and one by a Congress Muslim.

Between the League and the Congress, the only two nized political bodies in U.P. there was hardly any rence in ideas and programme save on the communal re- ntation. The electoral programmes of the two were also nearly the same in all essential matters and the leaders e two organizations fought the elections on a more or less mon platform. But when the Congress decided to accept e there arose a strong difference between the two. There s to have been a sort of understanding—tacit or explicit fore the election that in case of victory, two places in the t Ministry would be allotted to the Muslims. But the ngress, in pursuance of their principle mentioned above, ed to include the members of the Muslim League only certain conditions which practically meant dissolution of the

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Muslim League and the incorporation of its members in Congress organization, sharing all its rights and privileges as well as duties, obligations, and responsibilities.[38] These demands only translated into practice the pithy saying attributed to Nehru that 'there were only two parties in the country—Congress and the British Government.' No wise statesman could seriously believe that the Muslim League would renounce give up its own separate identity and merge itself in the Congress. The Muslim League refused to commit political Hara-Kiri at the bidding of the Congress.[38a]

There is no doubt that the decision of the Congress leaders was extremely unwise and it was bound to have disastrous consequences. The Muslims now fully realized that as a separate community they had no political prospects in future. The Congress ultimatum was the signal for the parting of the ways which by inevitable stages led to the foundation of Pakistan.

Nehru, who was chiefly responsible for this ultimatum, had no realistic conception of the Hindu-Muslim problem. Thus he says :

"The Communal Problem, as it was called, was one of adjusting the claims of the minorities and giving them sufficient protection from majority action. Minorities in India, it must be remembered, are not racial or national minorities as in Europe ; they are religious minorities. Religious barriers are obviously not permanent, as conversions can take place from one religion to another, and a person changing his religion does not thereby lose his racial background or his cultural and linguistic inheritance."[39]

The statement is almost ridiculous, as the whole history of the growth of Muslim community in India shows. It has already been sufficiently discussed in the preceding Volumes. Nehru had no real idea of the powers and potentialities of the Muslim League. He describes it as a "small upper-class organization controlled by feudal elements" and remarks that 'it had no influence on the [Moslem masses and was hardly known by them.'[41] Nehru here committed the same type of mistake as the Britishers did in respect of the Congress when they belittled its importance by describing it as the organization

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the English-educated classes, constituting a microscopic ority. When Congress leaders, including Gandhi and ehru, boasted that the Congress was the only political organi- ion that counted, one could only say that wish was often the ther of thought. For the fact remains that in 1945-46 when ehru expressed these views, the Muslims had long since come regard themselves not merely as a separate community but as a separate nation. Nehru simply ignored any such idea. Nehru seems to have lived in an ideal world of his own ation which had no relation to actual facts. His emphasis 1945-46 on 'national unity' and 'democracy' as the two funda- ental questions on which the Congress stood firm, and re- ence to the Congress as the "most democratic organization the world"[41a] were very ill-timed. There was no more even vestige of democracy left in the Congress since the accept- e of the resolution of Govind Vallabh Pant in the Tripuri ngress in March, 1939, making Gandhi, its dictator.[41b]

Similarly Nehru's emphasis on national unity ignores some nt facts; it was the Congress which in 1916 recognized the slims as a separate political entity with separate interests; was Gandhi who by his action in respect of Khilafat move- t endorsed the views of Muslim leaders that they were slims first and Indians afterwards, that their interests were e bound up with the fate of the Muslim World outside n than that of India herself. As mentioned above,[42] such iew is absolutely incompatible with Indian nationality, how- er it might be defined or described. To sacrifice collabora- with Muslim League in the name of ideals which did at all correspond with existing facts, was an extremely ise—almost fatal—step for which India had to pay very dly.

It appears that not only Nehru, but evidently other Con- s leaders also thought that the Muslim League had no great d over the country. Instead of conciliating the League they sidered it to be a safer and more feasible course to destroy the little influence it still possessed. This end was sought be achieved principally by bringing over the Muslim masses the Congress fold and winning over members of the slim League by offers of ministry. Little success attended

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the second effort. The number of ministers was after limited, and few had therefore any chance of swallowing bait and turning a renegade. As to the first, Jawaharlal Neh as the President of the Congress, announced on 31 Ma 1937, that a separate department would be started to orga Congress contacts with the Muslim masses of India. T activity was most noticeable in U. P. which was a stronghold the Muslim League. To the rural masses the Congress pealed somewhat on the following lines: "Congress non-communal, and under its auspices the religious rights of Moslems would be scrupulously protected. The real issue social and economic, and the Congress, not the landlords lawyers of the League, was the champion of the poor. Alre it was hard at work at its new agrarian reforms, and there more to come. They were intended for Moslem country as much as Hindu, but the former would be wise to sure of their full share in the blessings of the new regime joining the Congress party."[43]

The appeal to the upper classes was rather sordid character, and its terms were implicit rather than explicit effect, though not in actual words, it amounted to an insi propaganda of the following type: "Political power with the patronage and influence it implied was now exclusively Congress hands, and there it would remain. True to its pr ciples, the Congress would not deny a fair share of its appo ments from Minister's office downwards to the Moslem minori but it could not be expected to bestow them on any but Co gress Moslems. For a Moslem to stay in the League, there fore, was to condemn himself to a lifetime in the wilderne Let him make the other choice, and make it at once w the door was still open. If he were unwilling to become out and out Congressman, let him at least join one of t sectional Moslem parties, such as the Ahrars, which were feud with the League and willing to work with the Congress

Jinnah took up the challenge, and his brilliancy as a lea never shone forth higher. He completely turned the table the Congress by denouncing the anti-Muslim attitude of Congress. In his Presidential Address at the Lakhnau sess of the Muslim League, he said:

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"The present leadership of the Congress, specially during last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed the Govern- ent in six provinces where they are in a majority they have their words, deeds and programme shown more and more t the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at ir hands. Wherever they are in a minority and wherever suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim ague Parties and demanded unconditional surrender and ning of their pledges.

"The Congress with all its boasts has done nothing in the st for the Musalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans and other norities. Congress attempt under the guise of establishing ss contact with the Musalmans is calculated to divide and aken and break the Musalmans, and is an effort to detach m from their accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move, d it cannot mislead any one.

"The path before the Musalmans is, therefore, plain. They st realise that the time has come when they should concen- te and devote their energies to self-organisation and full velopment of their power to the exclusion of every other con- deration.

"Honourable settlement can only be achieved between uals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear ch other, there is no solid ground for any settlement.

"Only one thing can save the Musalmans and energise m to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture ir own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles ich form the basis of their great unity and which bind them one body-politic."[45]

Jinnah now frankly stood as the leader of the united Mus- m community and an arch-enemy of the Hindu Congress. But s clarion call to the Muslims went home and changed the slim political outlook almost overnight. He touched the rd of religious feelings of the Muslims which have always oved a potent factor in Muslim politics. "The *Mullahs* of e countryside were soon up in arms against the Congress pro-

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pagandists : ...it was blasphemy, they told their flocks, to that politics was a purely secular affair, and they reawake in them all their old suspicions of Hindu intentions towa their faith." The Congress mass contact movement, which made some headway, collapsed under the attack of the Mulla In order to counteract the effect of Jinnah's propaganda A.I.C.C. made a frantic appeal to the Muslim masses.[46] all these fell on deaf ears. Jinnah had played his trump by converting Indian politics into a struggle for power, even the very existence with honour, between the Muslim mi rity and the Hindu majority. As the Hindu majority ha stronghold in the Congress organization, bare logic and instinct of self-preservation demanded a similar citadel for defenders—and there could be hardly any other choice than Muslim League for this purpose. Thus Jinnah took advan of the Congress propaganda to put himself and his Mus League on a high pedestal in Muslim politics. The effect so clear that even he who ran could read it.

Immediately after Jinnah's Presidential Address referred above, the leaders of the Muslim parties in the Punjab, Be and Assam, who were outside the Muslim League, asked th members to join it. This did more than anything else to p new life into the League. Three successive bye-elections U. P. were all won by the League. All the while the Leag "was fighting the 'mass-contact' campaign on its own grou building up at last a rival organisation in the rural areas, hois ing its green flag over against the Congress tricolor in the vi lage street. Within two or three months after the Lakhnau Co ference over 170 new branches of the League had been esta lished, 90 of them in the United Provinces and 40 in the Pu jab. No less than 100,000 new members were said to hav been enlisted in the United Provinces alone."[47]

Thus at one stroke Jinnah became the leader of the Mus lims, and Muslim League became practically the only Musli organisation which could speak in the name of the Indi Muslims as a whole. The red wine of success intoxicated Jinn as much as it did the Congress leaders a year before. This best seen in the negotiations between Jinnah and the Congr leaders for a communal settlement.

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On May 2, 1937, Jinnah had himself appealed to Gandhi take up the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement. Negoions also took place between Jinnah and Rajendra Prasad. t things changed altogether in 1938. Apart from making w demands and new complaints against the Congress, Jinnah k up the position that the condition precedent to all negoions was a frank recognition of the Congress and the League the only representative body, respectively, of the Hindus d Muslims of India.

The Executive Committee of the All-India Muslim League sed a resolution to the effect that 'it is not possible for the -India Muslim League to treat and negotiate with the Conss the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the is that the Muslim League is the authoritative and represenive organization of the Musalmans of India.' But this was all. Jinnah made it clear in his letter to Subhas Bose, dated August, 1938, that the Committee appointed by the Congress discuss Hindu-Muslim questions should not include any Muslim. When Gandhi wanted to have Maulana Abul Kalam ad with him in his talks with Jinnah, the latter said 'no' to

It is easy to see that the Congress could not accept these mands without stultifying its whole history as a national orization of Indians of all faith and communities. The Conss demand in 1937 that the Muslims must liquidate the Mus- League if they wanted to share powers with the Congress s bad enough, but it was far worse to demand that the dian National Congress, with its proud records of more than f a century's service as a national organization, should voarily degrade itself into a communal Hindu Organization y to serve as a counterpart to the Muslim League.

Apart from this general question which barred the door formal negotiations, it was difficult for the Congress leaders get a clear idea of the further demands of Jinnah after his rteen points had been practically conceded by the British of the points which the Muslim League would have the Conss consider. Rajendra Prasad observes :

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made many attempts in the course conversations and long correspondence with Mr. Jinnah to

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ascertain the points which, the Muslim League considered, required discussion and settlement, but he failed....

"When the War broke out in September, 1939, another attempt was made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but without any effect."[49]

In the meanwhile the activities of the Muslim League were directed towards leading a regular campaign of vilification against the Congress Governments for many alleged offences against the Muslim community.

On 20 March, 1938, the Council of the Muslim League appointed a Committee presided over by the Raja of Pirpur to collect detailed information on the subject. The report of the Committee, dated 15 November, 1938, contained a long list of charges against the Congress. Similar reports were issued by other Muslim organizations, and soon after the Congress Ministries resigned, Fazlul Huq issued a pamphlet entitled *Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule*. The Congress Ministries gave effective reply to these charges, both in the form of press notes and statements made in the Legislatures. In October, 1939, Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Congress, "wrote to Jinnah to have the complaints investigated by an impartial authority and suggested the name of Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, for the purpose. Mr. Jinnah, however, refused to accept this suggestion.

"The Congress Prime Ministers, before their resignation, were asked by the Congress Parliamentary Board to invite the Governors of the Provinces to point out any policy or act of their Ministries which adversely affected minorities and particularly the Muslim minority. In not a single case was any Governor able to point out an instance."[50] Indeed, after retirement, Sir Harry Haig, the Governor of the United Provinces, wrote as follows at the end of 1939 :

"In dealing with communal issues the Ministers, in my judgment, normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair. Indeed, towards the end of their time they were being seriously criticised by the Hindu Mahasabha on the ground that they were not being fair to the Hindus, though there was in fact no justification for such a criticism."[51]

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad characterized as "absolute

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false" the charges levelled by Jinnah and the Muslim League against the Congress with regard to injustice to Muslims and other minorities.[51a]

In view of all this, the charge of atrocities to the Muslims, levelled against the Congress Ministries, must be dismissed and regarded as either false or unproved allegations.

But true or false, the allegations inflamed the passions of the Muslims to such an extent that the view was entertained by some that the whole thing was conceived as an ingenious propaganda to rally the Muslim masses round the League.

Apart from the charges of oppression and injustice against the Hindu Congress the idea was slowly gaining ground among the Muslims that their social and political order was so organically related to the religious ideal of Islam that "the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands." The high-priest of this new doctrine, Muhammad Iqbal, elaborated the idea in his Presidential Address at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League (December, 1930), and justified, on this ground, the "Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India." Iqbal gave a concrete illustration of what he meant in the following passage :

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."[52]

But the most important consequence of the doctrines preached by Iqbal was the gradual growth of the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims in India.[53] This idea took a definite shape in the mind of a young man, Rahmat Ali, educated in Cambridge, and he communicated it to the Muslim members of the Round Table Conference, assembled in London. But nobody took it seriously. The feelings which animated Rahmat Ali may be gathered from an account of his interview with Madame Halide Edib.[54] His conception was that the Punjab, N.W.F.P. (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan comprised the national home of the

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Muslims, called by him Pakistan by taking the initials of
first four and the last part of the fifth. This was not a
of India, for since 712 A.D. the Hindus were a minority
The Muslims lived there as a nation for 1200 years
they came to Hindustan only as conquerors. To him
Muslim clash was not due to religious or economic
it was an international conflict between two national
Muslim for survival and Hindu for supremacy. His basic
ry was that the Hindus and Muslims were fundamentally
tinct nations. This he supported by the following
"Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature,
system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage
mentally different from those of the Hindus. These
are not confined to the broad basic principles. They
to the minute details of our lives. We, Muslims and
do not interdine; we do not intermarry. Our national
and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different."

Having thus forestalled Jinnah's theory of two nations,
continued: "Therefore for us to seal our national doom
the interest of one Indian nationhood would be a
against our posterity, a betrayal of our history and a
against humanity for which there would be no salvation."

Although these ideas did not carry much weight at the
it must be admitted that all the subsequent arguments in
of Pakistan proceeded from the thesis of Rahmat Ali, and
not cover much new ground.

When the idea of an All-India Federation emerged out
the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, Rahmat
garded it as a tragedy for the Muslims who will be reduced
a minority community, belonging to the Hindu nation and
the supremacy of the Hindus. He lost no time and
the Pakistan National Movement in 1933, which, he said,
its propaganda centres all over Pakistan. A four-page
headed *Now or Never*, and signed by Rahmat Ali and
others, was privately circulated from Cambridge in
1933. They protested against the federal constitution
by the Round Table Conference, and repudiated the
the Indian Muslim Delegation to speak for their
They also admitted that the scheme of Pakistan

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...was radically different from that of Iqbal. "While he ...posed the amalgamation of these Provinces into a single State ...ming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these ...vinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There ...be no peace and tranquillity in this land if we, the Muslims, ...e duped into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot ...e the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own ...ds."

The Cambridge pamphlet attracted very little serious notice ...the time, for the scheme of Pakistan was hardly regarded a ...acticable proposal. When the delegates of the All-India Mus... ...Conference and the Muslim League appeared before the ...nt Select Committee in August, 1933, their spokesman was ...ked 'whether there is a scheme for a federation of Provinces ...der the name of Pakistan.' 'As far as I know,' was the reply, ...is only a student's scheme'. 'So far as we have considered ...' said another member of the delegation, 'we have considered ...chimerical and impracticable.'

Mr. C. Rahmat Ali, who claimed to be the 'founder of the ...kistan National Movement' and its President, circulated ano... ...er four-page leaflet in July 1935, and summed up the position ...a statement published in England in 1940. The old argu... ...nts were repeated, but a demand was made that Bengal and ...derabad should also be separated from India, and will be ...o additional independent 'nations' forming a triple alliance ...th Pakistan.

But though the project of one or more independent Muslim ...tes separated from India did not as yet make any appeal to ...y section of Muslims, the idea was gaining ground that the Mus... ...s constituted a seprate nation and therefore the unitary fede... ...l form of Government as contemplated by the Congress would ...t meet with the requirements of the Muslims. As regards an ...rnative to this as well as to Pakistan, several schemes were ...roposed.

But whatever the differences between the several plans of ...deration proposed, it became quite clear that the Muslims ...would resist by force any settlement of the political issue, im... ...posed upon them against their will, either by the Congress or ...by the British Government or even jointly by both. It was

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inevitable that the growth of such a feeling would promote the unity of Muslims all over India and make the Muslim League their central organization. The Prime Ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, and the leaders of the Muslim minorities in the Congress Provinces now rallied round the League and its paramount leader, Jinnah. There was hardly any doubt that Jinnah had become the most popular and powerful leader of the Muslims and he alone could speak with authority in the name of the Indian Muslims and deliver the goods.

The Muslim League now spoke in no uncertain voice and made the final choice of the most extreme proposal, namely, a separate State for the Muslims. The rapid gowth of this idea which was laughed at as chimerical by the Muslim leaders themselves, even seven years before, culminated in the following resolution passed by the Muslim League in March, 1940, at its Lahore session attended by about 100,000 members.

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign..."

The same session of the Muslim League authorised its Working Committee "to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."[54a] This was a definite demand for the partition of India on communal basis.

During this great metamorphosis of Muslim politics in India neither the Congress nor the Hindu public men outside it seem to have devoted to it the serious attention it deserved. They angrily opposed the idea of vivisection of India in any form, and took their stand on the twin ideas of Indian nationality and Indian unity—the ideas which were repudiated by the Muslims, almost

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one voice. The Congress consistently adhered to the one idea a Constituent Assembly, as the only remedy for all political cord and discontent. From this high pedestal the Hindu aders never came down to discuss, in detail, in a friendly spirit, en the more moderate suggestions of a loose federation. Gandhi ndemned the Lahore resolution in a long article in the *Harijan* d the Hindu press attacked it, in varying degrees of bitterness. t there was no constructive suggestion or attempt of a com-mise, concilation or even mutual understanding, till it was too e.

The Congress also continued the old policy of holding up the Muslims within its fold as a counterpoise to the Muslim ague. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was elected Prseident of Congress and an all-India Independent Muslim Conference s held in Delhi in April, 1940, a month after the memorable hore session of the Muslim League. Khan Bahadur Alla kish, an ex-Premier of Sindh, presided over the Conference but nd was its guiding spirit. The Conference denounced the idea a separate Muslim State in India and even repudiated the im of the Muslim League to represent the Muslims of India. t it was too late in the day. As mentioned above, the claim the Muslim League to represent the Muslims of India in 1940 as far superior to any that the Congress ever had to represent ia as a whole. The Delhi Conference was a very poor show contrast with the Muslim League session at Lahore. There re no doubt still a few disgruntled Muslim political organi-tions, here and there, outside the League but they had ceased play any important part in Muslim politics in which the slim League unquestionably played the dominant role.

4. The Congress (1938-39)

There was no session of the Congress in 1937, evidently be-use the Congress high command was busy with the problems cing the administration of which they had taken responsibility the Provinces. The problems indeed were almost baffling in aracter. The high hopes which popular government had raised re dashed to the ground. Thousands of detenus and convicts Indian jails and Andamans, the continuance of the repressive ws, the unredressed sufferings and miseries of the cultivators,

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and many things else were rude reminders that the regime of the British imperialism had not undergone any change. The spirit of frustration caused great stir, particularly among the long suffering *Kisans* (cultivators), who organized themselves in huge parties, and, unfurling the red flag of hammer and sickle, marched hundreds of miles through villages, uttering Communist slogans and creating new energy and enthusiasm. Though Gandhi had roused the mass spirit he could no longer control it, and "almost everywhere there were conflicts between Congressmen and *Kisans*." The organization of the peasants was mainly the work of the Communist Party in India,[55]

But more important was the reaction it produced upon the Congress itself. Socialism had already made its power felt in the Congress, but now it constituted a powerful left wing with a distinct leaning towards Communist leads. The younger section lost faith both in the non-violent programme which had made very slow progress and so far yielded only poor results, and in its leader Gandhi.

Gandhi occupied a very peculiar position. Since 1934 he not only held no office but had ceased to be even a primary member of the Congress; yet he attended the meetings of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. and took part in their discussions. It was well-known that the Congress leaders took no decision in vital matters without consulting him and, in general, it may be said that his will was in the last resort the will of the Congress. The author of the official history of the Congress expressed the bare truth when he said that Gandhi, "though not a member of the Congress, was still the power behind the throne." Nehru conveyed the same idea when he described Gandhi as the "permanent super-President of the Congress," and remarked that the "Congress at present meant Gandhiji."[56]

The fifty-first session of the Congress met at Vithal Nagar, Haripura (Gujarat), on 19 February, 1938. The unanimous election of Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Radical Party, as President of the Congress was a distinct pointer to the growing influence of the younger section whose socialist creed was not in tune with the orthodox Congress views of which Gandhi was the most typical representative.

As war-clouds were gathering on the western horizon, the

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ongress passed a long resolution explaining its attitude to the olitical situation in Europe and the impending World War. The ncluding para of this resolution read as follows:

"India can be no party to such an imperialist war, and will ot permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the terests of British Imperialism. Nor can India join any war ithout the express consent of her people. The Congress, there- re, entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India d large scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India a war, this will be resisted." As will be seen, this resolution d very grave consequences in near future.

The year 1938 saw the widening of the gulf between the two ges of the Congress Party. Subhas Bose offers the following planation of the breach between him and Gandhi:

"As Congress President, the writer did his best to stiffen the position of the Congress Party to any compromise with Britain d this caused annoyance in Gandhian circles who were then oking forward to an understanding with the British Govern- ent. Later in the year 1938, he launched the National Planning ommittee for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrializa- n and of national development. This caused further annoy- ce to Mahatma Gandhi who was opposed to industrialization. ter the Munich Pact, in September, 1938, the writer began an pen propaganda throughout India in order to prepare the Indian ople for a national struggle, which should synchronise with the ming war in Europe. This move, though popular among the ople in general, was resented by the Gandhiites who did not nt to be disturbed in their ministerial and parliamentary work d who were at that time opposed to any national struggle."[57]

Whatever may be the real cause, the breach between Bose d Gandhi was now very wide, though not visible to the public. e next session of the Congress was to be held at Tripuri in P. in March, 1939. The first problem was the election of the esident. Never since 1907 was there any serious conflict of ews regarding the choice of President. But there were sharp fferences of opinion in 1939. The names of Maulana Abul lam Azad, Subhas Chandra Bose and Pattabhi Sitaramayya

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were proposed. But the first having declined the honour, the next two alone remained in the field. Gandhi supported the candidature of Sitaramayya with the whole weight of his authority. This need not be set down to any question of personal like or dislike. For Gandhi's opposition to the election of Bose could be satisfactorily explained as due to difference in policy as explained by Bose himself. The policy advocated by the latter could not be reconciled with the views and policy of Gandhi. For example, under Bose's inspiration a resolution was passed in the District Conference at Jalpaiguri (Bengal) to the effect that six months' notice should be given to Britain and after that Mass Civil Disobedience should be embarked upon.[58] Gandhi's opposition to Bose may therefore be charitably interpreted as opposition to his militant programme rather than to any personal dislike of him. On the other hand, Bose had a volume of public opinion behind him and merely gave a lead to a strong section which endorsed his views. This was clearly indicated when in spite of the strong support of Gandhi, Sitaramayya lost the election and Subhas Bose won it by a majority of 95 votes.

So far there was nothing to which any objection could be taken. But the result of the election was followed by a series of events which tore off the democratic mask of the Congress and showed it in its true colour—a totalitarian body under the dictatorship of Gandhi.

The first was the 'historic statement' of Gandhi that the 'defeat of Subhas's rival was his own defeat.'[59] Coming as it did from one of Gandhi's status, it had ominous significance. According to the official history of the Congress, the statement of Gandhi "created consternation in the country", and its effect was seen in the 'crossing of the floor by an appreciable number of those who had voted for Subhas.' The situation was rendered complex by the continued illness of the President-elect and the fast undertaken by Gandhi at Rajkot as a protest against the breach of faith by its ruling chief.

Even before the Congress met, an indication of the coming storm was given by the "resignation tendered by thirteen members of the Working Committee, leaving Subhas Bose and his elder brother Sarat Bose alone on its personnel."[60] This was followed by a formal notice given to the President by Govind

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abh Pant and about 160 other members of the A.I.C.C. of
r intention to move a resolution, the operative part of which
d as follows :

"In view of the critical situation that may develop during the
ming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone
lead the Congress and the country to victory during such
is, the Committee regards it as imperative that the Congress
ecutive should command his implicit confidence and requests
President to nominate Working Committee in accordance
h the wishes of Gandhiji."

"The very competency of A. I. C. C. to consider such a
olution was questioned and the President gave his ruling that
resolution could not be discussed by the A. I. C. C. He,
wever, expressed readiness to have the matter considered by
Subjects Committee."[61]

The Tripuri session was held on March 10-12, 1939, and
2285 out of 3319 delegates attended the meeting. The
sident, Subhas Bose, was too ill to join the usual Presidential
cession (which provided a chariot drawn by 52 elephants to
y him).

Three important resolutions were adopted by the Congress.
e first was a reiteration of the Congress objective, namely,
ievement of independence, rejection of the Federal part of
Act of 1935, and a declaration to the following effect :

"The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve
dependence for the nation and to have a Constitution framed
a free India through a Constituent Assembly, elected by the
ple on the basis of the adult franchise and without any inter-
nce by a foreign authority. No other Constitutions or at-
pted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian
ple."

The Congress went out of its way in making a clear and
prehensive statement on foreign policy worded as follows :

"The Congress records its entire disapproval of British
eign policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Indian
eement and the recognition of rebel Spain. This policy has
n one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach
pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and
operation with governments which are avowed enemies of

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democracy and freedom. As a result of this policy, the world being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brute violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees.

"The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the Fascist powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both of these. In the opinion of the Congress it is urgently necessary for India to direct her own foreign policy as an independent nation, thereby keeping aloof from both Imperialism and Fascism, and pursue her path of peace and freedom."

When the Congress took up the resolution of Govind Vallabh Pant to which reference has been made above, a proposal was made to refer it to A.I.C.C. This was the signal for a great uproar and tumultuous scenes in the Congress pandal which reminded one of Surat more than thirty years ago. "Speaker after speaker attempted to make himself heard, paralysing all proceedings for well nigh an hour." The session had to be adjourned till next day when the visitors were refused admission in the morning and the delegates alone discussed the momentous issue. The proposal to refer the resolution to the A.I.C.C. was withdrawn and it was discussed and passed in the open session.[2] In reality: Gandhi a dictator *de jure*, and though he had long been so *de facto*, still the resolution made a very serious difference. Henceforth the Congress had not even any pretence of functioning as a democratic body; for Gandhi was officially installed in the position of its dictator. And this was done by the veteran leaders in the same session of the Congress in which they denounced the 'betrayal of democracy' in the West in a resolution quoted above. The last normal session of the Indian National Congress openly repudiating democracy, even as an ideal, in leaders by

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a precedent which was bound to have repercussion on Indian tics for many years to come.

It is pertinent in this connection to refer to the views of e eminent Congress leaders less than three years before. en in 1936 Jawaharlal Nehru's name was suggested for the sidentship of the Congress at Faizpur, he pointed out that he not fully subscribe to the official views of the Congress, dar Vallabhbhai Patel in withdrawing his own candidature in our of Nehru, made the following observation:

"The Congress President has no dictatorial powers. He is chairman of our well-built organisation. He regulates the ceedings and carries out the decisions of the Congress as they be arrived at from time to time. The Congress does not with its ample powers by electing any individual—no matter he is."[63] The concession made in favour of Nehru, in spite his wellknown personal views, was denied to Subhas Bose, and the Working Committee and Gandhi treated him most un-conionously—not to put it more bluntly.

In accordance with the instructions of the Congress, President e carried on correspondence with Gandhi about the personnel the Working Committee, but the latter refused to suggest any . Thereupon Bose resigned at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. on April 29, and next day Rajendra Prasad was elected ident in his place. On May 1 Rajendra Prasad re-appointed 12 members of the Working Committee who had resigned Boses election. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarat Bose declined rve on the Committee.

Subhas Bose now organized a new Party known as the ward Bloc. He himself thus describes the genesis of the y:

"In March, 1939, at the annual session of the Congress, the r who presided made a clear proposal that the Indian onal Congress should immediately send an ultimatum to the ish Government demanding Independence within six months should simultaneously prepare for a national struggle. This posal was opposed by the Gandhi Wing and by Nehru and thrown out. Thus a situation arose in which though the r was the President of the Congress, his lead was not accept-by that body. Moreover, it was seen that on every conceiv-

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able occasion, the Gandhi Wing was opposing the President with a view to making it impossible for him to function. A comp deadlock within the Congress was the result. There were ways of removing this deadlock—either the Gandhi Wing sh give up its obstructionist policy or the President should su to the Gandhi Wing. With a view to finding a possible com mise direct negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and writer took place but they proved to be abortive.

"The Gandhi Wing was determined neither to accep lead of the writer, nor to allow him to control the machine the Congress, and it would tolerate him only as a puppet P dent. The Gandhi Wing had, moreover, this tactical adva that it was the only organised party within the Congress, a under a centralised leadership. The Left Wing or radical ments in the Congress who were responsible for the writer's election as President in January, 1939, were numerically majority—but they were at a disadvantage, because they were organised under one leadership, as the Gandhi Wing was. T was, till then, no party or group commanding the confidenc the entire Left Wing. Though at that time the Congress Soci Party was the most important party in the Left Wing, its ence was limited. Moreover, when the fight between the G Wing and the writer began, even the Congress Socialist P began to vacillate. Thus, in the absence of an organised disciplined Left Wing, it was impossible for the writer to f the Gandhi Wing. Consequently, India's primary political in 1939 was an organised and disciplined Left Wing Part the Congress.

"The negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the wr revealed that on the one side, the Gandhi Wing would not fo the lead of the writer and that, on the other, the writer would agree to be a puppet President. There was, consequently, alternative but to resign the Presidentship. This the wr did on the 29th April, 1939, and he immediately proceeded form a radical and progressive party within the Congress, a view to rallying the entire Left Wing under one banner. Party was called the Forward Bloc. The first President of Bloc was the writer and the Vice-President (now acting Presid was Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer of Punjab."[64] The

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gramme of the new party included *Satyagraha* in Bengal even on major questions like Agrarian Relief. This was at variance with the policy of the Congress which had been running the administration in eight Provinces under the British rule. The A.I.C.C. accordingly passed a resolution toward the end of June, 1939, that "any movement of *Satyagraha* for any purpose should be run under the direction, control, and superintendence of the Provincial Congress Committee." The A.I.C.C. also laid down that "in administrative matters, the P.C.C. should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry, but it is always open to the Executive of the P.C.C. to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty. "In matters of policy," the resolution said, "if there is a difference between the ministry and the P. C. C., reference should be made to the Parliamentary Board. Public discussion should be avoided."[65]

The dissident group led by Subhas Bose did not approve of these resolutions. They organized public meetings to condemn them, and 9 July was fixed for an all-India day of protest against them. Many public meetings were held in Bengal, U. P., and C. P., and a large number of prominent members of the Provincial Congress Committee attended some of these meetings. This was regarded as a breach of Congress discipline and the President asked Bose for an explanation of his conduct.

The spirited reply of Subhas Bose was couched in moderate language, and as the last flicker of the lamp of democracy in the Congress camp, may be quoted in full:

"I am exceedingly sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of the 18th July, from Ranchi. You have asked me for an explanation of my action in protesting against certain resolutions of the All India Congress Committee passed at Bombay.

"In the first place, one has to distinguish between protesting against a certain resolution and actually defying it or violating it. What has so far happened is that I have only protested against two resolutions of the A.I.C.C.

"It is my constitutional right to give expression to my opinion regarding any resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. You will perhaps admit that it is customary with a large number of Congressmen to express their views on resolutions passed by the A.I.C.C. when a particular session of that body comes to a

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close. If you grant Congressmen the right to express their views on resolutions passed by the A.I.C.C. you cannot draw a line and say that only favourable opinions will be allowed expression and unfavourable opinions will be banned. If we have the constitutional right to express our views, then it does not matter if those views are favourable or unfavourable. Your letter seems to suggest that only expression of unfavourable views is to be banned.

"We have so long been fighting the British Government among other things for our Civil Liberty. Civil Liberty, I take it, includes freedom of speech. According to your point of view we are not to claim freedom of speech when we do not see eye to eye with the majority in the A.I.C.C. or in the Congress. It would be a strange situation if we are to have the right of freedom of speech against the British Government, but not against the Congress or any body subordinate to it. If we are denied the right to adversely criticise resolutions of the A.I.C.C. which in our view are harmful to the country's cause, then it would amount to denial of a democratic right. May I ask you in all seriousness if democratic rights are to be exercised only outside the Congress but not inside it?

"I hope you will agree that when a resolution is once passed by the A.I.C.C. it is open to us to have it reviewed or amended or altered or rescinded at a subsequent meeting of the body. I hope you will also agree that it is open to us to appeal against the A.I.C.C. to the higher court of appeal, namely, the open session of the Congress. You will agree further, I hope, that it is open to a minority to carry on a propaganda with a view to converting the majority to its point of view. Now how can we do this except by appealing to Congressmen through public meetings and through writings in the Press? The Congress to-day is not an organisation of a handful of men. Its membership has, I believe, reached the neighbourhood of 45 lakhs. We can hope to appeal to the rank and file of the Congress and to convert them to our point of view only if we are allowed to write to the press and also to hold meetings. If you maintain that once a resolution is passed in the A.I.C.C. it is sacrosanct and must hold good for ever, then you may have some justification for banning criticism of it. But if you grant

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the right to review or amend or alter or rescind a particular solution of the A.I.C.C. either through that body or through open session of the Congress, then I do not see how you can g criticism, as you have been trying to do.

"I am afraid you are giving an interpretation to the word iscipline' which I cannot accept. I consider myself to be a em disciplinarian and I am afraid that in the name of dis-pline you are trying to check healthy criticism. Discipline does t mean denying a person his constitutional and democratic ght.

"Apart from the fact that it is our constitutional and demo-ratic right to protest against resolutions which in our view are rmful to the country's cause, a consideration of the merits of e two resolutions, if given effect to, will serve to accentuate e drift towards constitutionalism, to increase the influence, wer and authority of the Provincial Ministries at the cost of e Congress organisations, to isolate artificially the Congress om the general public as also the A.I.C.C. from the rank and e of the Congress. Moreover, they will serve to undermine the volutionary spirit of the Congress. Consequently in the best erests of the country these two resolutions should be imme-iately held in abeyance and ultimately altered suitably or with-awn.

"In this connection I cannot help drawing your attention to rtain incidents at the time of the Gaya Congress in 1922 and ter. Please do not forget what the Swaraj Party did in those ys. Please do not forget either that when the A.I.C.C. nended the resolution of the Gaya Congress, the Gujarat P.C.C. solved to defy it.

"Lastly, please do not forget that Mahatma Gandhi wrote the *Young India*, if my recollection is correct, that the minority s the right to rebel. We have not gone so far yet as to ually rebel against the decision of the majority. We have mply taken the liberty of criticising certain resolutions passed the majority in the teeth of our opposition.

"I am really surprised that you have made so much of what e regard as our inherent right. I hope you will accept my planation as satisfactory. But if you do not do so and if you decide to resort to disciplinary action, I shall gladly face it for

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the sake of what I regard as a just cause. In conclusion, I beg to request that if any Congressman is penalised in connection with the events of the 9th July, then you will also take action against me. If the observance of an all-India day of the 9th July is a crime then I confess, I am the arch-criminal."[66]

Bose's letter gives an admirable enunciation of the true democratic principle, to which it is difficult to advance any theoretical objection. The Working Committee, however, disregarded the explanation as unsatisfactory. It took the view that it was Bose's duty to obey implicitly the instructions of the President, though it was open to him, if he felt aggrieved, to appeal to the Working Committee or A.I.C.C. The Working Committee also "combated Subhas Babu's contention that every member was free to interpret the Congress Constitution as he liked, as there would be perfect anarchy in the Congress in that case and it must break to pieces in no time."[67] It is as difficult to agree with the first part as to understand the meaning of the second. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution by which Subhas Bose, twice elected as President of the Congress, "was declared disqualified as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and to be a member of any elective Congress Committee for 3 years as from August, 1939."[68]

This momentous decision, with far-reaching consequences, was really inspired by more deep-seated causes. Subhas Bose has given his own version of it in his autobiography from which a few extracts are quoted :

"Long before 1939, the writer had been convinced that an international crisis in the form of a war would break out in the near future and that India should make the fullest use of that crisis in order to win her freedom. Since the Munich Pact—that is, since September, 1938—he had been trying to bring the Indian public round to this point of view and he had been endeavouring to induce the Congress to shape its own policy in conformity with the march of events abroad. In this task, he had been obstructed by the Gandhi Wing at every step—because the latter had no comprehension of coming international developments and was looking forward eagerly to a compromise with Britain without the necessity of a national struggle. Nevertheless, the writer knew that within the Congress and among the

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people in general, he had a very large measure of support and that all that he needed was an organised and disciplined Party behind him. ...

"Since September, 1938, Mahatma Gandhi had consistently argued that a national struggle was out of the question in the near future, while others, like the writer who were not less patriotic than him, were equally convinced that the country was internally more ripe for a revolution than ever before and that the coming international crisis would give India an opportunity for achieving her emancipation, which is rare in human history. When all other attempts to influence Gandhi failed, the only way left was to organise the Forward Bloc and proceed to win over the mass of the people and thereby put indirect pressure on the Mahatma. This method ultimately proved to be effective."[69]

The last sentence refers to the change in the attitude of Gandhi towards Britain after the outbreak of the Second World War to which reference will be made later.

Bose continues: "The writer still remembers clearly the long and interesting discussion which he had with Nehru in Calcutta, in April, 1939, when he announced his desire to resign the Presidentship of the Congress and organise a new party. Nehru argued that such a step would create a split within the Congress and would thereby weaken the national organisation at a critical moment. The writer urged, on the contrary, that one should distinguish between the unity which led to more effective action and the unity which resulted in inaction. Unity could be preserved superficially in the Congress only by surrendering to the Gandhi Wing—but since the Gandhi Wing was opposed to the idea of a national struggle, such unity, if maintained, would serve to stultify all dynamic activity on the part of the Congress in future. If, on the contrary, a party with a dynamic programme was organised within the Congress now, that party might one day move the Gandhi Wing and the entire Congress to militant action. Moveover, more critical times were ahead and a war was bound to break out in the near future. If one wanted to act in such international crisis, then there should be a party ready to seize that opportunity. If the Gandhi Wing was unwilling to play that role, another party should be formed

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at once—when there was still time to organise such party. If that task was neglected or postponed, it could not be done later when the international crisis actually overtook India. And without a well-organised party ready to utilize the coming international crisis for winning freedom, India would once again repeat her mistake of 1941. This discussion did not, however, convince Nehru and he continued to support the Gandhi Wing. But the more he did so, the more was he isolated from the Left Wing.

The statement of Bose makes it quite clear that the difference between his views and those of Gandhi and Nehru lay in the method of carryring on further struggle with Britain for the freedom of India. Bose was in favour of a national struggle, taking full advantage of the inevitable global war in which Britain would be involved, and he wanted to take immediate steps to prepare the country for such a struggle in anticipation of the World War. Gandhi and Nehru demurred to this proposal. The difference between Bose and Gandhi was thus a fundamental one, and this explains the parts played by them when the long-apprehended war actually broke out in 1939.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND INDIAN POLITICS

I. THE LEADING EVENTS OF THE WAR (1939-45).

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to describe the course of events that led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Germany was chafing at the humiliating terms imposed upon her by the Allies in 1919, and her spirit of revenge and hope of revival were symbolized by the meteoric rise of Hitler, the leader of the Nazis, a political party of recent origin. From a common corporal he rose to be the absolute dictator of Germany, backed by an irresistible war machine, the like of which Europe had never known before. England and Poland entered into defensive alliance to meet the challenge of Nazi Germany and Facist Italy (under Mussolini), which were brought together by the common ideology of Government by Dictators and common grievaces against England and France. Hitler strengthened his power by bringing Austria and Czechoslovakia under his sway, and then turned his attention to the recovery of German territories which were given to Poland by the Peace Treaty of 1919. For this purpose he signed in August, 1939, a non-aggression pact with Russia which also coveted territories she had lost to Poland. The dispute arose over the Polish corridor—a slice of territory in Germany given to Poland for direct access to the sea—and as negotiations failed, German forces invaded Poland on 1 September, 1939. Two days later England and France declared war against Germany. Polish resistance collapsed in three weeks and then Hitler turned towards the West. In quick succession he overran Norway and Denmark, in April, 1940; Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg in May, 1940; and the Channel portrs being threatened, the British Expeditionary Force made the famous evacuation from Dunkirk (May 28 to June 3, 1940). Then came the turn of France. The battle

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began on 5 June, 1940, and by the end of that month the whole of France was at the feet of Hitler. Though Britain was saved the horrors of a direct invasion, she suffered a great deal from air-bombing.

Both sides gained new allies. First Italy (11 June, 1940) and then Japan (7 December, 1941) joined Germany and formed the 'Axis' against France and Britain, the 'Allies'. On the other hand, the U.S.A. which had been actively helping the 'Allies' with men and arms since March, 1941, declared war against the 'Axis' Powers in December, 1941, as a result of Japan's action. The Italian invasion of Somaliland carried the war to North Africa while Germany invaded Greece, Yugoslavia and Crete. Everywhere the Axis Powers gained initial success. But Russia was growing nervous at the astounding success of Germany, and the alliance between these two showed visible signs of cracking. Hitler never trusted Russia and suddenly invaded the country (22 June, 1941), presumably in order to finish a potential enemy at the back before the United States could materially strengthen the Allied forces in the West. German forces advanced far into Russia and threatened Leningrad and Moscow. A grim and stubborn fight went on for days in the streets of Stalingrad (August, 1942). But Russia, though yielding ground, firmly held out at Stalingrad. Then the tide of war turned against Germany and the arrival of U.S.A. forces sealed her fate.

Japan, like Germany, began with astounding success. She practically declared war by destroying the U. S. A. fleet at Pearl Harbour in the Pacific by a sudden attack on 7 December, 1941, and then overran Malaya, captured Singapore (15 February, 1942), invaded the Philippines and New Guinea, captured Hong Kong, conquered Thailand, and invaded Burma, Rangoon fell on 7 March, 1942, and Japan advanced towards the frontier of India. During the night on 6 April, 1942, the Japanese navy "sank all shipping between Madras and Calcutta and in the harbours thereof, estimated at 100,000 tons."[1] As will be related later, she crossed the frontier, but was forced to retreat, and was ultimately compelled to surrender on 15 August, 1945. This was mainly due to the use of Atomic Bombs by U.S.A. which completely devastated two of her cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August, 1945). In the west, Italy and Germany were overrun

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the Allies and the War was brought to an end by the uncondi-nal surrender of Germany on 7 May, 1945.

II. THE CONGRESS REACTION TO THE WAR.

The declaration of war by Britain against Germany auto-atically made India a belligerent, as in 1914. But the situation as differet in 1939, for the popular Ministries were then in arge of Provincial Governments. Yet, to begin with, there as a considerable amount of sympathy and support for Britain. he non-Congress Ministries of the Punjab, Bengal and Sindh edged their full support to Britain, and their action was upheld the legislatures. The Indian States, of course, were solidly hind the Government. Among the political parties, the ational Liberal Federation and Hindu Mahasabha offered un-nditional support to the Government, while the Congress re-sed to co-operate with it in any way. Between these two ex-mes stood the Muslim League. While its High Command d not offer to support Britain, it had done nothing to prevent e Ministries of Bengal and the Panjab from doing so.

Though the Congress did not issue any statement of policy, Gandhi and Nehru expressed deep sympathy for Britain in her urs of trial. Gandhi wrote: "I am not just now thinking of dia's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if ngland and France fall, or if they come out victorious over rmany ruined and humbled?".[1a]

Nehru went a step further and made it quite clear that in s view India should offer not only sympathy but unconditional pport to Britain. On 8 September, after a hurried return from ina, Nehru declared: "We do not approach the problem with view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties. ...In a con-ct between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism d aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie the side of democracy. . . .I should like India to play her full rt and throw all her resources into the struggle for a new der."[2] This is all the more strange because the Congress ssed resolutoins at Haripura (February, 1938) and Tripuri March, 1939), declaring British foreign policy as one of delibe-ate betrayal of democracy, and refusing to permit the man-power and resources of India to be exploited in the interests of

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British imperialism.[2a] But there was one leader, Subhas Bo who stood up boldly in defence of the Congress policy. His par the Forward Bloc, which was by now an All-India organizati commenced counter-propaganda on a large scale. "As again the Gandhi Wing, the Forward Bloc took the line that the Co gress had since 1927 repeatedly declared that India should co-operate in Britain's war and that the Congress should n put that policy into practice. The members of the Forward Bl also declared openly that they did not want Britain to win t war because only after the defeat and break-up of the Briti Empire could India hope to be free." Apart from the genera propaganda carried on by the Forward Bloc, Subhas Bose "ma a lecture tour throughout the country, in the course of wh he must have addressed about a thousand meetings in the cour of ten months."[3]

Bose's bold stand had great influence over the Congres The Working Committee refused to be led by the emotiona approach of Gandhi and Nehru, and the latter fell in with th views. The lengthy resolution adopted by the Committee on 1 September, 1939, took the gravrest view of the Viceroy's pro clamation of war without the consent of the Indian people, pro tested against the exploitation of Indian resources for imperi alist ends, and openly declared that 'India cannot associate her self with a War said to be for democratic freedom, when th very freedom is denied to her.' "The Working Committee", continued the resolution, "therefore invites the British Govern ment to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism, and the new order that is envisaged, in particular how those aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present."[4] The A.I.C.C endorsed this view on 10 October and demanded that "India must be declared an independent nation and present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent."[5]

The Muslim League passed a resolution on 18 September, 1939, promising support on condition that no constitutional advance in India should be made without the approval of the Muslim League "which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India."[6]

The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, issued a statement on 17

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ember, 1939. He reiterated that Dominion Status was the goal British policy, but pointed out that for the present the Act of 35 held the field. The only hope he held out was that at the d of the war it would be open to modification in the light of dian views, full weight being given to the opinions and interests the minorities. In order to associate Indian public opinion with e prosecution of the war he proposed "the establishment of a nsultative group, representative of all major political parties British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the overnor-General would himself preside."[7]

The Congress Working Committee regarded the Viceroy's tement as "an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialist licy" and therefore declared itself unable to give any support Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the perialist policy, which it has always sought to end. *As a first ep in this direction* the Committee called upon the Congress inisters to resign.[8] All the Congres Ministries accordingly re-gned between 27 October and 15 November, 1939.

Both the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, and the iceroy tried to win over the Congress leaders by granting more wers to Indians in the administration. But the Congress clined to consider any steps to further co-operation" unless e British Government clearly declared its policy in favour of dian independence, and demanded the appointment of a Consti-ent Assembly. Further futile negoriations followed on the sis of Sir Samuel Hoare's suggestion, on 26 October, to include re Indians in the Governor-General's Executive Council.

Jinnah definitely rejected the idea of any Constituent sembly as it would be dominated by the Congress. The iceroy felt relieved by the resignation of Congress Ministries, r they controlled eight out of the eleven Provinces and so had wer to impair the war-efforts of the Government. As the ght Provinces were now being ruled by the Governors, there as no longer any need to placate the Congress, and the Viceroy nvassed the support of the Muslim League. This considerably engthened the position of the League and it was joined by the averers among the Muslims. In March, 1940, the Muslim League, at its Lahore Session, made a formal demand for a sepa-ate independent State.

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III. RESUMPTION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Subhas Bose observed: "It was generally expected after the Congress Ministers resigned office, the campaign passive resistance would begin. But this expectation was fulfilled. Many people are of opinion that British intrigue responsible for this. The British Government sent out to some British Liberals and Democrats in order to influ Congress leaders. For instance, in October, 1939, the known writer, Mr. Edward Thompson, visited India and he followed by Sir Stafford Cripps who came in December."[9] Bose and his Forward Bloc, however, did not sit idle all while. "Besides carrying on a continuous propaganda co-operation in the war and in favour of commencing a nati struggle for independence, the Forward Bloc organised peri demonstrations for focussing public attention on these is For instance, in October, 1939, an Anti-Imperialist Confer was held at Nagpur which was a great success...And at the e of six months, the Bloc's propaganda culminated in a h demonstration at Ramgarh in March, 1940, where the ann session of the Congress was being held at the time. The demo stration was called the All-India Anti-Compromise Confere It was convened by the Forward Bloc and the Kisan Sab (Peasants' Organisation) and it was a greater success than the Congress meeting at Ramgarh which was presided over by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad."[10]

The Congress reiterated its objective in even clearer and stronger terms in the Ramgarh session in March, 1940. The resolution adopted by it declared that "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India," and they "alone can properly shape their own constitution." The resolution also held out the threat of resorting to Civil Disobedience but no positive war-policy was laid down and no definite line of action was determined. On the other hand, the Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh decided to immediately launch a fight over the issue of the war and of India's demand for independence. During the National Week in April (6th to 13th), 1940 the Forward Bloc commenced, all over the country, its campaign of civil disobedience. Prominent members of the Bloc were

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gradually removed to jail. Early in July Subhas Bose along with hundreds of his co-workers were put in prison. A few days before his arrest, in June, 1940, Bose had made a passionate appeal to Gandhi "to come forward and launch his campaign of passive resistance—since it was now clear that the British Empire would be overthrown and it was high time for India to play her part in the war. But the Mahatma was still non-committal and he repeated that, in his view, the country was not prepared for a fight and any attempt to precipitate it, would do more harm than good to India."[11]

On May 20, 1940, Pandit Nehru made an astounding statement in which he said : 'Launching a civil disobedience campaign at a time when Britain is engaged in life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour.' Similarly, the Mahatma said, "We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence."[12] It was the definite opinion of Subhas Bose that the Gandhi Wing was doing everything possible in order to arrive at a compromise with Britain.[13] There was probably a great deal of truth in his view. In any case a perceptible change was noticed in the attitude of this Wing when the war situation in Europe took a grave turn against the Allies and Hitler overran Western Europe (May-June, 1940). It was now in favour of co-operating in war-efforts if the British give reasonable guarantees to their demand for freedom. This led to a serious split in the Congress rank. Gandhi, true to his creed of non-violence, was against India's participation in war in any case. To him "the issue was one of pacifism, and not of India's freedom."[14] To a majority of his colleagues, however, non-violence was not a creed but a policy, and Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress, echoed the sentiments of most of them when he declared openly "that the Indian National Congress was not a pacifist organization but one for achieving India's freedom," and that the Indians had the "right to take to the sword if they had no other alternative."[15]

The Working Committee which met at Wardha on 17-20 August, 1940, was definitely opposed to the view of Gandhi. "Mahatma Gandhi," a resolution ran, 'at this critical phase in the history of man,' desires the Congress to be true to the creed of non-violence and to declare its unwillingness 'that India should

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maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.' The Committee 'are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji; but they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue', namely, the 'parallel organisation of self-defence and the maintenance of public security throughout the country by Congressmen on their own account." There were other causes of differences between the Working Committee and Gandhi. Gandhi was opposed to the restoration of ministerial Government in the Congress Provinces and the entry of Congressmen into the Central Council. The Working Committee did not accept this view, and expressed their willingness to ask Congressmen to accept the Ministry on certain conditions. Meeting again in Delhi from July 3 to 7, they renewed their demand for an immediate and unequivocal declaration of the 'full independence of India', and proposed that 'as an immediate step to giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre which, though formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in the Provinces." "The Working Committee", so the resolution ran, "are of opinion, that unless the aforesaid declaration is made and a National Government accordingly formed at the Centre without delay, all efforts at organising the material and moral resources of the country for defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will therefore be ineffective. The Working Committee declare that, if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw its full weight into the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country."[16] The resolutions were duly adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Poona on 27-28 July.[17]

But to differ from Gandhi was a novel thing in Congress politics. So within a month several members recanted, and a group headed by Rajendra Prasad told the President that if the British Government accepted the terms of the Congress and India's participation in the war became a live issue, they would have no option but to resign. As there was no likelihood

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ch a contingency, no seriousness was attached to the threat of signation.[18]

In the meantime Gandhi's childlike simplicity and deep-ted faith in the creed of non-violence led him to devote his ught and energy to the single issue that counted in his eyes, mely, to stop the carnage in Europe. On 22 July, 1939, he d written to Hitler making an humble appeal to him to desist m war.[19] He wrote two open letters to the British people pealing to them that they should not fight Hitler but oppose by spiritual force. When Gandhi interviewed the Viceroy d placed this suggestion before him, Lord Linlithgow was so th taken aback by this extraordinary suggestion that he even got to show the normal courtesy to Gandhi, and sat 'silent d bewildered'.[20]

Curiously enough, Gandhi's attitude towards the Muslims derwent a radical change about this time. In an article in *Harijan*, on 15 June, he candidly wrote: "The Congress ich professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated dependence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement h those who do not. ...The British Government would not for a common agreement if they recognised any one party be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be mitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present sition in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take very. It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must me to an agreement with all parties before we can make any gress."[21] One would rub one's eyes in wonder and ask in seriousness, "is it the same Gandhi who was unwilling to nd the Second session of the Round Table Conference without revious agreement with the Muslims, and constantly gave out no real progress was possible without a Hindu-Muslim reement"?[22] What a *volte-face* for Gandhi!

Gandhi proceeded even further. "The Muslim League", d he, "is frankly communal and wants to divide India into parts. ...Thus for the present purpose there are only two ties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress, d the parties who do not. Between the two there is no eeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its

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purpose."[23] Though at long last Gandhi, for once, got rid of the phantom which he had been pursuing since he entered Indian politics, here again his idealism got the better of realism. The last sentence, quoted above, may give expression to an excellent national ideal but was certainly not in conformity with facts which a statesman could ignore only at his peril.

Gandhi, who, to the outside world represented the Congress, threw a direct challenge to the Muslim League which Jinnah was not slow in taking up. Gandhi's article enabled him to convince the Muslims that as a separate nation they had no place in the totalitarian idea of the Congress which demanded their absolute surrender to the Congress. He now boldly emphasized the two-nation doctrine and demanded its logical fulfilment by the creation of Pakistan. In short, Gandhi's article only served to put Jinnah on a high pedestal and for all practical purposes he now occupied the same position among the Muslims as Gandhi himself did in the Congress Circle. Jinnah took advantage of his position and authority to demand from the Viceroy that in all war-time arrangements the Muslims must be treated on an equal footing with the Hindus, and that no constitutional changes, transitory or permanent, should be made without the previous approval of 'Muslim India'.

By way of response to the Congress offer of co-operation the Viceroy issued a new statement on 8 August, 1940. After reiterating the October statement about Dominion Status it proposed an immediate expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the establishment of a War Advisory Council. It conceded the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame the Indian constitution, though it was to meet after the war was over. At the same time it accepted Jinnah's demand by saying that the British would not accept any system of Indian Government "whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life."[24]

The "August Offer", however, failed to satisfy either the Congress or the Muslim League. The former justly regarded the guarantee to minority as practically placing in the hands of Jinnah a power to veto all constitutional progress. The latter was definitely opposed to any Constituent Assembly in which the Muslims were bound to be in a hopeless minority.

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matter of fact, as things then stood, the two concessions practically cancelled each other.

The British Government missed the last chance of winning over the Congress to war-efforts—when the majority of the Working Committee even threw Gandhi overboard and extended a helping hand.[25] As Azad pointed out, there was no common ground between the Congress demand for independence and the Viceroy's offer of an enlarged Executive Council. "The whole conception of Dominion Status for India", said Jawaharlal Nehru, was as dead as a doornail"[26]. The Congress Working Committee rejected the offer and declared that the Working Committee's resolution at Delhi, confirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Poona, no longer applied. The Muslim League neither accepted nor rejected it, but its full co-operation as a party in the conduct of the war was made conditional on the Viceroy's acceptance of the fifty-fifty principle.

While the Congress was negotiating with the Government, the Civil Disobedience campaign launched by the Forward Bloc of Bose continued with increasing vigour and many among the rank and file of the Congress, specially the volunteers, joined the campaign. This, as well as the rebuff to the Congress offers of co-operation, undoubtedly lowered the prestige of the Congress. To retrieve the position the Congress felt it necessary to start the Civil Disobedience campaign as contemplated in the Ramgarh resolution. This, according to the majority of the Congress leaders, could only be carried on under the leadership of Gandhi. And Gandhi once more regained his supremacy in the Congress. But, as was his wont, he side-tracked the main issue. The left wing "of the Congress, backed by more revolutionary elements outside the party, wanted the Civil Disobedience movement to be organized on the largest possible scale in the hope that it might develop into something like a national revolt. But Gandhi would have none of it."[27] He did not make the independence of India the main issue or even a side issue. "India will become independent", said he, "only if she can hold her own when the British go out." So the immediate issue, declared Gandhi, was not 'freedom of India', but 'freedom of speech,' by which he meant 'the right to state freely what we feel about the war.' Elucidating this point still further he said: "I claim the

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liberty of going through the streets of Bombay and saying that I shall have nothing to do with this war, because I do not believe in this war and in the fratricide that is going on in Europe"; but the latter refused to allow Gandhi and his men "to call upon the people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war-effort". So Gandhi began the campaign on 17 October, 1940, by selecting one individual at a time to go out in the street shouting anti-war slogans, and get arrested. On 1 November the individual *Satyagraha* was replaced by what Gandhi called representative *Satyagraha*. The *Satyagrahis* were selected from groups such as the members of the Working Committee, the A.I.C.C., the Central and Provincial legislatures and eminent Congress politicians, including most of the former Ministers. They appeared in the streets, uttered the slogan, and were arrested and sent to prison mostly for twelve months. Among the imprisoned *Satyagrahis* numbering about 600 were Abul Kalam Azad and Rajagopalachari.

On 17 December, Gandhi suspended the Campaign. It had created little interest and less excitement among the masses.

On 5 January, 1941, the Campaign was resumed. Lists of *Satyagrahis* were prepared by local Congress Committees and about 2,250 were convicted by the end of the month. Then in April ordinary 'four anna' members of the Congress were enrolled. Immediately there was a sharp rise in the number of *Satyagrahis*. More than 20,000 were convicted.

The futility of such a campaign was recognized by many people, and even Congressmen who had suffered imprisonment for it joined with them in an appeal to call off the movement. But Gandhi would never withdraw it, nor convert it into a mass movement as a large section desired, for he feared that the mass action during the war would embarrass the Government.

The political situation arising from Gandhi's activity—or rather inactivity—has been described by Subhas Bose as follows:

"During the year 1941, the Civil Disobedience Movement continued—but without much enthusiasm on the part of Gandhi and his followers. The Mahatma had calculated that by following a mild policy, he would ultimately open the door towards a compromise—but in this, he was disappointed. His good-

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was mistaken for weakness and the British Government went on exploiting India for war-purposes to the best of its ability. The Government also exploited to the fullest extent such agents as the erstwhile Communist leader, M. N. Roy, who were prepared to sell themselves to Britain." 'When towards the end of 1941, war clouds appeared in the Far Eastern horizon, the British set free the Congress leaders belonging to the Gandhi Wing, but put in prison those belonging to the Left Wing.' The Government probably thought that by this dual policy of arresting Leftists and releasing the Gandhiites, it would come to a settlement with the Congress.

"The desire of the Briitsh Government for a compromise with the Congress was reciprocated by the Gandhi Wing. The Congress Working Committee, meeting at Wardha on the 16th January, 1942, passed a resolution offering co-operation in the war-effort once again. Soon after—that is, in February, 1942 —at the instance of the British Government, Marshal Chiang Kai Shek visited India with a view to inducing the Congress leaders to come to an understanding with the British Government. A month later—in March, 1942,—an American Technical Mission, some American diplomats and journalists and several American military units arrived in India."[28]

Even making due allowance for the fact that Bose was the leader of a rival group, holding very different views, his survey of the situation appears to be a fairly accurate one.

IV. BRITISH POLICY (1940-41).

The 'August Offer' seems to have been the pivot round which the British policy revolved for more than a year. Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, took pains to expound its underlying principles in a number of speeches. In two respects he struck a fresh note. He asserted that the 'political unity of India,' Britain's greatest gift to her, must not be destroyed. Secondly, he made an appeal to the young idealists, intellectuals, practical men of affairs, and public spirited men of all communities, *outside the two recalcitrant major parties*, to get together and devise the principles of a future constitution suitable to the peculiar condition of India—a constitution that need

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not necessarily be of English type but of Swis or American model for example.[29]

Amery was assailed from all quarters in India, though, as usual, for different reasons. But there was one common factor. There was a general disbelief among Indians regarding the British promises, and they naturaly argued that if India was really to be granted full self-government after the war, surely, she could be trusted at once with more than a few extra seats on the Executive Council. Even this reform was long delayed. The Viceroy had to carry on prolonged negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and other leaders for several months, and it was not till July 22, 1941, that the composition of the new Council was announced. Although eight out of the thirteen members were Indians, they were neither responsible to the Legislature nor to any political party. The old belief therefore "persisted in nationalist minds that the function of the Council was to register the opinions of the Viceroy, and the function of the Viceroy to do what he was told by Whitehall."[31] The Defence Council, which was established at the same time, being merely an advisory body, did not make any impression on the Indians. There was therefore hardly any thing tangible which could convince the Indians of the bonafide of the British offers and promises to give a real Dominion Status to the Indians. All this distrust and suspicion were converted into a definite belief in the insincerity and double-dealing of the British by an unfortunate speech of Churchill.

The 'Atlantic Charter', issued jointly in August, 1941, by U.K. and U.S.A. as a statement of their war policy, declared, among other things, that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." This clause was heartily welcomed by all sections of Indians. But Churchill hastened to dispel all hope and enthusiasm by announcing (9 September, 1941) in the House of Commons that the 'Atlantic Charter' had no application to India though, in his opinion, it was in full accord with British policy in India, as embodied in August Offer.'[32] If it were so, one might well ask, then why this disclaimer that India was not covered by the Atalantic Charter ?

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If Britain had made a deliberate resolve to antagonize all sections of public opinion in India, she could not devise anything more suited to the purpose than this speech of Churchill. The large majority of Indians merely found in it a formal corroboration of what they had all along believed, namely, that the British never meant to make any real concession to India. British dishonesty, said Congressmen, had now been nakedly exposed. The Liberals, including Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, who was the greatest champion of unconditional aid to British war efforts, felt shocked. There were still a few who either could not or did not believe that the British Government had all along been playing a double game, bribing India to do her utmost to help in winning the war with a promise which they intended to repudiate as soon as the war was won. They now consoled themselves with the thought that they had put too favourable an interpretation on the words and promises made by the British rulers, who never, intended to grant the type of freedom which India had in view. But none the less they were thoroughly disappointed. The subsequent attitude of the Indians is to be viewed in the perspective of the situation created by Churchill's speech. Henceforth India would never trust or put any faith in the promise of perfidious Albion. Everything must be paid in cash, and no credit was to be allowed. This was the real cause of the failure of Cripps Mission to which we now turn.

V. THE JAPANESE MENACE AND ITS REACTION ON INDIAN POLITICS.

The war suddenly took an alarming turn, so far as India was concerned, by the entry of the Japanese into the war on the side of the Axis powers against Britain. The rapidity with which they captured Singapore, hitherto regarded as almost impregnable, overran Malaya and entered Burma raised their prestige as a military power and brought India within the vortex of the war. For it was quite clear that the Japaese intended to invade India from the east through Burma and Manipur. No doubt was left on this point by the propaganda through Radio that the Japanese were coming to deliver India from the yoke of the British. The Indians had too much knowledge of their

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own past history and of Japan's treatment of China to believe in Japanses propaganda. They were not, with probably a few exceptions, pro-Japanese. But they were not drawn closer to the British either. To the old causes of anti-British sentiment the Japanese invasion added more. In the first place they could not but feel that the present predicament was entirely due to the British, who dragged them into the war against their will. For, it was argued, the Japanese would never have invaded India if she were not a part of the British empire, and even then could remain neutral like Eire and not forced to become a belligerent. The Indians could not but feel that in their present state of dependence they were only destined to share the evils and sorrows of the British Empire and not its benefits and blessings. Secondly, in spite of the many shortcomings and evils of British rule the Indians balanced them against one inestimable advantage it had offered, namely security from foreign invasions. The fortunes of the war clearly indicated the hollowness of this claim in immediate, and possibly remote, future. Thirdly, the Japanese victories had considerably lowered the British prestige and destroyed the myth of their invincibility. Many had come also to believe that the days of the British Empire were numbered. Thus the impending threat of the Japanese invasion did not produce the effect of reconciling the Indians with the British. This was clearly reflected in the attitude of the different political parties.

Just before the Japaese had entered into the war, the Government of India had released, on 3 December, 1941, the *Satyagrahi* prisoners together with Azad and Nehru—probably the first fruits of the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Shortly after the Japanese entry into the war (7 December, 1941) the Viceroy made a public appeal for a united national front. But it fell on deaf ears. Events soon showed that the Japanese danger had not in any way favourably changed the attitude of the political parties towards British rule in India.

As regards the Congress, though the Japanese invasion did not change its attitude, it certainly changed its leadership. Once more, as in June 1940, Gandhi feared that the war-conditions would force Britain to offer independence to India on con-

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dition of participation in the war, and that the majority of Congressmen would accept it. But he was not prepared to abjure the creed of non-violence even for achieving the independence of India. Accordingly the Working Committee of the Congress, which met at Bardoli on 23 December, 1941, relieved Gandhi of the responsibility of leading the *Satyagraha* movement. It passed a long resolution, reiterating the policy enunciated by A.I.C.C. in Bombay on 16 September, 1940, and expressed as follows the reaction of the Congress to the approach of war to the Indian border :

"The sympathies of the Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression and who are fighting for their freedom, but only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war."

The Working Committee issued a series of instructions in anticipation of the Japanese attack. The general trend of these instructions was to set up under the Congress an independent organization, outside the Government, throughout the country, in order to help and serve the people in any contingency arising out of the threatened Japanese invation.

On 5 January, 1942, Gandhi explained his own position *vis-à-vis* the Bardoli resolution :

"I am a servant of the Congress and I want to serve the Congress in consonance with the principles of truth and non-violence. The Working Committee has decided to co-operate with the Government in the war, if Britain grants Swaraj to India. It is not a fact that the Congress has violated the principle of non-violence, but it has only made a small opening just with a view to shake hands with Britain. Rajaji thinks that all of us should go to war fully armed, but it may not be the opinion of all."[33]

The net position was that although the Congress shook off the pacifism of Gandhi, it reiterated its old policy of non-co-operation with the war-offorts of the Government so long as the independence of India was not guaranteed.

In Britain the die-hard section took a complacent view of the political situation in India, and hoped to counteract the in-

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fluence of the Congress by that of the Muslim League. The Duke of Devonshire, Amery's Deputy in the House of Lords, observed; "The Muslim League seems definitely to be growing in power and influence and at the moment the power of the Congress Party is diminishing. The claim of the Congress Party is contested and always will be contested by the great Muslim community."[34]

Amery also declared that "in the absence of agreement we can no more impose a constitution on India and expect it to survive than we could impose a constitution on Europe."

The attitude of the Muslim League was stiffened by the enlargement of the Executive Council of the Governor-General without its approval. It passed the following resolution:

"The Working Committee, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the British public and Government that any departure from the policy and solemn declaration of August 8, 1940, and the pledges given therein to the Mussulmans, would constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India, and that any revision of policy or any fresh declaration which adversely affects the demand for Pakistan or proceeds on the basis of a Central Government with India as one single unit and Mussulmans as an all-India minority, shall be strongly resented by the Muslims who will be compelled to resist it with all the forces at their command, which would, at this critical juncture, among other things, necessarily result in a serious impediment of the country's war-effort."[35] The Muslim press rang with such cries as 'Pakistan is our deliverance, defence, destiny'; 'Pakistan is our only demand...and by God we will have it'. It has been aptly remarked by an Englishman that the League, it seemed, "was more concerned with the future partition of India than with its immediate salvation from Japanese conquest."

The Hindu Mahasabha accepted the challenge of its Muslim counterpart. Savarkar said at Lakhnau on 1 March, six days before the fall of Rangoon:

"Why hold your threat in abeyance, why not come out with it to-day? Hindus have an ancient culture and have withstood numerous revolts. They are four times the Muslims numerically and have the same arms and penal codes to defend themselves which Muslims have." The Mahasabha, like the

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Congress, demanded full independence, but unlike it, was ready to co-operate with the Government in making preparations for defence.[35]

No marked change was noticeable in the policy of the Liberals, either in the annual session of the National Liberal Federation held at Madras on 26-28 February, or in the third session of the non-Party Conference at Delhi on 22-23 February. But the Liberals were fully impressed with the gravity of the Japanese menace and took a more realisttic view of the situation than the other political parties in India and the British Government. "On January 3, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, still the acknowledged spokesman of Liberal opinion, dispatched a lengthy cable to Mr. Churchill, signed by fifteen non-Party leaders, insisting that "the heart of India must be touched to rouse her on a nation-wide scale to the call for service," and "urging the acceptance of the Liberal programme—a national all-India Government responsible to the Crown, and a higher national status for India in international and inter-imperial relations."[37] As could be foreseen, Churchill would be the last man to accept any such programme. He slept over Sapru's cable for more than two months until he was rudely awakened by the booming of Japanese guns. On March 11, 1942, "four days after the fall of Rangoon, Mr. Churchill announced that the War Cabinet had come to a unanimous decision on Indian policy and that, in order to explain it and 'to satisfy himself upon the spot, by personal consultation, that the conclusions, upon which we all agreed and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose.' Sir Stafford Cripps, who had recently joined the Government as Lord Privy Seal and become a member of the War Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons, would proceed as soon as possible to India."[38] Churchill did not leave anyone in doubt as to the genesis of this new policy. He said at the very outset of his announcement: "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made Britain wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader."[39] But this was only a half-truth. The Japanese invasion began more than two months before, and the fall of Singapore on 15 February brought home to everyone the danger to India. Churchill, however, did

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not move an inch. Roosevelt, the President of U.S.A., took a more realistic view of the situation and urged upon Churchill to settle matters with India. The help of U.S.A. was then the only hope for the safety of Britain, and Churchill could ignore Roosevelt's advice only at his country's peril. Still he wavered until the fall of Rangoon revealed to him, for the first time, the desperate situation which faced Britain in the east.

That the despatch of the Cripps Mission was largely, if not wholly, due to the pressure of Roosevelt, was merely a conjecture at the time, but it has been proved beyond all doubt by the publication of the secret documents of the Foreign Office, U.S.A.[39a] The information supplied by these may be briefly referred to below :

As far back as 7 May, 1941, if not before, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, U.S.A., took up with "the British Government the possibility of a prompt recognition of India's aspiration to a freer existence and a full membership in the British family of nations." The President also "indicated his sympathy with this general line." But although Hull took up the matter twice with the British Government, nothing was done on account of "wide division in the British Cabinet."[39b]

On 17 February, 1942, two days after the fall of Singapore, the Assistant Secretary of State prepared a long memorandum on the subject,[39c] the main drift of which would be apparent from the following extracts :

"It seems to me that the State Department must immediately get to work on the changed situation in the Far East arising out of the fall of Singapore. The first item on the list ought to be to tackle the Indian problem in a large way. Pursuant to the President's directive there is now being organized an economic and war supply mission to India....looking towards completion of the Indian program to put a million men into the field by the end of 1942. But, under existing conditions, any such program is not likely to get very far unless the political situation is handled with extreme vigour. ...I suggest, accordingly, that we once more take up with the British...the necessity of making a statement of policy with respect to India ; and I suggest that the United States associate herself with Great Britain in stating that policy. It would seem that the logical thing to

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...was to have Churchill announce in London that the British ...ions contemplated the introduction of India as a full partner ...the United Nations. and that by prearrangement, the United ...States—perhaps through the President—promptly and vigorously ...welcome the step. ...At the same time, the Viceroy could be ...directed to hold a constitutional conference of some kind in New ...Delhi looking towards the evolution of ways and means of re-...cognizing the growing political importance of Indian sentiment ...as such."

On 25 February, 1942, Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo of ...China, who visited India shortly before, communicated to Roose-...velt that he was personally shocked by the military and political ...situation in India. "The danger is extreme", said he, and "if ...the British Government does not fundamentally change their ...policy toward India, it would be like presenting India to the ...enemy and inviting them to quickly occupy India."[39d]

On 25 February, 1942, the Foreign Relations Committee of ...the U.S.A. Senate discussed Indian affairs.[39e] They were im-...pressed by the man-power of India as sources of military ...strength, but fully realized that "the Indians would not have ...the desire to fight just in order to prolong England's mastery ...over them." The Assistant Secretary of State, who attended ...the meeting, noticed "a serious undercurrent of anti-British feel-...ing" and observed :

"Concerning India, the argument was that we are participa-...ting on such a large scale and had done so much for England ...in Lend-Lease that we had now arrived at a position of impor-...tance to justify our participation in Empire Councils and such ...as to authorize us to require England to make adjustments of ...a political nature within the framework of her Empire. We ...could demand that India be given a status of autonomy. The ...only way to get the people of India to fight was to get them to ...fight for India. ...They [members] ascribed to the authority ...and position of the United States a power to dictate to England ...what she should do in arranging her Empire not only in India ...coupled with the statements to the effect that otherwise the ...United States would be just fighting to preserve the British ...Empire and that the American people would expect this Go-...vernment to do everything within its power to obtain military

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participation by India...even though we had to go to the ex... tent of dictating to England what she should do with regards to India...."

Evidently as a result of this report Roosevelt sent a cable to W. A. Harriman, his Special Representative in London with the rank of Minister, the same day, i.e., on 25 February, mid-night. Unfortunately, the text of this cable "inquiring about India" is not included in the published documents, but we have the reply of Harriman who saw Churchill the next morning. A few passages from it are quoted below.[39f] "I have seen the Prime Minister this morning. He told me of the status of the political discussions now going on in London and in India for immediate action and for future....It will be discussed in the Cabinet today and additional advice will be obtained from India. In the meantime you may be interested to have the following information which he gave me.

1. Approximately 75% of the Indian troops and volunteers are Moslems. Of the balance less than half, or perhaps only 12% of the total are sympathetic with the Congress group. The Moslem population exceeds 100 millions. The fighting people of India are from the northern provinces largely antagonistic to the Congress movement. The big populations of the low-lying center and south have not the vigour to fight anybody. The Prime Minister will not therefore take any political step which would alienate the Moslems.

2. There is ample manpower in India willing to fight. The problem is training and equipping."

Obviously Churchill sought to meet the arguments of the anti-British members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee referred to above.

On 4 March Churchill cabled his promised reply to Roosevelt's cable of 25 February. The text of the first para is quoted below.[39g] "We are earnestly considering whether a declaration of Dominion status after the war carrying with it if desired the right to secede should be made at this critical juncture. We must not on any account break with the Moslems who represent a hundred million people and the main army elements on which we must rely for the immediate fighting. We have also to consider our duty towards 30 to 40 million untouchables and

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r treaties with the Princes states (sic.) of India, perhaps 80 illions. Naturally we do not want to throw India into chaos n the eve of invasion."

Presumably in reply to this Roosevelt cabled a long mes-ge to Churchill on 10 March.[39n] On the analogy of the owth of the mighty Republic of the U.S.A. out of the loosely ited thirteen independent States (which is treated in detail) oosevelt suggested "the setting up of what might be called a mporary government in India, headed by a small representa-ve group .... to be recognized as a temporary Dominion Go-rnment ..... It would be charged with setting up a body to nsider a more permanent Government for the whole country." Some such method", Roosevelt hoped, "might give a new slant India itself, and it might cause the people there to forget hard elings, to become more loyal to the British Empire, and to ss the danger of Japanese domination, together with the dvantage of peaceful evolution as against chaotic revolution."

The message concluded as follows in continuation with the ove: "Such a move is strictly in line with the world changes the past half century and with the democratic processes of who are fighting Nazism.

"I hope that whatever you do the move will be made from ndon and that there should be no critticism in India that it being made grudgingly or by compulsion.

"For the love of Heaven don't bring me into this, though ant to be of help. It is, strictly speaking, none of my business, cept in so far as it is a part and parcel of the successful fight t you and I are making."

Roosevelt's message was received on 10, March, and the y next day Churchill announced the Cripps Mission in the rliament, as stated above. It is a reasonable inference that urchill accepted the advice or suggestion of Roosevelt, though rhaps not ungrudgingly. He certainly did not welcome it at rst, as the sequel will show. One may be sure that Churchill und himself in full accord with only one half-sentence at the d of this long message of Roosevelt, namely, "It is, strictly peaking, none of my business."

In spite of this modest denial of his part in the whole un-rtaking, there can be little doubt that though the hand was

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that of Churchill the voice was that of Roosevelt. As we shall see, the latter took a keen interest in the negotiations of Cripps in India from the beginning up to the very end. The very day on which Churchill announced the Cripps Mission, Roosevelt appointed Louis A. Johnson, formerly Assistant Secretary of War, U.S.A., to be his Personal Representative at New Delhi. Further, the following instruction was sent to the U.S. Commissioner at New Delhi (who was replaced by Louis Johnson) on 14 March:

"The Department is of course extremely interested in the purpose of Sir Stafford Cripps' proposed visit to India and to the reception accorded his offer. You are requested therefore to transmit by telegraph with the least possible delay all information which you may be in a position to obtain regarding the proposed formula and the Hindu and Moslem reaction thereto."

VI. THE CRIPPS MISSION

Sir Stafford Cripps arrived at Delhi on 23 March, 1942. The proposals which he brought with him were embodied in a Draft Declaration which may be summarised as follows:

(1). In order to achieve 'the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India', the British Government proposes that steps should be taken to create a new Indian Union which will have the full status of a Dominion.

(2). Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, a constitution-making body shall be set-up. Unless the leaders of the principal communities shall have previously agreed on some other method, this body shall be elected, under the system of proportional representation, by an electoral college consisting of the members of the lower houses of all the Provincial legislatures for which new elections would have been held. The Indian States will be invited to appoint representatives—the proportion between British Indian and States' representatives to correspond with the proportion between their total populations.

(3). The British Government 'undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed' on two conditions. First, any Province or Provinces which are not prepared to accept the new constitution will be entitled to frame by a similar process a constitution of their own, giving them the

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some full status as the Indian Union.' Indian States will be similarly free to adhere to the new constitution or not. In either case a revision of their treaty arrangements will have to be negotiated.

(4). The second condition is the signing of a treaty to be negotiated between the British Government and the constitution-making body to cover all 'matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands', particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's past undertakings.

(5). Until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must retain control of the defence of India 'as part of their world war-effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibilitty of the Government of India in co-operation with the peoples of India.' To that end the British Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations'.

There is no doubt that these proposals virtually conceded all the reasonable demands of both the Congress and the Muslim League, as far as it was possible to do so under war conditions. As Sir Stafford unequivocally declared in one of his Press Conferences, the proposals meant 'complete and absolute self-determination and self-government for India'. The demands of the Muslim League were also met by the first proviso in clause (3) of the above summary.

The Cripps' proposals, however, did not appeal to the Congress. Apart from the virtual partition of India which the long-term proposals involved, they were open to another serious objection, namely that the rulers, not the peoples of the Indian States, would determine their future. Cripps offered a reasonable defence for both. The British Government, he said, had no control over the States and had no desire to coerce the Muslims if they did not choose to live in the same dominion with the Hindus. The first was a question of fact which none could dispute. As regards the second, the resolution of the Working Committee, which rejected the proposals on 2 April, contained

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the following: "Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will." Yet this part of Cripps' proposals was the main target of attack from all sides.

The Hindu Mahasabha declared that 'India is one and indivisible' and refused to be party to any proposal which involved the political partition of India in any shape or form. The Liberal Party also opposed the scheme of partitioning India.

Curiously enough, the proposals which alienated the rest of India failed to satisfy even the Muslims whom they were intended to conciliate. "The Moslems", said the resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, "demand a definite pronouncement in favour of Partition. Though 'Pakistan is recognised by implication' in the Draft Declaration, its primary object is to create one Indian Union, 'the creation of more than one Union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility.' Nor in any case can the Moslems participate in a constitution-making body which is not elected by separate electorates and in which decisions—the Committee assumes—are to be taken by a bare majority."[42]

Apart from the question of partition, the long-term proposals were opposed on other grounds. "The firmest stand was taken by the representatives of the Depressed Classes who denounced the scheme for its failure to provide the necessary safeguards for their interests."

They declared: "The proposals are calculated to do the greatest harm to the Depressed Classes and are sure to place them under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule. Any such result which takes us back to the black days of the ancient past will never be tolerated by us, and we are all determined to resist any such catastrophe befalling our people with all the means at our command."[43]

The Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians and the labour-leaders all demanded sufficient safeguards.

"The only clear acceptance of the British proposals came from Mr. M. N. Roy, whose active, but not very powerful, Radical Democratic Party had been preaching for some time past that the only thing that mattered was to fight the Axis."[44]

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As a matter of fact the long-term proposals of Cripps for the future constitution of India received but scant attention of the Congress and other sections of the public. The general feeling was expressed by a pithy saying attributed to Gandhi, that they were a "post-dated cheque on a crashing bank", implying a growing belief that Britain will be worsted in the battle. As the Congress resolution put it, "in today's grave crisis it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present."[45]

So in the prolonged discussions which Sir Stafford Cripps had with the leaders of the different parties, the attention was mainly concentrated on the interim proposals. Cripps knew very well that he would have to reckon mainly with the Congress and the Muslim League. "As actually happened, the negotiations were held almost exclusively with the Congress, represented by Azad and Nehru, while the Muslim League stood by and awaited developments."[46]

The chief difficulty in arriving at an agreement on the interim proposals was to fix the power and responsibility to be entrusted to Indian members of the Governor-General's Council, for the administration in general, and for defence in particular. "It was clear enough that there was to be an Indian Defence Member, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief who would continue to be the Supreme Commander of the armed forces in India; but the point on which the leaders were anxious to secure an assurance was that an Indian Defence Member would have reasonable status and be able to function effectively."[47] There were prolonged discussions and exchanges of notes on this point. About this time Colonel Louis Johnson, the persronal Representative of President Roosevelt, mentioned above, arrived in Delhi. With Sir Stafford Cripps' permission he took an active part in the negotiations on the defence formula. A new formula, sometimes referred to as the 'Johnson formula', was presented to the Congress."[48]

The Congress accepted this formula with some amendments which did not make any substantial change. But it "differed materially from the earlier approach to the problem by His Majesty's Government. In stead of reserving defence as the responsibility of His Majesty's Government and asking the

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Indian Defence Member to accept certain relatively unimportant subjects, the Working Committee's proposal was to consider the National Government responsible for the whole field of administration, including defence, but to reserve to the Commander-in-Chief, for the duration of the war, certain functions essential for the discharge of his responsibilities and the carrying out of military operations."[48a]

There were further pourparlers between Johnson and the Congress on the one hand, and Sir Stafford Cripps, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the other. As a result of this, on the afternoon of 8 April Sir Stafford Cripps finalized his formula and discussed it with the Viceroy. "The latter did not agree generally with Sir Stafford Cripps' approach to the problem, nor was he in favour of the proposed allocation of subjects between the Commander-in-Chief and the Indian Defence Member. Nevertheless, Sir Stafford Cripps telegraphed the revised formula to His Majesty's Government as the basis on which negotiations were proceeding and with a strong recommendation for its acceptance. He urged that without it there was no prospect of success, but on this basis there was considerable chance of securing the agreement of the Congress. Simultaneously, the Viceroy communicated his own views to His Majesty's Government, who decided that it could not agree, especially during the period of war, to lessening in any material respect the powers of the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Stafford Cripps felt that he was unable to proceed further, and the negotiations came to an abrupt end."[49]

Although the arrangement for defence proved to be the most vexed problem that was principally responsible for the failure of Cripps Mission, there were acute differences on some other questions, too.

"When Sir Stafford Cripps had first come out, he had used phrases at his meetings with the Press which had been taken as promising a wholly Indian National Cabinet and in conversation with political leaders he had said that the relations of the Indian Government to the Viceroy were similar to those of the British Cabinet to the King."[50] But later when questioned on the subject by Azad and Nehru, Cripps frankly admitted that there would be no essential difference between the existing

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Executive Council of the Governor-General and the proposed new Government. On 10 April Azad wrote a long letter to Cripps which concluded as follows:

"While we cannot accept the proposals you have made, we want to inform you that we are yet prepared to assume responsibility, provided a truly National Government is formed. We are prepared to put aside for the present all questions about the future, though, as we have indicated, we hold definite views about it. But in the present, the National Government must be a cabinet government with full power and must not merely be a continuation of the Viceroy's Executive Council."

Cripps was unable to accept this demand and, after a further exchange of notes, accepted Azad's letter of the 10th April as a clear rejection of the British Cabinet's proposals. On 11 April, when it was known that the Congress would not accept them, the Working Committee of the Muslim League also passed a resolution rejecting them. It was Jinnah's complaint that the talks had been carried on with the Congress leaders over the heads of the Muslims, and other parties had been utterly ignored."[51]

There was a general impression at the time that the failure of Cripps' Mission was due to the reactionary attitude of Churchill who stayed the hands of Cripps at a moment when success was within sight.

This impression is fully substantiated by the secret documents[52] of the Foreign Office, U.S.A., to which reference has been made above. It now appears that after the rejection of Johnson's formula' by the Viceroy and Wavell, the Commander-in-Chief, Johnson saw the latter and had a long discussion. Johnson writes: 'After he got off his high horse Wavell's approval and co-operation were complete. He phoned Viceroy re appointment and went with me to see him. On Wavell's recommendation, Viceroy approved and sent for Cripps. Cripps met with three of us and of course heartily approved.' On the same day, i.e., the 9th, it was informally agreed to at a conference between Cripps, Nehru and the Congress President, though by that time difference had grown between Cripps and the other two over the nature and functions of the National Government to which reference has been made above. What

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followed is thus described by Johnson: "Cripps is sincere knows this matter should be solved. He and Nehru could sol it in 5 minutes if Cripps had any freedom or authority. my amazement when satisfactory solution seemed certain, wi unimportant concession, Cripps with embarrassment told that he could not change original draft declaration witho Churchill's approval and that Churchill has cabled him he will give no approval unless Wavell and Viceroy separate send their own code cables unqualifiedly endorsing any cha Cripps wants. I never lost confidence until then. Lon wanted a Congress refusal."

On 11 April Churchill sent Roosevelt a copy of Cri cable communicating the reasons for the failure of the nego tions, and enclosed a copy of his reply heartily congratulat Cripps on his achievements which "have proved how great the British desire to reach a settlement." Churchill adde "The effect throughout Britain and in the United States h been wholly beneficial. The fact that the break comes on broadest issues and not on tangled formulas about defence is great advantage."

Roosevelt was not, however, taken in by this hypocrit outburst. He immediately (11 April) cabled a long messa to Churchill from which a few extracts are quoted:

"I most earnestly hope that you may find it possible postpone Cripps's departure from India until one more fi effort has been made to prevent a breakdown in the negotiation

"I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with the point view set forth in your message to me that public opinion in the United States believes that the negotiations have failed on bro general issues. The general impression here is quite the co trary. The feeling is almost universally held that the deadlo has been caused by the unwillingness of the British Governme to concede to the Indians the right of self-goverment, notwi standing the willingness of the Indians to entrust technic military and naval defense control to the competent Britis authorities. American public opinion cannot understand w if the British Government is willing to permit the compon parts of India to secede from the British Empire after the w

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is not willing to permit them to enjoy what is tantamount to self-government during the war....I read that an agreement seemed very near last Thursday night (9th April). If he (Cripps) should be authorised by you to state that he was empowered by you personally to resume negotiations as at that point with the understanding that minor concessions would be made by both sides, it seems to me that an agreement might yet be found."

Roosevelt again suggested that a nationalist Government should be immediately set up (in India) on the model of the Government of the original 13 Colonies in U.S.A. under the Articles of Confederation, on the understanding that they would ultimately settle their own future. He then concluded as follows:

"If you made such an effort and Cripps were then still unable to find an agreement, you would at least on that score have public opinion in the United States satisfied that a real effort and a fair offer had been made by the British Government to the peoples of India and that the responsibility for such failure must clearly be placed upon the Indian people and not upon the British Government."[53]

Thus even at that late hour Roosevelt tried his best to prevent the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations. But Churcill was adamant. In his reply to Roosevelt he even offered 'to retire to private life if that would be any good in assuaging American public opinion'.[54] He said in defence of his policy that he did not trust the Indian Congress. But the negotiations could not be reopened in any case because Cripps had left India. One of the most intimate associates of Churchill justly remarked: 'The President might have known that India was the one subject on which Winston would never move a yard'. Perhaps 'an inch would be more like it'. Harry Hopkins, who carried on the negotiations with Churchill on behalf of Roosevelt, also felt that 'India was one area where the minds of Roosevelt and Churchill would never meet'.[55]

The British official view was that it was the pacifism of Gandhi that brought about the failure of Cripps Mission. As a matter of fact, Gandhi left Delhi at an early stage of the negotiations and took no further part in them. But some Englishmen asserted that Gandhi telephoned from Sevagram

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instructing Congress to reject the Cripps offer, and even said they had a record of that conversation. When told about this Gandhi said, "it is all a tissue of lies. If they have a record of the telephone conversation let them produce it."[55a] It is hardly necessary to discuss the British official view after this denial of Gandhi.

Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, Indian Agent General in U.S.A. in course of a conversation with Mr. Murray, the Adviser on Political Relations at Washington, on 24 April, 1942, laid the entire responsibility for the failure of the negotiations at the door of the Congress Working Committee, though he had no doubt that Nehru and Rajagopalachari were sincere in their efforts for a successful settlement. He said he was certain that the idea in the back of the minds of the members of the Working Committee was the following: "With the Cripps' proposals on record they can never be withdrawn by the British Government. Therefore why accept them now in the present grave situation of India and run the risk of failure which ought to rest on the shoulders of the British rulers. If Britain wins the offer can always be taken up and tried out, with better chances of success. ...If Britain loses and the Japanese succeed in occupying India the Indians would be in a better position to negotiate a satisfactory settlement with the Japanese than they would have been if they had fallen in with the British proposals."[55b]

The basis for the above view is not known, and a high official like Sir Girija cannot be credited with an intimate knowledge of the Congress members unless there is some positive evidence about it, which is lacking.

On the other hand, the Indian intelligentsia—at least an important section of it—doubted the sincerity of the British Cabinet and held that the Cripps Mission was designed merely to placate American opinion. Even Harold Lasky observed that the "take it or leave it" mood of Cripps was "bound to make it look as though our real thought was less the achievement of Indian freedom than of a *coup de main* in the propagandist's art among our allies who contrasted American relations with the Philippines against British relations with India."[56] There is hardly any doubt that the available evidence lends

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gest support to this view, though we must revise the current ian opinion that Cripps was the villain of the piece. He s merely an agent of Churchill who pulled the wires from ind.

VII. QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

1. The Genesis

As mentioned above, owing to the difference in the attitude ards the War Gandhi lost his influence and leadership in Congress in June, 1940. Although Gandhi recovered his ition and was asked by the Congress to lead the *Satyagraha* paign in 1940-41, he was again relieved of this responsibility the Working Committee on 23 December, 1941. This ex- ins why Gandhi took no active part in the negotiations with ipps and left Delhi when they were only half way through, stated above.

But there was a marked change in Gandhi's attitude after failure of the Cripps Mission. We get the first inkling of in an article published in the *Harijan* on 19 April, 1942, which he suggested that the safety and interest of both tain and India "lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal m India." For, in that case Japan would probably leave a alone. In other words, Gandhi, for the first time, openly ared that there was an end of all ideas of co-operation or ndly understanding between Britain and India. Subhas Bose d persistently tried to make the Congress adopt this policy, failed. Now it was the general view of the Congress leaders o with the exception of Jawaharlal, who held very strongly in any case India must fight with Britain against Fascism. e two views clashed in the meetings of the A. I. C. C. and Working Committee (W. C.) at Allahabad (29 April to 2 y, 1942). The W.C. adopted the draft prepared by waharlal Nehru and rejected that of Gandhi, but the resolu- finally adopted by the A.I.C.C. was a compromise between two. The relevant passage runs as follows:

"The present crisis as well as the negotiations with Sir afford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider y schemes or proposals which retain, even in partial measure, itish control and authority in India. Not only the interests

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of India, but also Britain's safety and world peace and free... demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is... the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Br... or other nations.

"The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can c... to India through interference or invasion by any foreign na... whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case... invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance... only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the Br... Government has prevented the organisation of national def... by the people in any other way. The Committee would th... fore expect the people of India to offer complete non-vi... non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render... assistance to them."[56]

These two paras show that Nehru had surrendered, for... repudiated Nehru's view of unconditional support to Britain... violent resistance to the Japanese invaders. It is true that... resolution contained no reference to the following passage... Gandhi's draft: "Britain is incapable of defending In... Japan's quarrel is not with India. If India were freed, her... step would probably be to negotiate with Japan". But th... were not very essential points like those on which Nehru h... to surrender.

There was now no doubt that Gandhi had again recover... his undisputed supremacy over the Congress. In spite of t... compromise and almost non-committal resolution of th... A.I.C.C., he wrote a series of articles elaborating his idea wh... was soon to crystallise into the 'Quit India Movement. On M... 3, and again on May 10, he wrote: "The time has come dur... the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reco... ciled to complete separtion from each other. ...I must dev... the whole of my energy to the realisation of this supreme a... ...The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Ja... to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assu... however, it does not; free India will be better able to cope wi... the invasion. Unadulterated non-co-operation will then ha... full sway."

"Leave India in God's hands," he said on 24 May, ... modern parlance, to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to

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...ercine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From ...e a true India will rise in place of the false one we see."[57] ...ndhi said: "I have not asked the British to hand over India ... the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to ...d or in modern parlance to anarchy. Then all the parties ...l fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility ...ss them, some to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect ...violence to arise out of that chaos."[58]

No sober statesman would perhaps endorse these idealistic ...s of Gandhi who, as usual, ignored the realities of the situa... and was ready to play with a nation's fate as a child plays ... his doll. But the strong reaction of his views on the ...erican journalists, and perhaps also the influence of Nehru ... criticism of Rajagopalachari and other Indian leaders in... ...ed Gandhi to modify his views a little. "It was not till ...r 24 that Gandhi first admitted the possibility of Japan still ...ding India despite the withdrawal of the British and he ...ised the people to offer stubborn non-violent non-co-opera... ... to the Japanese, which, he suggested, would be infinitely ...e effective in the absence of the British."[59] "Allied troops, ... wrote on June 7, might remain under a treaty with the ...ernment of a free India and at the United Nations' expense ... the sole purpose of repelling a Japanese attack and helping ...a."[60]

But there was no fundamental change in Gandhi's views. ... told Azad "in unqualified terms that if the Japanese army ... came into India, it would come not as our enemies but as ...my of the British. He said that if the British left imme... ...ely, he believed that the Japanese would have no reason to ...ck India." Azad adds: "I could not accept his reading and ...spite of long discussions we could not reach agreement. I ...d that Sardar Patel held the same view and perhaps he had ...enced Gandhiji. We therefore parted on a note of ...erence."[61] This happened in June, 1942.

Along with the new attitude towards Britain which Gandhi ...umed after the departure of Cripps a great change also had ...e over him so far as the method of activity was concerned. ... Azad puts it, his "mind was now moving from the extreme

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of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort."[62] On June 7 Gandhi wrote:

"I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery."[63]

There was a meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha on 6 July, 1942. The memoirs of Maulana Azad, the President of the Congress, throw light on the part played by Gandhi in leading the Congress to his 'Quit India' policy. Azad says:

"I reached Wardha on 5 July and Gandhiji spoke to me for the first time about the 'Quit India' Movement. I could not easily adjust my mind to this new idea. I felt that we were facing an extraordinary dilemma. Our sympathies were with the Allied powers but the British Government had taken up an attitude which made it impossible for us to co-operate with them. We could side with the British only as a free country but the British wanted us as mere camp-followers. On the other hand, the Japanese had occupied Burma and were advancing towards Assam. I felt that we must refrain from any word or action which could offer encouragement to the Japanese. It seemed to me that the only thing we could do was to wait upon the course of events and watch how the war situation developed. Gandhiji did not agree. He insisted that the British must leave India. If the British agreed, we could then tell the Japanese they should not advance any further. If in spite of this they advanced, it would be an attack on India and not on the British. If such a situation developed we must oppose Japan with all our might.

"I have already said that I had been in favour of organized opposition to the British at the outbreak of the war. Gandhiji had not then agreed with me. Now that he had changed, I found myself in a peculiar position. I could not believe that

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the enemy on the Indian frontier, the British would tolerate organized movement of resistance. Gandhiji seemed to have strange belief that they would. He held that the British would ow him to develop his movement in his own way. When I ssed him to tell us what exactly would be the programme resistance, he had no clear idea. The only thing he men- ed during our discussions was that unlike previous occasions, time the people would not court imprisonment voluntarily. y should resist arrest and submit to Government only if sically forced to do so....

"Gandhiji held that the British would regard his move for organized mass movement as a warning and not take any cipitate action. He would therefore have time to work out details of the movement and develop its tempo according his plans. I was convinced that this would not be the case....

"When the Working Committee began its discussions, I ivated these points in detail. Among members of the Work- Committee only Jawaharlal supported me and then only up a point. The other members would not oppose Gandhiji when they were not fully convinced. This was not a new erience for me. Apart from Jawaharlal, who often agreed me, the other members were generally content to follow dhiji's lead. Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Acharya palani had no clear idea about the war. They rarely tried dge things on their own, and in any case they were accus- ed to subordinate their judgment to Gandhiji. As such, dis- ion with them was almost useless. After all our discussions, only thing they could say was that we must have faith in hiji. They held that if we trusted him he would find some out.

"Gandhiji's idea seemed to be that since the war was on Indian frontier, the British would come to terms with the gress as soon as the movement was launched. Even if this not take place, he believed that the British would hesitate to any drastic steps with the Japanese knocking at India's doors. thought that this would give the Congress the time and the portunity organize an effective movement. My own read- was completely different....

"Our discussions started on 5 July and continued for several

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days. I had on earlier occasions also differed from Gandhi on some points but never before had our difference been complete. Things reached a climax when he sent me a letter to the effect that my stand was so different from his that we could not work together. If Congress wanted Gandhiji to lead the movement, I must resign from the Presidentship and also withdraw from the Working Committee. Jawaharlal must do the same."

After stating how Gandhi withdrew this letter at the instance of Patel, Azad continues :

"We began to discuss in greater detail the various elements of the proposed movement. Gandhiji made it clear that like other movements, this would also be on the basis of non-violence. All methods short of violence would however be permissible. During the discussions, Jawaharlal said that what Gandhiji had in view was in fact an open rebellion even if the rebellion was non-violent. Gandhi liked the phrase and spoke of an open non-violent revolution several times."[64]

2. "Quit India" Resolution

On 14 July, 1942, the Working Committee passed a historic resolution, generally referred to as the 'Quit India' resolution. It renewed the demand that "British rule in India must end immediately" and reiterated the view that the freedom of India was "necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another....

"On the withdrawal of British Rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of Free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist

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gression effectively with the people's united will and strength
hind it.

"In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British Rule
m India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass
reat Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the
ar, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased
ssure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated
th the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopar-
e the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress
therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of
Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off
d resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help
ina....

"The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept
very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only
the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the
se of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their
erence.

"Should, however, this appeal fail, the Congress cannot
w without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the
sent state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in
situation and weakening of India's will and power to resist
gression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to
se all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since
20, when it adopted Non-violence as part of its policy for
vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a wide-
ad struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of
ndhiji. As the issue raised are of the most vital and far-
ching importance to the people of India as well as to the
ples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer
m to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision.
r this purpose the A. I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the
nth of August, 1942."[65]

Referring to this resolution Subhas Bose comments:
ere is no doubt that the Congress resolution came nearest
expressing the wish of the vast majority of the Indian people.
also brought the Congress fundamentally near the stand
ays taken by the writer, namely, that the destruction of
itish power in India was the *sine qua non* for the solution of

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all India's problems, and that the Indian people would ha to fight for the achievement of this goal.

"Although the resolution passed by the Congress at Wardh was interpreted by Gandhi as 'open rebellion', it did not entire bridge the gulf that separated the Congress leadership as whole from the policy of immediate, uncompromising and a out fight against the British rule in India advocated by writer. The idea of the desirability of an understanding w Britain was still in the minds of some Congress leaders.

"However, these people constituted a very tiny minori Even Nehru, who most ardently wished an understanding w Britain, answered in the negative when asked by foreign corr pondents after the Wardha meeting 'if an American guaran of the British promise to give India complete independence a the war would meet the case.' What Congress was interes in, said Nehru, was 'independence here and now'. No do this was also the mood of the country."[66]

No one outside Gandhi's immediate circle of devotees co have the least doubt about the attitude of the Government t wards the new move of the Congress. Among Gandh 'staunch' disciples was Miss Slade, popularly known as M Ben, the daughter of a British admiral. She went to Delhi, the suggestion of Mahadev Desai, the Secretary of Gandhi, apprise the Viceroy of the purport of the Working Committee resolution and the nature of the movement proposed by it. T Viceroy refused to interview her as Gandhi was thinking terms of rebellion. "He made it clear that the Governm would not tolerate any rebellion during the war, whether it w violent or non-violent. Nor was the Government prepared meet or discuss with any representative of an organization wh spoke in such terms."[67]

"The refusal of the Viceroy even to receive Mira Ben m Gandhiji realize that the Government would not easily yi The confidence he had in this regard was shaken, but he s clung to the belief that Government would not take any dras action. He thought that he would have enough time after th A. I. C. C. meeting to prepare a programme of work an gradually build up the tempo of the movement."[68]

The A.I.C.C. met in Bombay on 7 August, 1942,

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sidered the resolution drafted by the Working Committee. fter two days' discussion it was passed by an overwhelming jority; only a few Communists were against it. The more portant parts of the resolution are quoted below (with slight rbal alterations).

"The Committee approves of and endorses the Wardha re-lution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have ven it further justification, and have made it clear that the mediate ending of British Rule in India is an urgent neces-y, both for the sake of India and for the suscess of the cause the United Nations. A free India will assure this success throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom d against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism.

"The peril of today necessitates the independence of India d the ending of British domination. No future promise or arantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. ey cannot produce needed psychological effect on the mind the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that ergy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will im-diately transform the nature of the war. The A. I. C. C. there-e repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal the British Power from India."

The A. I. C. C. resolution also sanctioned "the starting of mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale der the leadership of Gandhi," and provided for future con-gency in the following words:

"A time may come when it may not be possible to issue tructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when Congress Committee can function. When this happens, ery man and woman, who is participating in this movement st function for himself or herself within the four corners of e general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires free-m and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on ng the hard road where there is no resting place and which ds ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India."[69]

No one except Gandhi, with his childlike faith, and his votees, blindly attached to him, could have seriously believed at the Government would sit idle while the A. I. C. C. had

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proclaimed open rebellion. It is true that Gandhi conceived to be a kind of non-violent revolt—unarmed revolt as he call it. But everybody knew or should have known that the revo once begun would not, or rather could not, retain its non-viol character. Gandhi's utterances might easily create the impr sion that he meant it to be a fight to the finish, whether viol or non-violent. "After the Working Committee passed the solution at Wardha on July 14, Gandhi said: "There is room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. Th is no question of one more chance. After all it is an op rebellion." Again Gandhi is reported to have said: "I sh take every precaution I can to handle the movement ge but I would not hesitate to go the extremest limit, if I find no impression is produced on the British Government or Allied Powers." Reference may also be made to Gandh speech after the A.I.C.C. had passed the 'Quit India resolu at Bombay. "Every one of you should from this moment wards consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if are free.... I am not going to be satisfied with anything of complete freedom... We shall do or die. We shall eit free India or die in the attempt."

No Government, faced with an impending foreign invas from outside, would tolerate the growth of such a rebel inside, which was sure to hamper the efforts for defence aga Japanese aggressions. The Government were closely follow the activities of the Congress and made elaborate preparati to nip any active rebellion in the bud. They were presumab waiting till the Congress put itself clearly in the wrong by open declaration of revolt. As soon as the A.I.C.C. resolut was passed, they struck hard. The A.I.C.C. meeting termina late at night on 8 August, 1942. Before the next day dawned t police arrested Gandhi, Azad, and all the other eminent leade of the Congress. Within a week almost everyone who matter in the Congress organization was in jail. The A.I.C.C. and the Provincial Congress Committees except in N.W.F.P. w declared unlawful organizations. The Congress headquarters Allahabad were seized by the police and the Government con fiscated the Congress funds. Rigorous control was imposed o the publication of news and comments to such an extent th

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several newspapers, including the *Harijan* of Gandhi, had to suspend publication.

The Government of India issued a *communique* justifying their action. "The Central Government," said the official *communique*, "had been aware for some days of the preparations being made by Congressmen for a campaign of lawlessness, including attempts to interrupt communications, to foment strikes, to tamper with the loyalty of Government servants and to interfere with recruitment.

"The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wiser counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope. To a challenge such as the present there can only be one answer. The Government of India would regard as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities to the people of India and their obligations to the Allies that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally and would paralyse her efforts in the common cause of human freedom.

"The *communique* went on to remind the people of India of the British Government's guarantee of self-detrmination directly after the war and to deny the capacity of the Congress to override the realities of Indian politics and establish the freedom of India at a stroke. The action, it was added, which the Government was bound to take to uphold law and order and safeguard the war-effort would be 'preventive' rather than 'punitive'.

It was afterwards made known that the Central Government's decision had been unanimous. The Executive Council, as will be remembered, had recently been expanded, and, as it happened, the three official Members (apart from the Viceroy) were absent. Thus the decision was taken by the Viceroy and the twelve unofficial Members, all of whom, except Sir E. C. Benthall, were Indians."[70]

The sudden removal of all types of leaders,—all-India, Provincial, District, and even Taluk—left no responsible men to guide the mass movement announced by the A. I. C. C. But the Government had thought or hoped that by this means they would be able to crush the movement they soon found out their mistake. They had made a profound miscalculation about the

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state of popular feeling and the hold of the Congress on India public. The news of the arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders led to a violent popular demonstration which soon spread over nearly the whole of India.

VIII. THE VIOLENT OUTBREAK OF 1942

A. THE NATURE OF THE OUTBREAK

As soon as Gandhi and his followers were removed to prison, the cult of non-violence, as understood and preached by them, came to an end, never more to figure as a potent force in India's struggle for freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru noted with regret that "the people forgot the lessons of non-violence which had been dinned into their ears for more than twenty years." He forgot or ignored the fact, obvious to many, that though the lesson entered the ears of the people it never entered their hearts. On occasions—and they are not few in number—under the magic spell of Gandhi or out of frenzied devotion to him as to a religious *Guru*, people behaved in a manner which misled many to believe that their personality and character had undergone a radical transformation, and Gandhi's spirit of non-violence possessed their soul. But this impression received a rude shock when the exit of Gandhi practically synchronized with the exit of almost all restraints to violence. How transient was the apparent conversion even of only a small class of people to the Gandhian cult of non-violence may be judged from the fact that after the year 1942, the cult has never played any active role either in the Congress dominated Indian politics or in the life of the Indian people. It is now a sacred memory at the best, and a catching slogan at the worst.

The arrest of Gandhi and other leaders was immediately followed by peaceful and non-violent popular demonstrations in the shape of *hartals* and processions over nearly the whole of India. The Government adopted stern measures to put them down. The close of shops and restaurants was forbidden by the rules passed under the Defence of India Act, and not only the usual *lathi*-charge but firing was also resorted to in order to disperse processions. This led to violence on the part of the people and the Government had to face a revolt which was unarmed but most violent in character.

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There was no regular inquiry by a responsible committee into the disturbances of 1942. The Government refused to accept the public demand for such an inquiry and neither the Congress nor any other body took any steps for it. But we possess both official and popular versions, and there seems to be no doubt or uncertainly about the general trend of events, though details, particularly figures, cannot be always regarded as reliable.

The official version may be summed up as follows:

'Gandhi and other leaders were arrested on the morning of 9 August. On that day there were disturbances in Bombay, Ahmadabad and Poonah, but the rest of the country remained quiet. On 10 August disturbances occurred also in Delhi and a few towns in the U. P.; but still no serious repercussions were reported from elsewhere. It was from August 11 that the situation began to deteriorate rapidly. From then onwards, apart from the *hartals*, protest meetings and similar demonstrations that were to be expected, concerted outbreaks of mob violence, arson, murder, and sabotage took place; and in almost all cases these were directed either against communications of all kinds (including railways, posts and telegraphs), or against the police. Moreover, these outbreaks started almost simultaneously in widely separated areas in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bihar, and also in the Central and United Provinces. Finally, the damage done was so extensive as to make it incredible that it could have been perpetrated on the spur of the moment without special implements and previous preparation; and in many instances the manner in which it was done displayed a great deal of technical knowledge. Block instruments and control rooms in Railway stations were singled out for destruction; and the same technical skill appeared over and over again both in the selection of objects for attack—on the railways, in P & T offices and lines, and on electric power lines and installations—and also in the manner in which the damage was carried out. On the other hand—and this is a significant fact—industrial plant and machinery, even when it was fully employed on Government work, escaped any serious injury.

The position was at one time extremely serious in the whole of Bihar except its most southern disricts, and in the eastern

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part of the U.P. In these areas the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of communications and certain classes of Government property; whole districts, with their small defending forces of Government officials and police, were isolated for days on end; a very large part of the E. I. Railway and practically the whole of the B. & N. W. Railway system were put out of action. For a considerable period, Bengal was almost completely cut off from Northern India, while communications with Madras were also interrupted by the damage done to the Railways in the Guntur district and around Bezwada.... On the other hand Assam, Orissa, the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. remained free from serious trouble throughout the first week after the arrests, and there was comparatively little disorder in Sind.

'In all the affected provinces, students, invariably Hindu students, were in the forefront of the initial disorders. Everywhere the Congress creed of non-violence was ignored and mobs were recklessly incited to extremes of fury. Apart from attacks on communications and various forms of transport such as trams, buses, and motor vehicles, the violence of the mobs was directed against certain classes of Government buildings, Municipal, and even private property also suffered, and there was some looting.'[72]

As regards sabotage activity in U.P. "there was widespread destruction of the property of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs. One hundred and four railway stations were attacked and damaged, 15 being burnt down, 16 derailments were caused, about 100 instances of sabotage to railway tracks were reported.

"Over 425 cases of sabotage to telephone and telegraph wires were recorded. A hundred and nineteen post offices were destroyed or severely damaged, and 32 employees of the Posts and Telegraph Department were attacked. Damage was caused to a large number of Government buildings, records, seed stores and some A. R. P. equipment. Attacks on Government servants resulted in the murder of 16 members of the police force and 332 were injured. Arrests, totalling 16,089 were made in connection with the disturbances throughout the province." The "total amount of collective fine imposed was Rs. 28,32,000, the bulk

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which was promptly realised. Recoveries by the close of the financial year amounted to slightly over Rs. 25,00,000."[72a]

'The all-India figures for the sabotages of this kind are given as follows :[72b]

Railway Stations damaged or destroyed	... 250
Post Offices attacked	... 550
Post Offices burnt	... 50
Post Offices damaged	... 200
Telegram and Telephone wires cut at	3,500 places
Police stations burnt	70
Other Government buildings	85

'There was no general strike and work was soon resumed in mills and factories, with the one important exception of Ahmadabad mills. These were subjected to special political pressure, backed by ample funds.

'During the first two weeks following the arrests the disturbances continued with varying intensity mainly in C. P., Bihar, and U. P.,... By the fourth week firm action had largely succeeded in suppressing mass lawlessness, except in Assam, where disorders began to appear similar in nature to those which had occurred earlier elewhere. Indiscipline in jails was a part of the Congress programme and jail mutinies duly occurred in two provinces. By the sixth week normal conditions had been restored throughout most of the country except in the eastern provinces.

'With the close of the first phase of violent mass disorders three new tendencies became apparent, viz. (1) orthodox non-violent Civil Disobedience movement; (2) development of serious crimes, and (3) drift towards terrorism.... Cases of arson, sabotage and of murderous assault on public servants continued. Bombs made their appearance in C. P., Bombay and the United Provinces. These were at first crude and ineffective, but technical improvement was rapid, and by the twelfth week of the movement bombs and other explosive mechanisms, some of a highly dangerous type, were in use on a fairly extensive scale, particularly in the Bombay Province.'[72c]

So far about the official account. The following extracts from the official history of the Congress give the non-official version.

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"The people grew insensate and were maddened with fr
when the slightest acts of disobedience of orders prohibi
meetings, processions and demonstrations, freedom of associat
and of opinion were put down, not with a mere *lathi* but w
the rifle and the revolver, with the machine-gun and the ae
firing. Within less than twelve hours of the arrests, the
story of brickbats and bullets got abroad.... The mob on
part began to stone running Railways and stop trains and c
damage Railway stations and set fire to them or property th
in, loot grain shops, cut Telegraph wires, rip open the tyres of c
harass Victoria, bullock carts and tongas. Besides these
cesses initiated by the people at large, there were hartals thro
out India despite the Ordinance prohibiting them, in which
school and college students took a big hand in picketing. E
cational Institutions and Universities very soon emptied
closed from one end of the country to another,—from D
to Delhi excepting Aligarh and from Lahore to Madras. T
Benares University, however, was taken possession of by
military at an early stage in the movement. Instances of pa
lysing Railway traffic by removal of fishplates of rails or
rails themselves early figured on the field of Civil Disobedie
the Madras Mail being unable to proceed for a number of d
and thereafter unable to proceed at nights for some time.
whole length of 130 miles from Bitragunta to Bezwada w
disorganised. In Behar, Monghyr was isolated from all exte
contact for nearly two weeks. The Railway disorganization w
in the extreme in Bihar. The Ahmedabad Mills were all clos
while in Bombay only three or four ceased work. Numer
Electric Municipal lamps, Fire brigade signal posts and Muni
pal carts were shattered and smashed to pieces. Near the D
B. B. & C. I. station on Sunday, the 9th August, a car was s
fire to. There was a complete cessation for an hour of
Suburban Train Traffic both on the B. B. C. I. and G. I.
lines on the 9th August.... Railway stations, Income-tax offic
school and college buildings, Post offices, Railway godowns
came the common objects of mischief by arson. In Behar
mob attempted to storm the Secretariat....

"The traffic was held up in the city of Bombay. Eve
private cars were not allowed to proceed unless there was

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ndhi cap on the head of at least one of the passengers. The
ks for the tram car wheels were filled with finely ground
ne which it was not easy to remove. Chains hung at road
ctions were released and tied across tramway and the path
ss further barred by heavy doors brought from somewhere and
ed across. It has been reported that rails of Railways were
ly greased with oil so as to prevent the action of brakes
denly applied."[73]

The general picture that emerges from these accounts may
described as a widespread revolutionary upsurge of the
ople, almost throughout India, that manifested itself mainly
destructive activities. The chief targets of attack were the
ans of communication—Post and Telegraph offices, Telegraph
e, railway line, etc.—and Government establishments, speci-
y Police Stations and other Office buildings. Though unarm-
the masses, by sheer weight of number, broke through the
rdon and seized the buildings. They were generally successs-
l in rural areas where the Government force was not strong
ugh to resist them, but failed and suffered heavy casualties
urban areas where they were pitted against the Police and
e Military. Ten to twenty thousand people, if not more,
arched to small Police Stations and were mercilessly shot
wn by the Police till they exhausted their ammunitions and
re forced to surrender. The triumphant mob, naturally excit-
to fury by the death of their comrades, sometimes committed
cesses; not only were the buildings burned, but, according to
ficial version, Police officials were also killed, sometimes in a
ost cruel manner. On the other hand, according to reliable
cords, many captured officials received humane treatment.
e records of these popular outbreaks are replete with indivi-
al instances of heroism, courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice
the part of the people.

Although the destructive activities figured most prominently
the movement, there were also comprehensive plans to esta-
ish *Swaraj* or self-rule in certain areas. These plans some-
mes succeeded, for short or long periods, particularly in loca-
ies in which the Police were forced to withdraw or surrender
the mob. A few typical specimens may be quoted below.[74]

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1. Midnapore (Bengal)[75]

The people of Midnapore played a very important and heroic role in the movement. A National Government was formed in Tamluk Sub-division with a Dictator, aided by several Ministers. It was a sort of parallel Government, dispensing justice, maintaining peace and security, and helping the poor and the distressed. Volunteers were formed into an army which had a fighting branch, Intelligence Branch and Ambulance Corps (with well-trained doctors and nurses). This National Government nominally functioned from 17 December, 1942, to August, 1944. It was dissolved in obedience to the direction of Gandhi.

The activities of the people were both violent and non-violent in character. In Tamluk Sub-division, on 29 September, 'thirty culverts were broken, 27 miles of telegraph and telephone lines were cut out and 194 telegraph posts were broken. The police stations of Tamluk Subdivision were simultaneously attacked."[76] During the next few days a number of post offices, dakbungalows, and Police Stations in Contai were raided in quick succession. The records and furniture were burnt along with the thatched rooms. It is, however to be noted that these were done by several thousands of unarmed men and women marching in a procession. One remarkable instance may be cited. Five big processions approached the town of Tamluk from different directions. As they neared the Police Station the Police made a *lathi*-charge. As this could not deter the processionists from proceeding to capture the Police building they were indiscriminately fired at. The crowd dispersed, but a few revolutionaries, ignoring the bullets, marched towards the Police Station.

Another procession was led by a venerable old lady, Matangini Hazra, aged 73. The Government troops opened fire and continued showering bullets for a long time. Matagini held the national flag firmly in her hands and advanced. "The Government troops first hit her on both hands; her hands dropped but not the national flag which she held tightly; she advanced, requesting Indian troops to cease firing, give up their jobs and join the freedom movement. Only a bullet she received in reply which

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an right through her forehead and she fell dead. As she lay
the dust sanctified by her blood, the national flag was still in
r grip, yet flying unsullied. A soldier ran and kicked the flag
the ground."[77] It has been calculated that about 20,000 peo-
all unarmed, braved the Government forces.

Needless to add that the Government took a terrible ven-
eance. Outrages on women *en masse* formed its special fea-
re. According to reliable evidence seventy-four women of
ahisadal Sub-division, including a pregnant one, were raped,
d one of them died in consequence. Among other allegations
ention is made of tortures—"inhuman, filthy and obscene in
rious ways." We are told of hundreds of villages plundered
d pillaged and their people kept without food, dipped in cold
ter in winter nights, and beaten till they fell down senseless.
en some small children were cruelly beaten. Decency forbids
e mention of other details. The 'popular' Ministers of Bengal
w with their own eyes the burnt villages and heard the story
rape and assault from the victims. The Chief Minister, Fazl-
Huq, promised an inquiry, but nothing came out of it, presum-
ly because the Governor was against it. There was, however,
e Minister, Shyama Prasad Mookerji, who resigned by way
protest and wrote a long letter to the Governor on 16 Novem-
r, 1942, from which an extract is quoted below :

"The political movement took a grave turn in some parts of
dnapore and none can say anything in respect of any legiti-
e measures taken to deal with persons guilty of serious
fences against the law. But in Midnapore repression has been
ried on in a manner which resembles the activities of Ger-
ns in occupied territories as advertised by British agencies.
ndreds of houses have been burnt down by the police and
armed forces. Reports of outrages on women have reached
. Moslems have been instigated to loot and plunder Hindu
uses; or the protectors of law and order have themselves
ried on similar operations. Orders were issued from Calcutta
t it was not the policy of Government that houses should be
nt by persons in charge of law and order. I have ample evi-
nce to show that this order was not carried into effect and
en after the unprecendented havoc caused by the cyclone on the
h October and our visit to the affected areas a fortnight later,

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the burning of houses and looting were continued in some parts of the district. Apart from the manner in which people were fired at and killed these acts of outrage committed by Government agencies are abominable in character."

2. Ballia

The people of Ballia in U. P. successfully carried into effect a regular programme of cutting off communications and capturing the administration. Processions and *hartals* were accompanied by cutting telegraph wires, removing railway lines and destroying bridges. These were done with such thoroughness that by the midnight of 18 August the district authorities found themselves completely cut off from the Provincial administration, and without adequate force to control the popular upsurge. Next day reports reached them that the revolutionary mobs were coming to capture the Collectorate and the Treasury and were determined to break open the jail and release the Congressmen. The Magistrate thereupon visited the Congress leaders in jail and asked for their help in saving the situation. They agreed, and Chitoo Pandey, the Congress leader, with 100 of his followers came out of jail. A great ovation was paid to them in a public meeting at the Town Hall, and the independence of Ballia was declared on 20 August. Chitoo formed an administration, arrested the officers of the British Government, seized the Treasury and Armoury, and took suitable steps to maintain law and order.

But the peoples' triumph was shortlived. The British military forces entered Ballia during the night between 22 and 23 August, and the popular Government was overthrown. Then the horrors of the British Police and Military *raj* were let loose upon the people of Ballia, signalised by an orgy of loot and plunder, rape and ravage, beating and shooting, firing and burning.

Independent peoples' Governments were also established in North Bhagalpur (Bihar) and many other localities. Generally speaking they did not last for more than a few days. But in some places a parallel Government was carried on for months.

B. THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES BY THE GOVERNMENT

We get a fair idea of the nature and extent of the repres-

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e measures adopted by the Government from the official and
-official statements in the Legislative Assembly. Everything
icates that the Government did not shrink from the atrocities
petrated by them in suppressing the Civil Disobedience move-
ent of 1930-32, of which an authentic and impartial account has
en given above in Chapter VI, Section E. *Lathi*-charge, whipp-
, shooting, imprisonment, pillage, arson, rape, barbarous physi-
l torture of individuals in a variety of ways, and collective fines
posed mostly on the Hindus) were the order of the day,
art from the special measures of vengeance reserved for loca-
s like Ballia and Midnapore, mentioned above.

A statement issued by A.I.C.C. in November, 1942, refers
"looting and burning of villages, rape and rapine on a mass
le, machine gunning and even aerial attacks."

The Civil Defence Secretary gave details of the time, date
d number of air-raids on Calcutta, Chittagong and Feni areas
m 16 September, 1942 to 10 February, 1943. The total casual-
s in air-raids on India since April, 1942, were 348 killed and
9 wounded.

According to an official statement made in the Central
sembly on 19 February, 1943, firing had been resorted to 538
es up to about the end of the year 1942, as a result of which
0 were killed and 1,830 were injured. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
mments:

"Official estimates of the number of people killed and
unded by police or military firing in the 1942 disturbances
e: 1,028 killed and 3,200 wounded. These figures are certain-
gross under-estimates for it has been officially stated that such
ing took place on at least 538 occasions, and besides this
ople were frequently shot at by the police or the military from
ving lorries. It is very difficult to arrive at even an approxi-
tely correct figure. Popular estimates place the number of
th at 25,000, but probably this is an exaggeration. Perhaps
000 may be nearer the mark."[79]

The official figures for persons arrested, convicted and
tained without trial during the period from 9 August to the
d of the year 1942, were, respectively, 60,229, and approxi-
tely 26,000 and 18,000. The military casualties were 11 killed
d 7 wounded.

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The number of Police Stations, Offices and houses belonging to Government and private persons burnt by the people in Contai and Tamluk Sub-divisions of the Midnapur District in Bengal were respectively 43 and 38 while 193 Congress camps and houses were burnt by the Government forces in the same region.

Men, rightly or wrongly supposed to be saboteurs at work on the railway lines were machine-gunned from air at five different places. In at least one case the Government admitted that the coolies were mistaken for saboteurs.[80]

Allegations were made by the Government of specially brutal cruelties perpetrated by the mob. It is a difficult task to find out the exact truth, but a few specific instances may be cited.

1. Jaglal Chaudhury, a minister in Bihar from 1937 to 1939, "personally instigated the burning of a police station in the Saran District and during the attack urged the crowd to tie up the Sub-Inspector in a sack and throw him into the river." He was imprisoned for ten years on this charge.

2. An Australian missionary in Bihar who had done educational and medical work for 25 years was mobbed and barely escaped with difficulty.

3. In course of an attack on the police station of Midnapur in the Muzaffarpur District (Bihar), the Sub-Inspector was burnt alive.

4. The murder of the Sub-Inspector and four constables at Ashti (C.P.) after the Police had opened fire, killing five men.

5. Cold-blooded murder of the Circle Inspector of Police, the Sub-divisional Magistrate, the Naib Tahsildar and a Constable at Chimu (C.P.) on their refusal to join the Congress and resign.[80a]

On the other hand, there were serious allegations of torture of the Indians, participating in the movement of 1942, after they were imprisoned. As a specimen we may quote the following extract from a letter written by the Socialist leader Rammanohar Lohia to Prof. Harold Laski on 3 January, 1946.

"I was ill-treated in one way or other for over four months. I was kept awake day after day, night after night, the longest single stretch running into ten days; when I resisted the police

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their efforts to make me stand, they wheeled me round on my manacled hands on the matted floor.... If beating and bastiling to death or near about it and forcing the human mouth the uses of a sewer alone to be considered atrocities, these ld worse have taken place. I will give you one or two instances, readily come to my mind. One man swallowed poison in a lice outpost of the Bombay Province, another threw himself m a well in a U.P. jail, and of those who died through beatg or ill-treatment after their arrest, there is no checking up cept that in one Orissa jail out of over 300 in the country, the mber of deaths among political prisoners rose to around 29 39, I cannot exactly recollect."[80b]

In view of the authenticated accounts of the brutality perrted by the Government in 1932, as described above, one d not hesitate to accept the charges made against them in 42. For the same reason it is unnecessary to give further ails. If we recall to our mind that Churchill, the Prime Minisof Britain, declared triumphantly in the House of Commons "the disturbances were crushed with all the weight of the vernment" and that large military reinforcements were sent to a, we can easily imagine that there was no limit to the barous atrocities perpetrated by the Government in those ible months of 1942.[81] Up to the beginning of October, 1942, British "used 112 battalions in putting down recent up-ges."[81a]

The terrorist methods of the Government produced a violent ction even upon the minds of those who did not participate in popular upsurge and were opposed to it. The industrial kers in many important centres spontaneously declared strikes protest against Government action in arresting national leaders. e steel factory of the Tatas at Jamshedpur furnishes a notable nce. There the skilled workers, drawn from all over India, ped work for a fortnight and returned to work only when management promised to try their best to get the Congress ers released and a National Government formed. The com- strike in all the Ahmadabad mills continued for three ths in spite of all attempts to break it and without any cial call from the Trade Union. There were strikes at other es, too, though of shorter duration.[82]

35V3

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C. CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION

As mentioned above, Gandhi did not formulate any definite programme of action before he was arrested on 9 August. This is quite clear from a statement of Azad quoted above,[83] and is fully supported by Nehru when he says: "Neither in public nor in private at the meetings of the Congress Working Committee did he hint at the nature of action he had in mind, except in one particular. He had suggested privately that in the event of failure of all negotiations, he would appeal for some kind of non-co-operation and a one-day protest *hartal*, or cessation of all work—symbolic of a nation's protest. Even this was a vague suggestion which he did not particularize for he did not want to make any further plans till he had made his attempt at a settlement. So neither he nor the Congress Working Committee issued any kind of directions, public or private, except that people should be prepared for all developments and should in any event adhere to the policy of peaceful and non-violent *action*."[84] It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that Gandhi is stated even by his biographer Tendulkar not only to have drafted a set of confidential instructions but to have placed them before the Working Committee.[84a] Gandhi's general attitude is, however, clear from his speeches and Nehru's statements quoted above. He asked the people "to do or die", but strictly within the limits of non-violence. He also deprecated not only underground activities but all kinds of secret movements.

The question therefore arises whether the actual occurrences which certainly did not follow the line laid down by Gandhi or adopted in 1930-32, were the result of different instructions issued by other individuals or bodies. It is a fact that instructions were actually issued by different Congress Committees, but they widely differed from one another, indicating that the Committees had no general instructions before them but followed their own instincts. The Bihar Congress Committee, for example, issued a programme more or less on Gandhian lines.[85] On the other hand, a circular issued in Andhra contained a detailed programme which had a close agreement with the violent activities that specially characterized the 1942 movement. "It outlined a plan of campaign to be developed in successive stages, the fifth of which was to

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de the cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, the removal rails and the demolition of bridges. Other items in the pro-mme were 'to impede the war efforts of the Government' and run parallel Government in competition with the British vernment."[86]

Such circulars and specific instructions of local Congress mmittees must have been many in number and probably varied the emphasis they laid on violence. Besides, there were state-nts of important Congress leaders which stressed the gravity of coming struggle. The Government of India collected and blished them in order to fasten the responsibility of the occur-ces of 1942 on the Congress.[87] Some of these are quoted low.

"Gandhi himself started with the declaration: "Do or Die. shall either free India or die in the attempt."

"Gandhi also made it quite clear that even if violence and ing occurred during the movement this would not deter him, he was prepared to go to the extremest limit.[87a] Gandhi's rpretation of non-violence is also worth noting: "If a man ks with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits, ed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting non-violently.... the same way for the Poles to stand bravely against the man hordes vastly superior in numbers, military equipment strength, was almost non-violence." Thus "violence when loyed against superior odds automatically becomes non-lence. Surely a very convenient theory for the rebels in 'an rmed revolt.'

"During the period between the W. C.'s resolution on July nd Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C. almost all Congress ers indicated in public speeches the nature of the struggle saged by Gandhi. Two things stand out prominently: 'The is the insistence with which almost all speakers urged that y man should be prepared and willing to act on his own tiative; the second is the extrarordinary attention paid to the ent community.' Nehru told the peasants in a mass meeting July 27 that there would be a mass movement in the country hin a very short time and it was the duty of every *kisan* to erstand the movement properly and to respond to the call.... re was no question of congressmen deliberately going to jail....

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The Congress had now burnt its boat and was to embark on desperate campaign.... This will be our final struggle.

"Rajendra Prasad said: 'According to Gandhiji's view movement would kindle a fire all over the country and only be extinguished after either obtaining the independence the country or wiping out Congress organisation altogether.'

"Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a students' meeting Ahmadabad, is reported to have asked them to pick any from the struggle that had been fought so far, since 1919, also to tell every Britisher to quit India immediately. Cong would not come any more to tell them what to do and what to do and they must take the initiative and do what seemed per under the circumstances; they should consider themse free men and disobey all Government's orders."

These statements certainly do not prove that either Ga or prominent Congress leaders, either individually or collecti planned the campaign of 1942, as the Government maintai But it cannot be denied that the statements were calculated excite the people and, in a way, asked each individual and local group to choose any programme they liked in order to the British to 'quit India.' The revolutionary instinct, so na to the masses, was not only invoked but also, at least indire sanctioned. This might not have been unpalatable to Congress leaders outside the intimate circle of Gandhi. It be quite true, as Gandhi contended, that there is no evidence support the Government view that "the August resolution of Congress is responsible for the popular violence that broke o immediately after. But on the whole one has to admit that Congress leaders cannot be altogether absolved from all respo sibility for the outbreak of 1942, which they probably ne planned nor guided. It is true that Gandhi would never h contemplated nor lent his support to any kind of violence. B the same thing cannot be said of all Congressmen or e Congress leaders.

The utterances of the Congress leaders also largely negat the view that the outbreak was a sudden and spontaneous po lar reaction to the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders and no premeditated course of rebellion. In reply to such a suggesti "the Government spokesman in the Central Assembly poi

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that the disorders had begun simultaneously at widely sepa-
ed points, that the worst trouble had been located in a vital
ategic area, that expert technical knowledge had been displayed
d special tools used in the assault on communications, and that
scrimination had been shown in the conduct of sabotage from
hich, for instance, the plant and machinery of private industri-
ses were exempted—all of which seemed to be evidence of
gn and preparation."[88] Special attention may be drawn in
connetion to the circular issued by the Andhra Provincial
ngress Committee, mentioned above.[89]

These, however, do not constitute sufficient evidence for the
w that the movement of 1942 was planned beforehand and
ected by the Congress. There is not even any reasonable
und for such an aussumption in view of the well-known views
Gandhi against secret organisation and violence of any kind.
r it is difficult to believe that at the moment when Gandhi
as again placed at the helm of affairs, any leader of the Congress,
atever may be his personal views, would dare conceive, far less
ry out, any such plan as would openly flout non-violence, be-
d his back. The facts and circumstances, cited by the Govern-
nt to prove it, easily lend themselves to other interpretations.
e following seems to be a more reasonable and probable one.

As we have seen above, the old revolutionary—the so-called
rorist—party continued to play an important part throughout
e period when non-violence of Gandhi dominated Congress
litics, and had its underground organizations and Associations
ich repudiated Gandhi's leadership and his methods. As noted
ve, a number of revolutionaries had joined the Non-co-
eratioin movement of Gandhi, but were disillusioned after its
pension. Many of them had rejoined the revolutionary groups
se main object was to keep alive the spirit of violence lead-
to armed rebellion against the British for achieving independ-
e. Reference has been made above[90] to the Hindusthan Soci-
st Republican Association and its great heroes. specially
gat Singh and Batukeswar Datta, who threw bombs at the
or of the Assembly Hall, New Delhi. They publicly stated
at they repudiated non-violence of Gandhi and their chief
ject in throwing the bombs was to rouse the nation from the
argy and inactivity in the national struggle for freedom brought

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about by the policy of Gandhi. How great was the success of their revolutionary propaganda may be judged from the violent agitation all over India on behalf of Bhagat Singh. It has been admitted by the author of the official history of the Congress, an ardent admiring devotee of Gandhi, that at the time of the Karachi Congress in 1931, it was doubtful whether Gandhi or Bhagat Singh occupied the chief attention of India.[1] There were black flag demonstrations against Gandhi and he had to be taken away from the train before it reached the Railway Station where the demonstrators were waiting to receive him. Indeed Gandhi had to bend his head before the storm and supported the resolution about Bhagat Singh though he opposed a similar resolution a few years before even at the risk of losing his two such stalwart supporters as Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das. As a matter of fact, Gandhi fully realized the growing influence of revolutionary ideas over young men, and it is not without good reason that the revolutionaries claimed that they practically, though indirectly, forced Gandhi or renew the struggle for freedom, in 1930 and again in 1942; for he feared that otherwise he would lose the leadership of the country and the initiative would pass into the hands of the revolutionary young men. Gandhi himself admitted that one of his motives in undertaking non-violent *Satyagraha* or Civil Disobedience was to ward off the evils he apprehended from the growing strength of the revolutionary ideas. In other words he regarded his movement as a safety-valve for youthful energy and patriotic ardour which would otherwise flow through a different channel of a violent kind. It may be safely presumed that the professional revolutionaries had a large volume of support from the masses whose natural instinct of sympathy with them and their programme was merely checked and restrained, to some extent, by their great veneration for Gandhi. How strong was this revolutionary feeling may be gathered from the fact that shortly after the arrest of Gandhi in 1942, the Socialist wing of the Congress under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narain, who was loved and esteemed by Gandhi, repudiated the Gandhian non-violence and spoke the language of violence and adopted the revolutionary programme, as will be described later.

Such being the situation, it is not difficult to imagine the resentment at the arrest of Gandhi and the absence of his re-

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ining hand violently reacted on the amorphous groups of ople who had no specific instructions to follow but were urged pursue their individual inclinations. The revolutionaries must ve taken full advantage of the situation. They had their own ganizations and a ready technique of violence to be carried rough different stages according to circumstances. We have it on thority of Horace Alexander that "a section of younger Con-essmen, some of whom were impatient with Gandhi's delays d hesitations', tried to procure arms and actually set bomb tories in several place."[92] It was alleged by the Government t the wife of a member of the Working Committee of the ngress was actively engaged in planning "the bomb outrages d other acts of terrorism."[93] This shows how narrow was the p between the mentality of the professed revolutionaries and t of even important members of the Congress. The same ng is proved by the following instructions issued by Jaya-akash Narayan when he took up the leadership of the 1942 vement after escaping from prison, as will be related later.

"Dislocation is an infallible weapon for people under very and subjection and with which he has all along fought inst the ruling power. To efface all such instruments as have en devised and adopted by rulers for keeping people in bond-e and fleecing them, to dismantle all tools and machineries, to der ineffective all means of communications, to reduce build-gs and godowns to ashes,—all these come under dislocation. cutting wires, removing of railway lines, blowing up of bridges, ppage of Factory work, setting fire to oil tanks as also to mos, destruction of Government papers and files—all such tivities come under dislocation and it is perfectly right for ople to carry out these...."[94]

This type of mentality in the Congress camp did not origi-e with Jayaprakash, for we find it also in the Andhra circular, tioned above. Its genesis need not be traced to any central ganization of the Congress, but its adoption may be more adily explained by the well-known revolutionary ideology and ctics familiar throughout India.

The view propounded above readily explains in a rational nner the most peculiar characteristic of the 1942 Movement, mely an indissoluble and indistinguishable admixture of the

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Gandhian spirit of non-violent mass resistance and the revol
tionary programme based on violence.

But whatever we may think of the revolutionary party's i
fluence on the campaign of 1942 at the beginning, there is
doubt that when it was sternly put down within three or fo
months by the ruthless measures of the Government, it was dri
underground, and a definitely revolutionary programme was de
betrately adopted. In the second half of October the Police arre
14 persons at Daltonganj on the charge of organizing "terroris
plans and seized from one of them a bundle containing two lo
ed revolvers, 23 rounds of ammunition and five electric torch
During the same month, in Bihar alone, there was a bomb exp
sion in a village, and the Police seized a country-made pistol w
380 cartridges in a house, 17 boxes of Mills-grenades in a jung
and a live bomb with ingredients for the manufacture of exp
sives. Political absconders, mostly from Bihar, went to Nep
and collected arms and ammunitions.[95]

These were revolutionary activities, pure and simple. Pe
haps encouraged by these news and with a view to guiding t
activities properly, six political prisoners escaped from the Haza
bagh Central Jail on 9 November, 1942. The most prominen
among them was Jayaprakash Narain, the leader of the Socia
group in the Congress, to whom reference has been made abov
He secretly visited different parts of India with a view to organi
ing a Central Action Committee. But the policy and programm
he laid down were radically different from those of Gandhi. He
openly repudiated Gandhi's policy of non-violence in a lett
addressed "To All Fighters for Freedom" and dated "Somewher
in India, December, 1942."[96] "My own interpretation", said h
of the Congress position—not Gandhiji's—is clear and definit
Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the countr
became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves indepe
dent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power; we are
therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution i
self, to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord wit
Gandhiji's principles that is not my fault."

He further observed, in the same letter: "I should add tha
I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave
if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violen

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necessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not low cowardice, clothed in Shastric subtleties, to block the deve- opment of this revolution and lead to its failure."

It is thus obvious that Jayaprakash and his associates moved ar away from Gandhi and veered towards the policy and prin- ple of the revolutionary party. That the practical programme talked out by them was in full agreement with this policy would ppear from the instructions issued by Jayaprakash, quoted bove, which were in right revolutionary style. But that the ongress Socialist group was full-fledged revolutionary in spirit d action was further proved when "a prominent absconding cialist was arrested at Gaya on 14 November, 1942, and the olice got six live cartridges from him."[97]

Jayaprakash organized a "Central Action Committee" which et at Delhi and approved of his programme. About the gene- s and nature of this programme Jayaprakash writes in Septem- r, 1943:

"It is well known that the Working Committee had not repared a plan of action but merely requested Gandhiji to as- me command of the struggle. Gandhiji, in his turn, had also no lan of action. He had sketched the merest outlines in his address o the A. I. C. C. That outline and his articles in the *Harijan* ere all that the people had before them and they formed the asis of that detailed programme which was prepared by those ongressmen who were left behind, and who hastily met in ombay to lay the foundations of that "illegal" Congress orgni- tion which has functioned since then. That programme still s the framework of the National Struggle.... the conscious basis f the programme which Congress organizations have followed ce August, 1942, has been non-violence, as interpreted by the ople in authority during this period."[97a] Although the ortho- x followers of Gandhi, like Sucheta Kripalani did not approve f the programme, Jayaprakash stuck to it, visited Bombay, adras and Calcutta, established a network of secret organiza- ns to carry out his programme of the 'Peoples' Revolution', d finally fixed his headquarters in Nepal, where he trained the *Azad Dasta* or guerilla bands to carry on work of dislocation d paralyze alien administration.[98]

Jayaprawash was joined in Nepal by a number of revolution-

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aries and they carried on their activities for two months. He was, however, arrested with many of his associates in May, 1943, and put in Hanumannagar jail. But one night a band of revolutinaries, numbering 50 according to Government Report, raided the jail and rescued Jayaprakash with six others. He left for Calcutta and tried to establish contact with the Azad Hind Fauj whose history will be told in the next Chapter. But he was arrested again on 18 December, 1943.[99]

Some revolutionary groups in Bihar continued the work of paralyzing British administration. One of these, under the leadership of Siaram Singh, performed many remarkable feats till 1944.[100] Similar isolated organizations were also formed in many other Provinces. But the movement launched in 1942 lost its vigour even before the end of the year, and no trace of it remained after 1944.

That the movement was practically crushed by force by the Government within two or three months, and failed to achieve any solid or tangible result, not to speak of the end for which it was launched, admits of no doubt. It was clearly recognised by the Congress itself as would appear from an appeal issued by the A. I. C. C. towards the end of November, 1942.

It is admitted at the very outset that it was not an easy task to paralyze the administration in urban areas and therefore, though "the towns were first to flare up into flames, it was inevitable that they should be overpowered with superior military force." Even in rural areas only for one or two months the apparatus of civil administration was brought to a standstill, but after that the popular movement was crushed by brutal military force. It is frankly admitted that "our ranks have been depleted, our resouces, in the form of local assistance in rural areas, and active enthusiastic support from village young men have been reduced by repression."

The A. I. C. C. therefore proposed a last ditch fight on the basis of the following programme :

1. The peasantry should refuse to pay the land-tax and obstruct the revenue and police officers to collect the tax. Even a military invasion should be rendered ineffective by flight into the jungles.

2. Non-sale of food-crops and cattle.

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3. Non-acceptance of paper money.
4. Emphasising upon the people the danger of food and cloth famine.
5. Organisation of *Swaraj Panchayat* and boycotting of revenue or police officers.
6. Roads, telegraphs and railways to be destroyed to defeat the British military.

But this appeal fell flat on the people. The movement had lost its momentum. The Congress had misfired its last shot and the battle was lost. Valour, courage and heroic self-sacrifice could not make up for the lack of leadership and necessary equipment.

D. GENERAL REVIEW

Gandhi himself deplored the violent character of the outbreak of 1942[101] and both Jawaharlal Nehru[102] and Abul Kalam Azad[103] publicly expressed the same view. But some orthodox Gandhiites out-Heroded Herod himself. Thus Diwakar described the struggle of 1942 as predominantly non-violent and "incomparable with anything in past history.[104] He thus places it above the Civil Disobedience movement of Gandhi launched in 1930. He presumably forgets that Gandhi absolved himself from all responsibility for the struggle of 1942, and unless one is prepared to accuse him of deliberate falsehood, no credit—or discredit—for what actually happened in 1942 really belongs to him. This point must be clearly understood in any assessment of the struggle of 1942 or of the part played by Gandhi in India's battle for freedom. Gandhi had fired his last shot (of course figuratively) in 1932 and missed. For ten years he remained a non-combatant. On 8 August, 1942, he again pulled his trigger but there was no shot because he forgot to put any cartridge in the chamber. Then he retired, finally, from direct and active participation in India's struggle for freedom.

Far from claiming any credit for the unique achievement of 1942—as Diwakar put it—both Gandhi and the Congress offered apology and explanation for the 'madness' which seized the people participating in it. The resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, dated 11 December, 1945, referred to the events during 1942-45 "as a series of impulsive and heroic,

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albeit undirected, aberrations."[104a] Jayaprakash Narain most emphatically asserts that "to fasten the August programme on Gandhiji is a piece of perjury of which only the British ruling class can be capable."[104b]

It was repeatedly urged both by Gandhi and on behalf of the Congress that the violent items of the campaign would not have come into operation but for the terrorism of the Government. In support of this view it is pointed out that the popular reaction to the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders was very mild on the 9th and 10th and assumed a violent character only on the 11th after the Government had broken up peaceful processions by *lathi*-charge and firing. This view has been clearly expressed by Nehru[105] and also in the official history of the Congress.[106] But it was by no means confined to the Congressmen or even to the Indians. Horace Alexander, a well-known British journalist, who toured India during the period, also says that it was the "repression let loose by the police that goaded to violent fury crowds that intended to act quite peacefully."[107] Gandhi himself wrote to Lord Linlithgow, that it was the 'leonine violence' which goaded the people to acts of violence—even to the point of madness. He held "the drastic and unwarranted action of the Government responsible for the reported violence." Indeed the point was emphasized again and again by Gandhi in his prolonged correspondence with the Viceroy from 14 August, 1942, to 7 February, 1943.[108]

The followers of Gandhi honestly believed that the failure of 1942 movement was due to the absence of Gandhi. This may be legitimately doubted unless we have good grounds to believe that Gandhi had some brand-new weapons in his armoury the potency of which was not tested before. As there is no evidence of this. We can only surmise that Gandhi would have adopted some form of non-violent *Satyagraha*.

If the movement had remained strictly non-violent and under the leadership of Gandhi, there is reason to suppose that it would have been more successful than those of 1921 and 1930 which had such ignoble ends. The non-violent *Satyagraha*, tried under the best auspices, had proved a failure, and it is futile to expect that the British who were not prepared to make any grant of freedom to India while the Japanese were knocking at the door

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of India would have cared much for the non-violent *Satyagraha* of Gandhi. They had indeed more reasons to be afraid of the violent outbreak of 1942, as by disrupting communications and in various other ways it impeded the war efforts to a very considerable extent. But even then they chose to fight rather than yield. The underlying principle of *Satyagraha,* namely the soul-force and the conversion of the enemy by silent sufferings, would probably have as much or as little influence upon Churchill, as it had upon Willingdon and Jinnah.

But apart from the speculation of what Gandhi's leadership might have accomplished, everyone must fully grasp the all-important truth that Gandhi and the Congress leaders must, or at least should, have been fully aware of the possibility, if not certainty, of the arrest of Gandhi as soon as the "Quit India" movement took a practical shape or was even resolved upon. That such a contingency was actually foreseen by the Congress leaders is clear from their speeches quoted above, urging upon everybody to act on his own initiative if the leaders were clapped into prison. The absence of Gandhi cannot therefore be accepted as a valid excuse for failure. Far more damaging to the Congress is the plea that the arrangements for the campaign were not completed when the leaders were arrested. It would be perhaps more correct to say that the arrangements were not even begun. But by offering such excuse the Congress stands self-condemned. It would be universally considered as the height of folly on the part of a Government to declare war before preparing the plan of campaign and making all necessary arranements for the same. What would be the legitimate verdict of the public on the Congress if on its own admission—what was undeniably true—the A. I. C. C. passed a reoslution sanctioning Civil Disobedience on a mass scale, and the leaders publicly urged the people to fight to a finish and "Do or Die", and yet even the *general plan* of the 'unarmed revolt' was not ready, not to speak of the *detailed programme*? Nothing but an almost insane credulity would make one seriously believe that the British Government would allow the Congress leaders, after they have declared open rebellion and asked the British to quit India, to go on making preparations on an eleborate scale to give effect to the formal resolution passed to that effect, without making

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the most desperate effort to it nip in the bud and crush it with all the force that they could command, particularly at a moment when they themselves were faced with one of the gravest crises in their history. The Congress leaders must, or should, have known all this before they staked everything on this final campaign, as they put it, with a grim resolve to do or die. They neither did nor died, but cannot absolve themselves from responsibility for the death and sufferings caused to the rank and file during the outbreak of 1942.

It is not unlikely that Gandhi himself, in the solitude of his prison, fully realized this responsibility on his part, and it may be regarded as one of the reasons, if not the main reason, for his undertaking a fast for 21 days for self-purification. At least Azad, one of his closest associates, seems to take this view. After referring to the miscalculations of Gandhi, as shown above, in respect of the campaign of 1942, Azad observes: "He accepted the responsibility for what had happened and as was usual with him, he was planning to undergo the fast as an expiation for the situation. I could not see any sense in his fast on any other hypothesis."[109]

The revolt of 1942 threw up one promient all-India leader, namely, Jayaprakash Narain, mentioned above. His appeal to "All Fighters for Freedom", referred to above, is a revealing document of first rate importance, throwing light on the gradual passing away of Gandhian non-violence which had hitherto dominated the Congress politics. He assigns two causes for the failure of the outbreak of 1942, namely, "lack of efficient organization and of a complete programme of National Revolution." As regards the first, he observes: "The lack of organization was so considerable that even important Congressmen were not aware of the progress of the Revolt, and till late in the course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in many Congress quarters whether what the people were doing was really in accordance with the Congress programme". As to the second, he points out that "*after the first phase* of the Rising was over *there was no further programme* placed before the people. After they had completely destroyed the British Raj in their areas, the people considered their task fulfilled, and went back to their homes not knowing what more to do. Nor was

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their fault. The failure was ours; we should have supplied them with a programme for the next phase."[110]

Jayaprakash no doubt hit at the two really weak points, but as has been pointed out above, these two defects were inherent in the campaign itself as conceived by Gandhi. Incredible as it may seem to a layman, the great saint-cum-political leader, in the year 1942 A.D., launched a *dharma-yuddha* (Righteous War) of the Epic Age in which the adversary was trusted not to attack the enemy until he had time to fully prepare himself for it. The British, however, were only politicians and not saints, and their military tactics were not derived from the *Mahabharata* and the *Manusamhita*. They struck hard and mercilessly, without caring for laws and morality, ancient or modern. The people responded to the cry of "Do or Die", and flung themselves into the last battle for India's freedom as the Congress leaders themselves put it. But left to themselves, without any leadership or plan, programme and organization, they became victims to sufferings and outrages which beggar description, though their courage and sacrifices won them undying fame. The campaign of 1942 would go down in history as an instance of hopeless incompetence and utter mismanagement on the part of the Congress leaders.

But there is also a bright side of what may be termed the last fight for freedom in India against the British. The great revolt of 1942 was really a soldiers' battle. The General struggled, but all glory to the Soldiers who gave a good account of themselves and laid down their lives as martyrs to the cause of their country's freedom. The following tribute paid by Sardar Patel would find an echo in many hearts: "Never before had such widespread uprisings happened in India in the history of the British Raj, as they did during the last three years. We are proud of the spirit in which the people reacted. ...The leaders were all of a sudden kidnapped from the midst of the people and people acted on the spur of the moment.... Gandhiji may not be there to guide the next struggle. Non-violence had taken no doubt deep roots, but one had to face the reality that violence was the order of the day in the whole world. It would be like the Devil quoting the scriptures, if the world outside criti-

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cised India if she switched over from non-violent to violent attempt to regain independence."

IX. NON-CONGRESS POLITICS, 1943-45

1. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The 'Quit India, movement of Gandhi ended in failure and he was not destined to play any further active part in the struggle for India's freedom. Gandhi also miserably failed in the chief object of his political life, namely, the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was probably beyond the capacity of any political leader to achieve it, and Gandhi's failure need not cause any great surprise. The real surprise is the frequent change in the attitude of Gandhi in this respect in later years. From the very beginning of his political career in India he was the great champion of the cause of Muslims, both in and outside India, among the Hindus. As mentioned above, he was even prepared to sacrifice vital interests of India in order to placate the Muslims, and always held that the Hindu-Muslim unity was a *sine qua non* for the achievement of India's freedom.[110a] But suddenly, on 15 June, 1940, he made a public statement, quoted above,[111] in which he practically ignored the Muslims as an important political factor in India and even denied the necessity of Hindu-Muslim agreement for political progress in India. Again, on 18 April, 1942, a few days after the departure of Cripps from India, he wrote in the *Harijan* that the "attainment of independence is an impossibility till we have solved the communal tangle." Curiously enough, in the same article he suggests that the communal differences will disappear "in the very process of securing independence", and if not, "it will then only be the time to quarrel if we must." Further, in that very article he wrote: "If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation...and want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition."[112] Yet within a fortnight a proposal of Rajagopalachari to negotiate with the Muslims on that basis was turned down by the A.I.C.C. by an overwhelming majority of 120 votes to 15.[113] As we shall see, before a year had passed the same proposal of Rajagopolachari received the blessings of Gandhi who himself carried on direct negotiations with Jinnah on the basis of Pakistan. In the meantime he astounded

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e whole of India by his declaration on 2 August, that 'he d no objection to Britain handing over power to the Muslim eague or any other party provided it was real independence.'[114] t Gandhi did not wait even for a week to learn Jinnah's reac- on to his over-generous offer before he launched his 'Quit India' ovement.

As could be easily anticipated, the Muslims, generally eaking, kept themselves aloof from the movement. Khaliquz- man Choudhury, who was justly regarded as one of the few ming nationalist Muslims, at least at the beginning, writes: "I ppened to be at Bhopal about the end of July when Mr. nnah also came there and we discussed the 'Quit India' vement and its possible effect on Muslims and our atti- de towards it in case the Congress should ultimately decide to nch the campaign. We were in the throes of a dilemma: if allowed the campaign to succeed, so enabling Congress to rce the British Government to yield to its demand to concede dependence without any settlement of the Pakistan issue, the slim cause would go under for ever: but on the other hand we opposed the movement there was a great risk of commu- l riots and widespread violence. After great cogitation we me to the conclusion that complete neutrality in the fight uld be observed by the Muslims and no attempt should be de from their side to disturb the peace of the country."[115] cordingly the Muslim League directed the Muslims to remain mpletely peaceful and not to indulge in any anti-Congress tivities during the whole campaign.

In his big book, *Pathway to Pakistan*, Khaliquzzaman devotes ly a single para. to the outbreak of 1942 and refers to it as "a y poor show" which "petered out in a very short time."[116] e Muslim attitude was sought to be exploited by the British. rtly before the outbreak the Inspector General of Police, P., asked Kaliquzzaman: "What help will the Muslim League ve to us in this 'Quit India' campaign?" The latter replied: Would it not involve grave disturbance in the country if the uslims openly came out to oppose the movement and surely the that case you would not guarantee that they would not run in under criminal law for arson and murder?" The

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Inspector General raising both hands exclaimed 'how could ... do it' !"[117]

The Muslim point of view has been very frankly and clearly put forth by Khaliquzzaman as follows: "From the outbreak of war ... Gandhiji on several occasions had said, 'Without a workable arrangement with the Muslims, civil resistance will be resistance against the Muslims'. He was aware that such a workable arrangement had not been arrived at and that the relations between the two communities had become more strained after the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps. But in spite of that knowledge and in spite of the fact that the Muslims were aware of Rajaji's proposals in the Congress to negotiate with the Muslims on the basis of Pakistan had been rejected, Gandhiji had decided to launch such a campaign, particularly dangerous when the country was threatened by Japanese attack and the fortunes of war were hanging in the balance."[118]

Immediately after the arrest of the Cogress leaders Jinnah issued "a statement deeply regretting that the Congress had declared war on the Government, regardless of all interests other than its own, and appealing to Moslems to keep completely aloof from the movement."[119]

The League Working Committee met at Bombay on 2 August and passed a lengthy resolution endorsing these views. It was a scathing criticism of the policy pursued throughout by the Congress. The Committee interpreted the action of the Congress as a move to coerce the Government as well as the Muslims to submit to the demands of the Congress whose ultimate objective had been to secure power for itself and establish the Hindu Raj. The League Working Committee also made an appeal to the United Nations: "Having regard to the oft-repeated declarations of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 millions of Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and, where they are in a majority."[120]

The Hindu Mahasabha, which now dominated Hidu politics in the absence of the Congress, opposed the scheme of Pakistan as strongly as ever. In its annual meeting held in Decem

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Kanpur, the President, Mr. Savarkar, spoke in bitter and ovocative language: "The Moslem's duty," he said, "was egiance to the nation. Their rights and responsibilities were e same as those of other minorities, and they would be simi- dly represented on a democratic basis at the Centre. But the strageous and treacherous' demand for Pakistan would not be erated."[121] It set up a committee headed by Shyama Prasad ookerjee, 'to make a final effort for an Indo-British settlement honorable terms.' Mookerjee also carried on talks with nnah. But both were fruitless.[122] The empty outburst of the du Mahasabha only served to strengthen the power and influ- e of the Muslim League. One important evidence of this was establishment of the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal, sam, Sindh, and N.W.F.P. Although the Panjab Ministry had yet gone definitely into the hands of the League, the sudden th of its Premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khant, on 26 December, 2, considerably strengthened the influence of Jinnah even in Province. Thus he exercised supreme authority over nearly whole of the region constituting Pakistan, as conceived by

Jinnah was not perturbed by the almost unaimous opposi- n of the Hindus to the idea of Pakistan, for he very rightly cluded that the ultimate decision lay with the British and not the Hindus. But some public utterances of two successive eroys made him somewhat nervous in this respect. In his ech at the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of mmerce on 17 December, 1942, Lord Linlithgow went out of way to stress the geographical unity of India, adding that a ided India could not carry the weight that it ought to carry, could make its way in the world with a confident expecta- n of success.[123] This statement roused great indignation among followers of Muslim League, and spurred them to fresh ivity.

At the session of the All-India Muslim League held in achi in December, 1943, was heard a new slogan, 'Divide d Quit,' presumably as a counterpart of Gandhi's 'Quite Idia.' e League resolved to "establish a 'Committee of Action' to anize Muslims all over India to resist the imposition of a ary constitution and to prepare for the coming struggle for

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the achievement of Pakistan." But undaunted by any ... threat Lord Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow as Viceroy ... repeated the latter's view in his first political speech, namely, ... address to the joint session of the Central Legislature on ... February, 1944. He observed: "You cannot alter geograph... From the point of view of defence, of many internal and ex... nal economic problems, India is a natural unit. That two co... munities and even two nations can make arrangements to l... together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provi... many examples." This provoked the Muslim League's offi... organ to remark: "This drawing in of geography, without re... rence to history and psychology, is a poor compliment to L... Wavell's gift of statesmanship."[124]

2. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Next to the Muslim League, the Communist Party of I... (CPI) was fast growing to be most powerful political organiza... tion outside the Congress. Its origin and history up to t... Meerut Conspiracy Case has been discussed above.[125] T... effect of this Case upon CPI was twofold. On the one h... the prolonged trial of the Communist leaders from 1929 to 1... gained for them wide sympathy of the Indian nationa... Jawaharlal Nehru and Ansari joined the committee set up ... arrange for the defence of the Communists under trial; ev... Gandhi visited them in jail and offered encouragements. M... important still was the publicity and propaganda value of t... long-drawn trial which the Communists fully exploited.

On the other hand, the CPI suffered a heavy blow, at le... for the time being, by the sudden removal of almost all its p... minent leaders. It not only crippled the nascent organizati... and its activity, but made it difficult for the Communists to f... new dangers and difficulties. The chief of these was the n... ultra-leftist policy laid down for India by the Comintern. "T... CPI's course was now clearly and authoritatively mapped out; ... was to dissolve any remnants of the Workers and Peasants Pa... (WPP), sever connections with all elements of the bourgeois... and launch a full-scale attack on Gandhi, Nehru, and the Indian ... National Congress."[126] This new policy, pursued during 1928-... was revealed in the "Draft Platform of Action of the C.P.

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ics" published in December, 1930. It described the Congress a "class organization of the capitalists working against the ndamental interests of the toiling masses of our country." It lled for "ruthless war on the 'Left' national reformists." "The ad to victory", it declared, "is not the method of individual ror but the struggle and the revolutionary armed insurrection of e widest possible masses of the working class, the peasantry, the or of the towns and the Indian soldiers, around the banner and der the leadership of the Communist Party of India." So far the present stage of revolution was concerned, its main objects cording to the Platform were: "The confiscation without mpensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the dlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government, officials d money-lenders, and handing over for use to the toiling santry; cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebted- ss of the peasantry to money-lenders and banks." Such a licy was sure to alienate the sympathy of all politically active ments in Indian society. "The Draft Platform was a bill of orcement from the main nationalist movement."[127]

Thus, during the period 1930-33, when the Civil disobedience vement swept the country and the nationalist movement ched the highest peak, the CPI, instead of joining the fight for edom, did its best to weaken and sabotage the greatest mass mpaign India had ever seen.

The CPI established its influence over the All-India Trade ion Congress (AITUC), and in 1931 organized its own Labour nt called the Red Trades Union Congress. But the genuine ade Unions representing the majority of organized Labour ceded from them. After the Communist leaders convicted in e Meerut Conspiracy case were released, they tried to organize e party and strengthen the Red Trades Union Congress. They lled for a wide strike of all textile workers on 23 April, 1934, d it received overwhelming response all over the country. The overnment of India took alarm and the Communist Party, ong with some dozen Trade Unions under its control, was clared illegal. The Communist Party thereupon went com- letely underground.[128]

The Communist Party soon realized that the extreme left d anti-Congress views entertained by them had practically iso-

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lated them from the political life in India which was gathering tremendous force under the leadership of Gandhi. The Communist High Commands also realized the position and adopted an altogether new plan. It may be described as a policy of infiltration into the Indian National Congress with a view to wrecking it from within. The first step in this direction was to make an alliance with the recently formed Congress Socialist Party dominated by Jayaprakash Narain. The task was not a difficult one. For many Indians, particularly those with a leaning to socialism, felt wide sympathy for Communist principles in general without any attachmet to the party itself, and sought from Russia inspiration without active control or direction. The Congress Socialist Party, without any suspicion of the 'Trojan horse' policy on the part of the Communists, welcomed their proposal and formed a United Front. Rules were laid down for joint action by the All-India Congress Socialist Party, the All-India Trade Union Congress, National Trade Union Federation and the Red Trades Union Congress. This United Front was not only a body for joint action on Party basis ; it also permitted individual Communists to become member of the Congress Socialist Party, and, therefore, also of the Indian National Congress. Thus while the Communist Party, being declared an illegal organization by the Government of India, could not function in its own name, it established its influence in the left wing of the Congress, and used the Congress organization itself for its own propaganda. Several Communists occupied high official positions in the Congress Socialist Party and some of them became members of the All-India Congress Committee. At about the beginning of 1937 the two Parties concluded the so-called "Lucknow Agreement" which, according to the Socialist interpretation, signified that they would eventually merge in a single organization. Unfortunately, secret documents of the Communist Party came to light which clearly showed that the United Front was being used only as a platform to serve its own ends. It opened the eyes of the Congress Socialists, and matters came to a head in 1938 over the election of the new Executive of the Congress Socialist Party. Jayaprakash Narain made a proposal in which the Communists were given one-third seats. The Communists produced their own list which gave the Communists a clear majority in the Executive. Under the open

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reat of secession by Jayaprakash and his party in case the ommunist list was accepted, the Conference adopted, by a arrow majority, the composite list proposed by him. Two ars later, in 1940, the Communists were expelled from the ongress Socialist Party and the United Front was dissolved. ut the Communists carried with them the branches of the ocialist Party in Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala.[129]

The Communists also infiltrated heavily into students' rganizations. The All India Students' Federation was hitherto minated by nationalist ideas, but a Communist faction soon ade its influence felt and the Students' Federation was clearly ided into two groups,—Communist and non-Communist.[130]

The split was complete and the two groups held rival Conferences. The Conference of the Communist students, in December, 1940, led by Hiren Mukherji and K. M. Ashraf, challenged e right of the Indian National Congress to speak for the whole India and passed a resolution declaring "that the future India ould be a voluntary federation of regional States based on utual confidence." Thus instead of a single nation comprising e people of India as a whole, the Communists upheld the ideal India as a multi-national State. This resolution was a clear d to enlist the support of the Muslims by conceding the claim Pakistan. In various other ways, too, the CPI conciliated the uslims in an attempt to win them over to Communism. But it d not prove very successful.[131]

The Communists had also infiltrated into the Forward Bloc, unded by Subhas Bose, but he, too, like Jayaprakash Narain, on grew wiser, and rid his party of the influence of the ommunists.[132]

The CPI declared an open war against the Congress leadership. They wanted to "free the national front from the influence bourgeois reformism and develop the political strength of the oletariat."[133] At the Ramgarh session of the Congress (1940) e CPI issued a new statement of policy entitled 'Proletarian ath.'

As a first instalment of the policy chalked out in the 'Proletarian Path' the CPI organized a general strike in the textile dustry of Bombay in March, 1941. It immobilized the majority the textile mills in the Bombay area, and 150,000 workers were

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involved at its peak. These pronouncements and activities led the Government to take drastic action against the CPI. They were arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules as persons who were "acknowledged Communists or else active supporters of the Communist programme of violent mass revolution." The CPI was disorganized and seriously crippled.

The Communists, all over the world, outside Russia, were puzzled by the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August, 1939. But they had to obey instructions from Moscow. So Hitler ceased to be a Fascist menace, and became a friend of peace, while England and France were the imperialist war-mongers. The Indian Communists were in a more happy position than their comrades in Britain and France. For Indian National Congress, as noted above, declared itself against the war, and the Communists could easily fall in with the popular opposition to the War and pose as genuine revolutionaries and anti-imperialists. As noted above, the CPI zealously played this role.

As a matter of fact the Policy of Proletarian Path, adopted by them, called for a relentless war against the British in India by a "political general strike in the major industries together with country-wide no-rent and no-tax action," followed by the "storming of military and police stations by armed bands of national militia in rural as well as urban areas, destruction of Government institutions, and actual offensive against the armed forces of the Government on the most extensive scale."[135]

But as soon as Germany invaded Russia on 22 June, 1941, all these were changed as if by the wand of a magician. The authorities of the International Communism demanded that the CPI must support the British war efforts as they contributed to the defence of the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of Communism. The arrested CPI leaders, who were detained in Deoli camp accepted this view or 'command', and issued instructions accordingly to the rank and file who were still hiding underground. These protested against this sudden *volte face*, but in vain. After all, blood is thicker than water, and Communism was higher than Nationalism; and so the scattered Communists ultimately fell in with the view of the leaders,[136] and on 15 December, 1941, passed the following resolution: "We are a practical Party, and in a new situation it is our task not only to evolve a new form

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of struggle for it but also to advance new slogans .... The key-slogan of our Party (now) is 'make the Indian people play a people's role in the people's war.'[137] The Imperial War became overnight a People's War by the magic of Communism.

The official attitude towards the CPI also underwent a complete change. The Communist leaders were set free, and on 24 July, 1942, the ban against the Communist Party was lifted. Henceforth the CPI functioned as a legal Party and enjoyed the favours of the Government of India. Persons kept in detention on account of Communist activities were employed in high offices, both civil and military, and the Communists were used by the Government as a counterpoise to the Congress. The strange spectacle was thus witnessed in India—the leftist Communist Party being anti-national and pro-imperial, and eating up the very words by which they had so long incited the people against the imperial and war-monger British.

During the great national upsurge of 1942, the Communists acted as stooges and spies of the British Government, and helped them against their own countrymen fighting for freedom. The part played by the Communists can be best understood from confidential correspondence during the years 1942, 1943 and 1944 between P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party in India and Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member of the Government of India. This file was seen by S. S. Batlivala, a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who referred to its contents in an interview given to the press on 22 February, 1946. According to him, it is quite clear from that correspondence that "an alliance existed between the Politbureau of the Communist Party and the Home Department of the Government of India, by which Mr. Joshi was placing at the disposal of the Government of India the services of his Party members;" that "the various political drives undertaken by the Party in the name of anti-Fascist campaigns were a part of the arrangement which helped the Government of India to tide over certain crises;" that P. C. Joshi and "detailed certain Party members without the knowledge of the Central Committee or the rank and file of the Party to be in touch with the Army Intelligence Department and supplied the CID chiefs with such information as they would require against nationalist wor-

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kers who were connected with the 1942 struggle or against pe... sons who had come to India on behalf of the Azad Hind Gov... ernment of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose."[138]

In a letter published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on 17 March 1946, Batlivala added further that Joshi had, as General Secre... tary of the Party, written a letter in which he offered 'uncond... tional help' to the then Government of India and the Army GHQ to fight the 1942 underground workers and the *Azad Hind Fauz* (Indian National Army) of Subhas Chandra Bose even to the point of getting them arrested. These men were cha... raterised by Joshi in his letter as 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists'. Joshi's letter also revealed that the CPI was receiving financial aid from the Government, had a secret pact with the Muslim League, and was undermining Congress activity in various ways.

On the industrial front, the Communists, using the control they exercised over the AITUC, similarly exerted their utmost to keep the workers out of the national unrest. The Party which had called for strikes, strikes and more strikes, now demanded work, work and no strikes.[141]

The Communists did not rest satisfied with sabotaging the national movement for freedom. They sought to destory the unity of India. "Not only did the Communists support the demand for Pakistan but went much further by saying that every linguistic group in India had a distinct nationality and was therefore entitled, as they claimed was the case in the USSR, to the right to secede."[142]

As most of the nationalist leaders were in jail or in hiding, the Communists had the field left to themselves, and were able to capture many organizations of the labour, students and peasants. They even infiltrated into the All-India Women's Conference and many members in non-party capacity set up literary and cultural organizations which might serve as centres of propaganda.[143] But this success was shortlived. After the war was over the Communist Party was thoroughly discredited and lost the good faith and esteem of the people for the anti-national part it had played in the recent struggle for freedom. So when, in 1945, the Congress began to function again, the Communist Party tried to curry favour with Gandhi and the

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Congress. But Gandhi was not impressed and the Communists were excluded from the Congress.[144]

The almost overnight transformation of the Communist attitude towards the War at the bidding of Moscow showed the Communist Party of India in its true colour, and it failed to win a single seat at the general election to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1945. It lost the influence it had acquired in the Women's Conference and the various cultural organizations. The control over the working class also passed from their hands. For both the Nationalist and Socialists formed their own trade union centres (National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha) which soon outstripped the All India Trade Union Congress in membership and importance.

X. BRITISH ATTITUDE AFTER 1942

When the year 1942 drew towards its close the political condition in India showed an outward calm after the storm. An interesting episode during the period immediately following the outbreak of 1942 was a prolonged correspondence[145] between Gandhi and the Viceroy, beginning on 14 August, 1942, each accusing the other as responsible for the violent disturbances in 1942 which both equally deplored. Gandhi failed to convince Linlithgow of his guilt and was profoundly moved by the "privations of the poor millions due to India-wide scarcity" and the "tale of woe caused by the repressive measures of the Government,' which, according to him, "displaces the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth by that of ten thousand for one." So on 29 January, 1943, he wrote: "If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain, I must resort to the law prescribed for *Satyagrahis*, namely a fast according to capacity," stating the period to be from 9 February to 2 March, 1943.[146]

The Goverment offered to release Gandhi during the fast—a concession which the latter refused—but declined to set him free. There was a great commotion all over India and prominent Indian leaders appealed to the Viceroy and Prime Minister of Britain; three members of the Governor-General's Executive Council resigned in protest. But the Government stood firm and Gandhi survived the fast.

Lord Linlithgow retired from his Viceroyalty on 20 October,

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1943, after holding that office for 7.1/2 years, longer than any other Viceroy. He left India in the grips of a dreadful famine for which the Government's scorched-earth policy was mainly responsible. There was an all-round economic distress caused by high prices and shortage of essential commodities. As Sapru remarked, Linlithgow left India much more divided than it was when he came here. As against all these there was hardly any positive achievement to his credit. He established peace after the violent outbreak, but it was the peace of the grave. Lord Wavell who succeeded Linlithgow as Viceroy, was the Commander-in-Chief of India during the August disturbances in 1942.

The Great War was not yet over but the Allies had turned the corner and a victorious end was in sight. This had evidently a great reaction on the Congress. It had boycotted the legislatures, but now those members who were outside jail attended the Central Legislative Assembly and, in alliance with the Muslim League members, defeated a series of Government measures including the Finance Bill. Even Gandhi's attitude changed. He gave up the demand for 'Quit India,' and on 9 July, 1944, granted an interview to Stewart Gelder, a correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, London, in order to convey his new policy to the Viceroy. "It was his purpose", said he, "to help and not hinder the Allied war effort. He had no intention of offering civil disobedience. History could never be repeated ; he could not take the country back to 1942. The world had moved on during the last two years and the whole situation had to be reviewed *de novo*. Today he would be satisfied with a national Government in full control of civil administration and would advice the Congress to participate in such a government if formed."[147]

"On 27 July (1944) Gandhiji wrote to Lord Wavell to the effect that he was prepared to advise the Working Committee to renounce mass civil disobedience and to give full co-operation in the war effort, if a declaration of immediate Indian independence were made and a national government responsible to he Central Assembly were formed, subject to the proviso that during the pendency of the war, military operations should continue as at present, but without any financial burden upon India."[148]

The very next day, 28 July, the Secreary of State for India told the British House of Commons that Gandhi's proposals

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obviously did not form even the starting-point for a profitable discussion."[149] After this rude rebuff Gandhi probably realized that the only hope lay in an agreement with the Muslim League. During his fast in February, 1943, Rajagopalachari saw him in jail and got his blessings to his plan of negotiating with Jinnah on the basis of Pakistan, though it was rejected by the A.I.C.C. in May, 1942, as mentioned above. Rajagopalachari thereupon had been carrying on negotiatioins with Jinnah. This prepared the ground and so great was the change[150] wrought upon Gandhi that he himself now suggested to Jinnah that they should meet and talk over the matter. Gandhi's letter was most pathetic in tone and shows the importance which the Congress High Command now attached to the Muslim League. It was a striking contrast to the high and mighty attitude displayed by Nehru in rejecting Jinnah's offer of Coalition Ministry in 1937.[151] Six years had wrought a marvellous change in the balance of power in Indian politics. Gandhi wrote to Jinnah on 17 July, 1944 : "I have *always* been a *servant* and friend to you. Do not disappoint me."[152] Jinnah turned down Rajagopalachari's proposal[153] as offering "a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan,"[154] but he agreed to discuss the matter with Gandhi.

Gandhi's offer to negotiate with Jinnah on the basis of partitioning India created a sensation and particularly provoked the indignation of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Panjab and of the Hindus of Bengal. As could be expected, the most bitter criticism was made by the Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar echoed the sentiments of the Hindus all over India when he asserted that 'the Indian provinces were not the private properties of Gandhiji and Rajaji so that they could make a gift of them to any one they liked.'[155]

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks commenced on 9 September, 1944, and continued till the 27th, but the two failed to arrive at an agreement. The concrete offer made by Gandhi was a partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan on a basis which did not materially differ from the plan finally accepted in 1947. The main point of difference was the refusal of Gandhi to accept Jinnah's view that the Muslims formed a separate natioin in India with the right to self-determination. The Gandhi-Jinnah talks

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had only two definite results. In the first place, both Jinnah and his League had an inordinate accession of strength at a time when they needed it most. "The League ministries in Bengal, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province were in none too stable a position. Moreover, the refusal of Khizr Hyat Khan, the premier of the Punjab, to change the 'Unionist Ministry' in the Punjab into a 'Muslim League Coalition Ministry', had not enhanced Jinnah's prestige."[156] But Gandhi's discussion with Jinnah on the basis of the partition of India put the latter on a high pedestal and gave him a position of vantage in Muslim politics. Secondly, the Viceroy, convinced more than ever that an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League was beyond the range of practical politics, took the initiative to set the stage for the post-war settlement promised by the British. He formulated the plan of a transitional Government at the Centre, which, within the existing framework, would be representative of the political parties and vested with large powers and responsibilities. As it did not meet with the approval of the authorities at home Wavell decided to visit them personally in London. His departure was, however, delayed by two attempts made, respectively, by Sapru and Bhulabhai Desai to frame an agreed constitution for India. Both Jinnah and Ambedkar refused to co-operate with Sapru. The recommendations of the Sapru Committee were opposed by the Muslims for the rejection of Pakistan and recommendation of joint electorates with reservation of seats, and by the Hindus for granting parity to Caste-Hindus and Muslims in the membership of the Constitution-making body and the Central Legislative Assembly.

Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress Party, and Liaquat Ali Khan, the *de facto* leader of the Muslim League Party, in the Legislative Assembly, reached full agreement on a plan, the basis of which was that Desai and Jinnah should form an Interim Government at the Centre within the present constitutional framework, and appoint all the members of the Executive Council, all of whom, except the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief, should be Indians, but not necessarily members of the Legislative Assembly. Desai agreed to the parity of the Caste-Hindus and Muslims in the Executive Council. As Desai claimed that both Gandhi and Jinnah had approved of the

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plan, Wavell recommended it to the Secretary of State. But while the matter was under discussion between them, Jinnah publicly denied any knowledge of the Desai-Liaquat Pact. Gandhi admitted later that the Pact had received his blessings, but other Congress leaders repudiated it at the time. Desai, like Rajagopalachari had to make an exit from the political stage.[156a]

Wavell then proceeded to London (23 March, 1945), in order to discuss his plan with the Cabinet. After discussions a general plan was agreed upon. It was also decided to summon a Conference of the leaders of all the parties, and for this purpose to release unconditionally all the members of the Congress Working Committee who were still in prison. Lord Wavell returned to Delhi on 4 June and broadcast his proposals on 14 June. Its main features may be summed up as follows:

A political conference of 21 leaders representing all Parties, would meet at Simla on 25 June to discuss the composition of a new Executive Council of the Governor-General. "It was intended that the new Council would represent the main communities and would include 'equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims.' Except for the Viceroy and for the Commander-in-Chief, who would hold charge of the war portfolio, it would be an entirely Indian Council. The subject of external affairs, which had hitherto been administered by the Viceroy, would be 'in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.' The new Council would work under the existing constitution;...It was also proposed to appoint a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other interests in India. Lord Wavell made it clear that the formation of this interim Government would in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement;...The main tasks of the new Executive Council would be first, to prosecute the war against Japan; secondly, to carry on the government of British India (with its manifold tasks of post-war development) until a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come into force; and thirdly, to consider (when the members of the Government thought it possible) the means by which such agreement could be achieved."[157]

The Press and the public welcomed the proposals, but Gandhi on the one side and Jinnah on the other raised various

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issues in connection with them. Gandhi took objection to the classification, 'Caste-Hindus,' whom the Congress was supposed to represent. Jinnah demanded that the Muslim half of the Executive Council must all the members of the Muslim League. The Hindu Mahasabha felt aggrieved, both on account of its exclusion from the Conference, and of the idea of parity between Caste-Hindus and Muslims in the proposed Executive Council.

The members of the Congress Working Committee were released on 15 June and it met in Bombay about a week later. In spite of the misgivings of Gandhi on several points, on which he failed to obtain satisfaction from the Viceroy, the Working Committee decided that the Congress should participate in the Conference.

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the discussions in the Conference as it failed to come to an agreement. It will suffice to say that the Conference came to a deadlock over Jinnah's demand that all the Muslim members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General must be members of the Muslim League. The Congress claimed the right to include in its quota members of all communities. The Congress claim to nominate representatives of the Scheduled Caste was challenged by its representative, Sivaraj, who also demanded that the number of Scheduled Caste members should bear the same ratio to their population as the Muslim members bore to theirs. Jinnah further insisted that some effective safeguards, other than the Viceroy's veto, should be provided to protect Muslim interest from majority decision of the Executive Council. It was, of course, impossible to reconcile all these claims. As the Viceroy expressed his inability to accept the demands of Jinnah, the Muslim League refused to co-operate. On 14 July, 1945, the Conference met for the fifth and last time when the Viceroy announced that the Conference had failed. Thus ended the last effort of settlement by negotiations before the end of the Second World war, and, perhaps also, the last opportunity of preserving the integrity of India.

The failure of the Conference, however, immensely strengthened the position of the Muslim League. It was now quite clear that the Muslim League could make or mar the constitutional progress of India, as the Government gave it the power to veto any constitutional proposal which was not to its liking. It

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was also hoped and feared by many that its extravagant claim that it alone represented the Muslims of India would, in the near future, be conceded, at least in fact if not in theory. No Muslim outside the League had, therefore, any chance of a political career in future. The Muslim League loomed large as the only door through which the Indian Muslims could enter into positions of power and profit. No wonder, therefore, that the wavering and middle-of-the-road Muslim politicians tended to gravitate to the Muslim League." This was particularly welcome to Jinnah as the supremacy of the League was not yet securely established at the time, as mentioned above.

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CHAPTER X

SUBHAS BOSE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (I. N. A.)

I. SUBHAS BOSE IN EUROPE

While Cripps was carrying on futile negotiations with the Congress leaders in India, Subhas Bose was engaged in negotiations of a different kind with Germany and Italy which had a far greater influence on shaping India's future destiny. His unwearied activities culminated in one of the most important episodes of the Freedom Movement in India, namely, the formation of the *Azad Hind Fauz* or the Indian National Army, generally referred to as I. N. A.

Reference has been made above to the political activities of Subhas Bose and we have seen how, after being twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, his fundamental differences with Gandhi, in respect of both policy and tactics, forced him to quit the Congress and form a new party known as the Forward Bloc.

When the war-clouds were gathering in Europe, Bose correctly read the signs of the time and looked upon the impending war between England and Germany as a great opportunity to strike a blow for the freedom of India. He believed in the wisdom of the old Irish cry—'England's necessity is Ireland's opportunity'—and tried to convert Gandhi and other Congress leaders to his policy of securing the aid of England's enemies to fight against her. But Gandhi's strict adherence to non-violence, and perhaps, to a certain extent, his sympathy for England in dire distress, stood in the way of accepting Bose's advice, even after war had actually broken out as Bose had foreseen.

The British Government naturally looked upon Bose as a dangerous revolutionary, and arrested him on 2 July, 1940, under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules. Even while he was in detention in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, he was undergoing

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ls in two criminal suits brought against him by the Govern-
ent. He decided to go on hunger-strike and on 26 November,
40, addressed a long letter to the Governor of Bengal and his
inisters, two sentences of which read as follows:

"The individual must die, so that the nation may live. To-
ay I must die, so that India may win freedom and glory."[1] He
mmenced his fast on 29 November, 1940, but as he developed
arming symptoms, the Government released him on 5 Decem-
er.

After his release Bose remained quietly in his own house at
gin Road, Calcutta, which was under strict surveillance by the
lice. He was last seen there on 16 January, 1941, but ten days
er it was reported that he was not to be found in the house.
s sudden disappearance long remained a mystery but his move-
ents are now fairly well-known.

Bose left his house on 17 January, 1941, at about 1-25 A.M.
d proceeded by car to Gomoh. Thence he went by Railway
in to Peshawar, and then passing through Jamrud and by-pas-
g the Landikotal Fort reached Garhi. He crossed the Indian
rder on foot, and motored down to Kabul. He then proceeded
Russia with an Italian passport, and on 28 March, 1941, flew
m Moscow to Berlin. Bose's journey from Calcutta to Berlin,
l of thrilling details, was a historic one, and its nearest parallel
e escape of Shivaji from the clutches of Aurangzeb.

Bose was well received by Ribbentrop, the right-hand man
Hitler, and proposed that (1) he would broadcast anti-British
paganda from Berlin, and (2) raise 'Free Indian' units from
ian prisoners of war in Germany, while (3) the three Axis
wers would jointly make a Declaration of Indian Independence.
Neither Germany nor Italy agreed to the third proposal, but
other two were accepted. The idea of forming Indian mili-
y units got an impetus when Germany declared war against
ssia on 22 June, 1941. Bose proposed to rarise an Indian
ion of three Infantry Battalions and a Company of Irregulars
ich would form part of the German Fifth Column Organiza-
n. He was confident of German victory and visualised the
umphal progress of German army across Russia to Central Asia,
en his own legions accompanying it would invade India; he
ed that the Indian soldiers of the British Government would

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fraternise with them and turn against their own masters. Buoyed up with these ideas Bose asked for all Indian prisoners of war in North Africa to be brought to Germany at once. But at first disappointment awaited him. Although British officers and other loyalist influences among the prisoners had been removed, the Indian soldiers showed marked hostility to Bose when he visited their camp, and his speech was interrupted. Bose persisted in his endeavour, but changed his plan. He privately interviewed individual prisoners and made such a good impression upon them that recruits began to pour in steadily and two units were formed in January, 1942.

Bose's presence in Germany was not at first officially announced but it became well-known by the beginning of 1942. He attended parties and the Indian community acclaimed him as its leader—*Netaji*—and greeted him with '*Jai Hind*',—a title and a greeting which have found a permanent place in Indian vocabulary of the Freedom Movement. Many young men also volunteered for the legion.

The recruitment for Indian legion and its training were rendered possible by the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the German Government. Hitler's earlier non-committal attitude regarding declaration of Indian independence was probably due to the fact that in the secret negotiations between Germany and Russia at the end of 1940, India was included in the Russian sphere of influence when the British power collapsed. The declaration of war against Russia having freed Hitler from his obligation, he now received Bose with honours and treated him as an equal in German Government's dealings with him. Bose and his associates were permitted to use Berlin Radio for broadcasting to India without any censorship.

Bose had also founded Free India Centres in Rome and Paris and raised the legion to its full strength of 3000. But further activities in Germany were suddenly stopped when Bose heard of the phenomenal success of the Japanese against the British culminating in the fall of Singapore on 15 February, 1942. He instinctively felt that the Far East would provide a more advantageous base for fight against the British. and his presence was needed there.

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II. INDIANS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The outbreak of war in the East in 1941 caused a great
rring among the Indians in these regions. Those living in terri-
ries freed from European domination organized themselves into
ssociations with the main objects of contributing their quota to
e liberation of India from the British yoke and serving the
erests of the overseas Indians during the critical period of tran-
ion. Such associations were established in a large number of
ns as well as in villages, and attained great popularity. Out
these associations was born the idea of an Indian Indepen-
nce League, of which they regarded themselves as branches. A
finite shape was given to this idea by the great Indian revolu-
narry, Rash Bihari Bose, whose early activities in India and
ght to Japan have been referred to above.[2] Rash Bihari settled
Japan, married a Janpanese girl and became a Japanese citizen.
t he never ceased to work for his motherland and it was mainly
e to his inspiration and efforts that a Conference was held at
kyo on 28-30 March, 1942, for the discussion of political issues.

The Tokyo Conference passed a resolution to form an Indian
tional Army under the direct command of Indian Officers who
uld conduct the campaign for the liberation of India. An
dian Independence League of overseas Indians was provisionally
tablished throughout Japanese Asia, and it was decided to hold
fully representative Conference of Indians at Bangkok in June.

This Conference was held in Bangkok from 15th to 23rd
e, 1942. It was attended by about 100 delegates from Burma,
laya, Thailand, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, China, Borneo,
va, Sumatra, Hong Kong and Andamans. Rash Bihari Bose
s elected Chairman.

The Tricolour Flag of India was raised by Rash Bihari Bose
d the Conference formally inaugurated the Indian Indepen-
ce League (I. I. L.) with a definite constitution. The object
the League was defined to be the attainment of complete and
mediate independence of India. The Conference passed altoge-
r 35 resolutions, including one inviting Subhas Bose to East
sia. The delegates, after returning from the Conference held
ass meetings in their respective localities and explained the dis-
sions and decisions of the Conference. This created tremen-

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dous enthusiasm among the Indians, who started local branches of the Indian Independence League. There were ultimately over two hundred members of the League in Malaya alone.

The Conference at Bangkok was also attended by the representatives of the Indian soldiers who were captured by the Japanese but had renounced their allegiance to the British and espoused the cause of their motherland. This movement requires a more detailed explanation.

In December, 1941, when the Japanese invaded North Malaya, and defeated the British forces there, Captain Mohan Singh of the First Battalion, 14th Punjab Regiment, together with another Indian officer, a British Colonel and a number of soldiers escaped, but after vainly trying to find their way out of the jungle to the safety zone, surrendered to the Japanese. The two Indian officers were taken to Bangkok by Giani Pritam Singh, a leading man who had set up an association there for the independence of India, of the type described above.

Both Giani Pritam Singh and Major Fuzihara, a Japanese military officer, tried to induce Mohan Singh to work for the independence of India. After a great deal of discussion Mohan Singh yielded to their persuasions. After the fall of Singapore on 15th February, 1942, Col. Hunt, on behalf of the British Government, handed over 40,000[3] Indian prisoners of war to Major Fujihara, representative of the Japanese Government, who, in his turn, handed them over to Capt. Mohan Singh. Mohan Singh now asked for volunteers from among the prisoners to join the Indian National Army (I. N. A.) or *Azad Hind Fauj* to organized by him to fight, along with the Japanese army, against the British, in order to drive the latter from India. Many of them joined the I. N. A., but many refused to do so. It has been alleged that not only undue pressure was put upon the recalcitrant sepoys, but they were subjected to physical torture in varying degrees, in order to force them to join the I. N. A. Specific instances of such oppression were given by the British Government during the trial of I. N. A. Officers after the War. There is hardly any reliable evidence in support of these allegations, and it is difficult to ascertain the extent, if any, to which this unjustifiable, nay criminal, course was resorted to by the organizers of the I. N. A. The allegation is stoutly

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genied by Shahnawaz Khan, who was himself, at first, unwilling to join the I. N. A. formed by Mohan Singh.[4] The net result of Mohan Singh's efforts was that about 25,000 valunteers offered their services before the Bangkok Conference, and by the end of August, 1942, forty thousand prisoners of war signed a pledge to join the Indian National Army under Mohan Singh. A number of young men, without any previous military training, also volunteered their services, and a Military Camp was opened for training them.

Captain Mohan Singh, after his return from the Tokyo Conference, called a conference of Indian military officers in April, 1942. It was at this conference that he first proposed the formation of the Indian National Army as a part and parcel of the Indian Independence Movement. It was a serious problem asking for a momentous decision on the part of the officers, and after a great deal of discussion and clarification the meeting dispersed without coming to any decision.[5]

In the Bangkok Conference Mohan Singh spoke for several hours, describing in detail "how he got in touch with the Japanese military authorities in Malaya and was able to form a small nucleus of the Indian National Army while the campaign was still going on and actually fought against British while they were retreating from the north to Singapore."[6] The Conference adopted the following resolutions, among others :

"1. That an Indian National Army be formed comprising the Indian troops and civilians of East Asia. Captain Mohan Singh would be the Commander-in-Chief of this Army of Liberation for India. The Indian Independence League would make arrangements for the supply of men, material, and money required by the Indian National Army, and would request the Japanese Government to supply the necessary arms and equipment, ships and aeroplanes required by the Indian National Army which would be commanded entirely by Indian officers and would fight only for the liberation of India.

"2. That a Council of Action be established for carrying out all necessary actions in connection with the Independence Movement and prosecution of the War of Independence."[7]

It was decided that this Council would consist of a President and four members. Rash Bihari Bose was elected the President

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and Mohan Singh, one of the four members, took up the portfolio of the Army as well as the position of the Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st September, 1942, the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) was formally established. The Military Department was organized with almost all its Branches. Arrangements were also made for an intensive training of the men of I.N.A. To the normal physical training of soldiers was added a type of mental training in order to rouse their national spirit and patriotism. For this purpose arrangement was made for lectures on national history with special reference to the condition of India under British rule. The trainees were urged to free their motherland from the foreign yoke and exhorted to adopt the three principles laid down by the Indian Independence League, viz., unity, faith and sacrifice.[8]

Unfortunately the progress of work was considerably hampered by several factors. In the first place, there was a considerable number of Indian Officers who were against the formation of I.N.A.; some of them ultimately turned traitor and deserted to the British.[9] Secondly, there was difference of opinion among the members of the Council of Action. This was accentuated by the inability or unwillingness of the Japanese Government to announce their decision regarding the maximum strength of the I.N.A. and publicly declare their policy towards India in unequivocal terms. Mohan Singh, impatient at the delay, sent in a note to the Japanese Government, "demanding a reply by the 23rd of December, failing which they would take independent action." Rash Bihari Bose and others tried to persuade Mohan Singh not to insist on a reply by a specified date, but Mohan Singh did not yield. Matters were brought to a head by some indiscreet and unfortunate remarks by the Head of the Japanese Liaison Office in Burma to the local Chairman of the Indian Independence League. "Mohan Singh wrote a most unfortunate letter to the President of the Council of Action, and issued an order to the Army which he left in a sealed cover. In this order he wrote that if he was arrested the officers should dissolve the Army (I.N.A.) and destroy all documents. He also enjoined on the Officers and men to take an oath not to join any Indian National Army if it were formed again."[10]

The President took a serious view of his action which,

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considered, was beyond his powers and was against the discipline of the army, and had him arrested. Two other members of the Council of Action resigned, and thus there remained the President and only one member in the Council of Action.[11]

There were other troubles also during the succeeding period of six months. The young men were impatient and thousands wanted to be trained; when they were refused either for their unfitness or for want of accommodation, they abused the leaders and decided to form a Youth League with a view to controlling the whole movement. Rash Bihari Bose had a tough job to reconcile the army and the young men and make them work in unison under the Constitution devised by the Bangkok Conference. "So a second Conference of the representatives of the Indian Independence League Territorial Committees was held in the month of April, 1943. After due deliberations, the Constitution was altered in such a manner as to introduce an administrative system, effecting improvements and despatch in the work."[12] But in spite of his unwearied efforts Rash Bihari Bose proved unsuccessful and he must have heaved a sigh of relief when Subhas Bose appeared on the scene. He voluntarily surrendered his position, power and responsibilities to the young leader, and himself retired from active life. But he never recovered from the great strain of these days, and died after a protracted illness on 21 January, 1945. It is only fair to remember that Rash Bihari Bose had laid the foundations of the organization on which Subhas Bose built up a huge structure.

III. SUBHAS BOSE IN THE EAST.

Subhas Bose sent a Radio message from Germany to the members of the Bangkok Conference accepting their invitation to join them. This did not, however, prove an easy job. The sea was guarded by the British ships and the only possible way was to risk a submarine voyage. For a long time the German Government hesitated, and nearly eight months passed before Bose could leave Germany. His departure was kept a profound secret. He talked frequently of his desire to visit the Russian front and had even recorded two speeches to be broadcast after he left. At last on 8 February, 1942, Bose, accompanied by Abid Hassan (founder of the Indian legion at Frankenburg) left

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Kiel in a German U-boat. The boat made a wide detour in the Atlantic to avoid the British ships, and met the Japanese submarine, 129, which, by previous arrangement, was waiting at a place four hundred miles S. S. W. of Madagascar. On 28 April Bose and his colleague were transferred by the rubber dinghy to the Japanese submarine which to took them across the Indian Ocean to Sumatra. They were met by a Japanese Officer and arrived at Tokyo on 13 June, 1943.

Subhas Bose was received by the Japanese Premier Tojo on the day after his arrival. Tojo was frank and said that whether India was invaded or not, she would come under Japanese control on the defeat of the British. But, he added, Japan had no demands to make on her beyond the necessities of war, and intended to make her independent. He encouraged Bose's project of forming a Provisional Government which would take control of Indian territory as the Japanese forces moved on. As a result of this discussion Tojo made a declaration about India in the Japanese Diet to the following effect:

"Japan is firmly resolved to extend all means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term."[13]

Subhas Bose spoke from Tokyo, over the Radio, of his determination to launch an armed fight against the British from India's eastern borders. The overseas Indians were thrilled with delight at the prospect of participating in this great venture. When Bose arrived at Singapore on 2 July, 1943, he was welcomed with tumultuous enthusiasm by an immense surging crowd who instinctively felt that at last the Man of Destiny had come to lead them on as victors to liberate their own motherland. On 4 July Rash Bihari Bose handed over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to Subhas Bose and the latter took over the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League in the prersence of five thousand Indians who represented thirty lakhs of Indian nationals spread all over East Asia. He was hailed as *Netaji*—the supreme leader—as in Germany, and henceforth he was always referred to by this honorific title. Netaji revealed to the gathering his decision to form a Provisional Government of Free India and

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to lead the Indian National Army towards India. Next day, the formation of the *Azad Hind Fauz* was announced to the world; Netaji reviewed all the forces of the *Fauz*—the Indian National Army (I. N. A.)—and gave it the rousing war cry of "*CHALO DELHI*" (On to Delhi) and "TOTAL MOBILIZATION." On 25 August Netaji formally assumed direct command of the I.N.A. Immediately after taking over the leadership of the movement Netaji put through a comprehensive plan of reorganisation and expansion of the I.N.A. with a view to achieving these two goals.

The Recruitment and Training Departments were hard put to it to give practical effect to these ideas. Training Camps were opened for men as well as women. Commands, orders and instructions were given in Hindusthani. After about six months of intensive training the recruits were absorbed into the I.N.A. Part-time training was also given to a number of young men in various branches and sub-branches—and it acted as a safety-valve to the impulses of youthful energy. Women volunteered in large numbers and formed the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.[12a]

The civil side of the Provisional Government also engaged his attention. Netaji re-organized the civil departments that were already functioning at the headquarters, viz. General, Finance, Publicity and Propaganda, Intelligence, Recruitment and Training. He not only strengthened these departments, but also added the follwing new ones: (1) Health and Social Welfare; (2) Women's Affairs; (3) National Education and Culture; (4) Reconstruction; (5) Supply; (6) Overseas; (7) Housing and Transport.

Instructions were issued to improve and expand the League organizations throughout East Asia on the above lines. The total mobilization of Indian man-power, money and material was carried in this way throughout Malaya and other countries. Netaji also addressed a series of public meeting all over Malaya and made regular Radio broadcasts addressed to Indians at home.

Having thus made a good start, Netaji thought of inaugurating the Provisional Government. Delegates from all over E. Asia were summoned to Singapore. After discussing the matter with them Netaji held a public meeting at Cathay Hall on 21 October, 1943. There, before an almost hysteric crowd who

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stormed the precincts of the Cathay Hall and presented indescribible scenes of overpowering feelings and emotions, Netaji read his famous Proclamation setting up the Provisional Government of Free India at Singapore.

The duty of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) was thus described in the Proclamation :

"It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a Permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people."

The Proclamation ended with a passionate appeal : "In the name of God....We call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and pereseverance and with full faith in final victory until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a free nation."[14]

On 23 October the Provisional Government decided at a Cabinet meeting to declare war on Britain and U.S.A. The declaration was broadcast over Radio by Bose himself and San Francisco Radio communicated it to the world.

"In a few days, nine world powers—Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, Nationalist China, the Philippines and Manchuria—accorded their recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

"On the 28th of October, Netaji flew to Tokyo where he attended the Greater East Asia Conference in the first week of November, and was received by the Japanese Emperor with all honours due to the Head of the State and the Provisional Government of Free India.

"At the Greater East Asia Conference, Premier Tojo an-

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nounced on the 6th November, 1943, that Japan had decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Thus the Provisional Government acquired its first stretch of territory in Free India.

"Returning to Singapore towards the end of December, after visiting China and the Philippines *en route*, Netaji left for the Andamans where he set foot on the first Free Indian territory on the 31st December, 1943."[15] It was decided to rename the Andaman and Nicobar, 'Shahid' and 'Swaraj' Islands, respectively.

As the activities of the Provisional Government grew, and particularly arrangements had to be made for the ensuing military campaign of the I.N.A. against the British, the need of money grew very acute. It is certain that the Provisional Government, at no stage, had to circumscribe its activity for lack of funds. But how these funds were raised is a moot point to decide as there are diametrically opposite views. One view has been set forth as follows. "Now, as always, money was the greatest single problem. Thus Netaji was always demanding money from his audiences. At first donations flowed in freely from rich and poor, but the early eager generosity did not last and his persuasion gave way to threats. 'I shall wait for one or two more weeks, and I shall see,' he said on October 17th, and after that all the steps that I have to take in the name of India, I shall take'. On October 25th, he addressed the merchants of Malaya with severity: 'Legally speaking there is no private property when a country is in a state of war....if you think that your wealth and possessions are your own, you are living in delusion;..... ....Your lives and your properties do not now belong to you; they belong to India and India alone.....'But it was no good: Bose required more than petty cash and recognized that he must make a systematic levy on Indian property. This Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjee (who later became Chief Administrator of Ocuupied Territory") was told to devise: there resulted the 'Boards of Management for Raising Funds' to which from the beginning of 1944 Indians had to declare their assets. Levies of from ten to twenty-five per cent were imposed and collected with progressive vigour."[16]

The more favourable view is thus modestly set forth:

'In the sphere of 'Total Mobilization' of money and mate-

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rials, Indian Independence League Fund Committees were set up in the Branches and Sub-Branches, with a Central Board of Managment to control and direct them, and to issue final receipts to contributors. As in Man-power, so also in Money and Materials, contributions were voluntary. In order to maintain a sense of equity, a form of assessment was adopted which was a sliding scale of percentage on total wealth. The Board of Management, as also the Committees in the Districts, was composed of leading citizens of the propertied and monied classes and office-bearers of the League. At the Board meetings, rules and regulations were passed, in accordance with the policy of the Movement and the representations that were made from time to time. The basis of valuation of properties, both movable and immovable, were fixed by the Board. However, there were people who contributed much more than their share, and still others who gave up all that they possessed. A few cases there were of people who evaded payments."[17]

The truth probably lies midway between the two. In any case it is now very difficult to ascertain the truth, though we have authentic records of magnificent donations.

IV. THE STATUS OF I. N. A.

There was no doubt in the mind of Netaji and his followers that the main task of the Provisional Government was to take part in the Japanese offensive campaign against British India. Steps were accordingly taken to equip the I.N.A. properly for this purpose. But an unexpected difficulty presented itself at the very beginning. When Netaji first raised the question of I.N.A. participating in the proposed Japanese campaign against Imphal (in Manipur, India), Field-Marshal Count Terauchi, Commander-in-Chief of all the Japanese forces in South-East Asia, was not very willing to accept the proposal. The soldiers composing the I.N.A., said he, would not be able to fight as well as Japanese soldiers as they had been defeated in the battle of Malaya and consequently were demoralised. Further, being accustomed to the ease and luxury of the British army they would not able to stand up to the rigours of a Japanese campaign. Lastly, they were after all, once British mercenaries and would find it difficult to resist the temptation of deserting to the

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British where there were better prospects of pay, food and an early chance of meeting with their families. Terauchi therefore proposed that the Japanese Army should do all that was necessary to liberate India, that Bose himself should assist by enlisting the goodwill and sympathy of the Indian people, that the main part of the I.N.A. should be left in Singapore, and that only espionage and propaganda groups should be used in the field.

This proposal, which virtually meant that Netaji should merely play the role of a fifth columnist, gave a rude shock to him. He made a proud and dignified reply. "Any liberation of India secured through Japanese sacrifices," said he, "is worse than slavery." He talked about the national honour of India, insisted that Indians must make the maximum contribution of blood and sacrifice themselves, and urged that the I.N.A. be allowed to form the spearhead of the coming offensive. Terauchi at last consented to the employment of one regiment as a test case. 'If this regiment came up to the Japanese standard', said he, 'the rest of the army would be sent into action.'[18] It was further understood that some I.N.A. troops should remain attached to the different units of the Japanese army as Irregulars. These included the following :

I. Field Force.

II. Armoured Vehicles Battalion. It consisted of troops and armoured vehicles.

III. Bahadur Group. This consisted of picked men who would be detailed in batches for making raids and doing sabotage work behind enemy lines and bringing back as much information and as many prisoners as possible.

IV. Intelligence Group. These men were specially trained for infiltrating deep behind the enemy lines for collecting information, spreading propaganda amongst the British Indian troops and the civil population, contacting revolutionary workers in India wherever possible, and for bringing back information.

V. Reinforcement Group. It consisted of men who had volunteered to enlist in the National Army but were not directly absorbed in the units that were formed.

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They were sent out to the different units, as reinforcements were required.[19]

V. THE I.N.A. CAMPAIGN IN INDO-BURMESE FRONTIER

1. General Plan

After the main issue was thus settled Netaji decided, in consultation with the military officers, that a new Brigade, known as No. I Guerilla Regiment, should be raised by selecting the soldiers from the other three Brigades, called after Gandhi, Azad and Nehru and that this Brigade should go into action first. The Regiment was raised at Taiping in Malaya, in September, 1943, and Shahnawaz Khan was appointed its commander. The soldiers themselves gave it the name, Subhas Brigade, in spite of the objections of Netaji who repeatedly issued instructions against this nomenclature. The Brigade was properly reorganized and an intensive spiritual and military training was given to the soldiers. Netaji frankly told the troops, both of their high mission to liberate their motherland as well as of the extreme wants, privations, and hardships which they would have to suffer. He advised all those who were not prepared for all these to stay behind, but the soldiers with one voice exclaimed: "Netaji, give us a chance and we will prove to the whole world that the so-called Indian mercenary soldiers can fight as gallantly for the liberation of their country as any other soldier in the world."[20] Netaji also told the soldiers that they should feel proud that they were Indians and that "never at any time were they to accept any orders, racial superiority, or any other form of domination by the Japanese."[21]

The first batch of the Subhas Brigade left Taiping on 9th November, 1943, and the last batch on the 24th. The departure of the troops was the first occasion for a unique scene which was repeated later. "All the sick and physically unfit soldiers whom the doctors ordered to be left behind at Taiping came to the station and lay down on rails in front of the railway engine and refused to allow the train to start unless they too were allowed to go to the front. They said, 'We have given a pledge to Netaji that we will sacrifice ourselves for the sake of our motherland. How then could anyone leave us behind and depart

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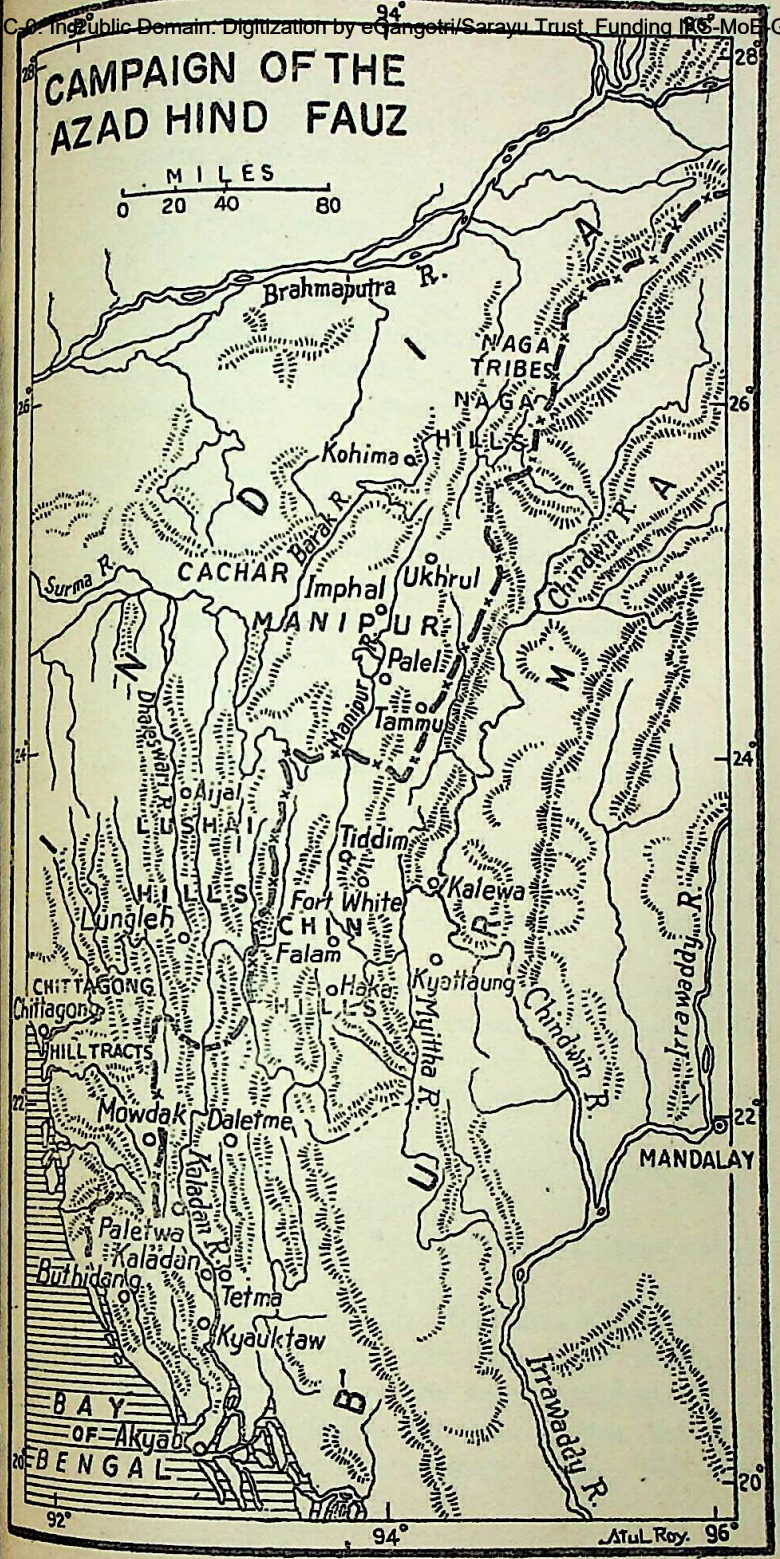

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the privilege ?' It was only after a great deal of persuasion on an assurance being given that they would be sent up join the Regiment as soon as they recovered, that they al- ed the train to proceed."[22]

The main body of the Subhas Brigade arrived in Rangoon by in January, 1944. The soldiers had to cover at least 400 es on foot, marching on an average 25 miles a day, with out 80 lbs of load carried on their backs. "In their eagerness reach the front as soon as possible, they generally covered in days the distance which the Japanese soldiers took five days travel."[23]

Netaji arrived in Rangoon on 4 January, 1944, on a Japa- e plane, and established his advance Head Quarters there. ee days later he discussed with General Kawabe, the Japa- e Commander-in-Chief in Burma, the plan of co-operation ween the I.N.A. and the Japanese army. Kawabe proposed the 'I.N.A. forces should be split up into small groups and ched to all the larger Japanese formations.' This was not ed to by Netaji and ultimately the following was adopted e basis of co-operation between the I.N.A. and the Japa- e forces :

1. No I.N.A. formation should be split into smaller for- ion than a Battalion.
2. The command of all I.N.A. units should remain entirely e hands of Indian officers.
3. The Japanese and I.N.A. units would follow a common tegy, after it has been previously discussed and agreed to by aji and the Japanese Commander-in-Chief.
4. The I.N.A. was to be allotted an independent sector of front.
5. Every inch of Indian territory liberated would be hand- wer to the I.N.A. for administration.
6. The only flag that would fly over Indian territory would e Indian Tricolour.[24]

On 24 January, 1944, General Katakura, Chief of the anese General Staff in Burma, met Netaji and Shahnawaj discussed, behind closed doors, the general strategy of the pending campaign against India, and the role that had been igned in it to the I.N.A. Among other things, "Katakura 3

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revealed that it was a part of the Japanese plan to launch a heavy air attack on Calcutta simultaneously with the advance of land forces. Netaji expressed himself against this. He told the Japanese General that there should be no indiscriminate bombing of Indian civilians as it would lead to much panic and suffering, and would probably shake the confidence of the Indian people in him."[25] The idea was accordingly abandoned.

About the same time Netaji made his own arrangements for getting confidential reports about the general situation in India and the movements of the hostile forces on the Eastern Frontier. For this purpose he sent four persons—specially trained for the work at Penang—to India. These were Mahindar Singh, Amar Singh Gill, Pabitra Roy and Tuhin Mukherjee who started in a submarine with a transmitter. The submarine left a harbour in Sumatra, passed through the Straits of Malacca, crossed the Bay of Bengal and arrived near Konarak in Orissa coast. There they got into a rubber boat and landed safely with the transmitter. They went to Calcutta and were helped by Haridas Mitra, a son-in-law of the family of Subhas Bose and his friend Jyotish Bose. The transmitter was fitted on the roof of the house of Jyotish Bose near Deshapriya Park. The house on the Bepin Pal Road is separated from that of the writer of this chapter only by a very low wall but he never suspected the existence of the transmitter. Jyotish Bose and his wife Purabi Bose were of great help in keeping the matter secret. Thus communication was established with Subhas Bose and he regularly received message from India for several months. Later the transmitter was removed to Behala. But in spite of all these precautions the Police came to know of the transmission of news. They succeeded in arresting Mahindar Singh and by inhuman torture extracted from him the names of the others just before Singh died of torture.

Pabitra Roy, Amar Singh Gill, Haridas Mitra and Jyotish Bose were arrested, tried and condemned to death. Tuhin Mukherjee, one of the four who came with the transmitter in the submarine but kept himself aloof on arrival in India, turned approver and gave evidence against the four accused.

The father of Jyotish Bose and the relatives of Haridas Mitra appealed to the Government for mercy on behalf of them

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ed approached Mahatma Gandhiji who wrote to the Viceroy. As a result of this the sentence of death was commuted to transportation for life in the cases of all the four accused.

2. Subhas Brigade

After the general plan was finally settled at the secret meeting, on 24 January, the Subhas Brigade was placed under the direct command, for purpose of operations only, of the Japanese General Head Quarters in Burma. Its commander, Shahnawaz Khan, saw the Japanese Commander-in-Chief who apprised him fully of the military situation at the Indo-Burma border. Shahnawaz writes: "He told me that the main concentration of British and American forces was at Sadiya-Imphal-Tamu and Tiddim and that they were preparing to attack the Japanese forces with the object of recapturing Burma. He told me that there were powerful British forces at Aijal (probably one Brigade) and Lungleh (one Brigade) which were threatening the left flanks of the Japanese forces, and were in a position to advance to Kalewa and cut off the main supply line of the Japanese forces, and that the intention of the Japanese army was to attack and capture Tiddim-Tamu and Imphal."[26]

The role allotted to the Subhas Brigade was as follows: The Battalion No. 1 was to proceed via Prome to the Kaladan Valley in Arakan. The Battalions Nos. 2 and 3 were to proceed via Mandalay and Kalewa to the Chin Hill area of Haka and Falam.

On 3 February, 1944, on the eve of the departure of these battalions from Rangoon, Netaji delivered his farewell speech to the three thousand soldiers who "in full military kit stood stiffly to attention for an hour and a half and listened to every word he said with rapt attention." He told them that they would be put to the severest test by the Japanese authorities, and the future of I.N.A.'s role in the battle for India's freedom would depend upon them. He made a stirring appeal to them in the following words: "Blood is calling to blood! Arise! We have no time to lose. Take up your arms....We shall carve our way through the enemy's ranks, or, if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death....The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. On to Delhi." The soldiers assured him that they would never

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bring shame on India's fair name by turning their backs to the front or retreating before the enemy.[27]

On 4 February, 1944, the Battalion No. 1 of the Subhas Brigade left Rangoon by train for Prome. From Prome they marched on foot via Taungup and Myo Haing and arrived at Kyauktaw (in Akyab) on the Kaladan river, suffering casualties on the way from aerial bombing of the enemy. Here they formed the base in the middle of March, 1944, and inflicted a defeat upon the much-praised Negro troops from West Africa in the British army, while engaged in constructing a bridge over the Kaladan in order to join the two parallel roads running along the eastern and the western banks of the river. The enemy was driven from the eastern bank, leaving 250 dead in the field and large amount of stores. Sixteen of their boats were also sunk. The casualties of the I.N.A. were 14 killed and 22 wounded.

The Indian Battalion, reinforced by Japanese troops, then advanced along both the banks of the Kaladan for about fifty miles north to Paletwa. After a severe fight they captured it and also another place, Daletme, in the neighbourhood. From Daletme they could see the frontier of India forty miles to the west and were very eager to reach it. The nearest British post on the Indian side was Mowdok about fifty miles to the east of Cox Bazar. It was captured by a surprise attack during night (May, 1944) and the enemy fled in panic leaving large quantities of arms, ammunitions and rations. "The entry of the I.N.A. on Indian territory was a most touching scene. Soldiers laid themselves flat on the ground and passionately kissed the sacred soil of their motherland which they had set out to liberate. A regular flag-hoisting ceremony was held amidst great rejoicing and singing of the *Azad Hind Fauz* National Anthem."[28]

On account of the difficulty of supply as well as the impending counter-attack by the British forces, the Japanese forces decided to withdraw from Mowdok and advised the I.N.A. Commander to do the same. The I.N.A. officers with one voice refused to do so. "No, sir," they told their Commander, "the Japanese can retreat because Tokyo lies that way; our goal—the Red Fort, Delhi—lies ahead of us. We have orders to go to Delhi. There is no going back for us."[29]

The Commanding Officer of the I. N. A. thereupon decided

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to leave one Company under the command of Capt. Suraj Mal at Mowdok to guard the flag and withdraw the remainder. The Japanese, admiring the spirit—almost a suicidal role—of the I.N.A. men, left one Platoon of their own troops to share the fate of the Indians. These Japanese troops were put under direct command of Capt. Suraj Mal. "It was probably the first time in the history of the Japanese army that their troops had been placed under command of a foreign officer."[30] Evidently moved by this heroic sacrifice and the brilliant record of the I.N.A. men, "the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Burma went to Netaji and bowing before him said: "Your Excellency, we were wrong. We misjudged the soldiers of the I. N. A. We know now that they are no mercenaries, but real patriots."[31]

Capt. Suraj Mal and his band of heroic fighters stayed at Mowdok from May to September, 1944. During this period they were constantly attacked by the British forces but always succeeded in repulsing them. On one occasion a small post of 20 men was attacked successively three times during the same day by the enemy, about 150 strong with heavy artillery and mortars, and the last one was preceded by aerial bombardment. All the attacks were repulsed, and when Suraj Mal hurried to the post with a reinforcement of 50 men, he attacked the British base three miles away at dusk. It was so unexpected that the enemy ran helter-skelter in all directions.

The Battalions Nos. II and III left Rangoon on 4 and 5 February and reached Kalewa via Mandalay. They were instructed by the Japanese General to take over charge of the Haka-Falam front—two Japanese posts in Chin Hills—and their main task was to defend this sector against two British Brigades and thus prevent them from cutting the main supply line of the Japanese forces from Kalewa to Tamu and Fort White. They were also to carry out offensive operations on the Haka-Falam front. The I. N. A. was sorely disappointed that instead of being placed on the vanguard of the main Japanese army invading India—as it was mutually agreed upon—it was side-tracked to a comparatively minor task. The Japanese General plainly gave out that the I. N. A. was put in sole charge of a sector in order to test its efficiency, and if it passed the test it would be placed in front of the main Japanese army invading India.

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The I. N. A. took over the charge of Falam and Haka from the Japanese. The area was infested by British Guerilla forces and the I.N.A., by sudden attacks, inflicted severe defeats upon them. Some of their exploits were highly creditable. Special mention may be made of the rout of Major Manning's forces at Klankhua, the successful defence of the post on the Klang Klang Road by 20 men of the I. N. A. against 100, and the capture of the British stronghold at Klang Klang.

The Japanese were satisfied of the military skill and efficiency of the I. N. A. and issued instructions "that the main body of the Brigade would proceed to Kohima and would be prepared, on the fall of Imphal, to advance rapidly and cross the Brhmaputra into the heart of Bengal."[32] Accordingly about 150 and 300 men of the I. N. A. were left, respectively, at Haka and Falam, and the rest marched towards Kohima, the capital of the Naga Hills in Assam, where they arrived towards the last week of May, 1944.

Early in March, 1944, I. N. A. troops of the Bahadur Group and the *Azad Hind Dal* (Free India Party) accompanied the Japanese Manchurian Division to the Kohima sector and the combined forces took Ukhrul and Kohima.[32a] The *Azad Hind Dal* were intended to take charge of the conquered territory and do everything necessary till a regular Government was established such as the feeding of the people, restoration of essential public services, the maintenance of law and order, and the reconciliation of the Indian population. As new areas were liberated the *Azad Hind Dal* took charge of them in the name of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and did good work on the above lines. The Tricolour flag was hoisted on the lofty mountain tops around Kohima.

But by the end of May, when the regular I. N. A. troops arrived at Kohima, the military position of the Japanese forces in this area had changed for the worse. The Japanese air force having been transferred to the Pacific area to fight the Americans, a considerable number of troops were sent by air to the besieged city of Imphal by the British. While the Japanese failed to capture Imphal, a powerful force of the British was counter-attacking from the direction of Dimapore and Kohima. The I. N. A. men at Kohima held their post most gallantly and bea-

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attack after attack. To make matters worse, the monsoon had broken out and it was impossible for the supply services to supply rations to troops in that area. So the Japanese forces retired to Tamu and the I.N.A., much against its will, had to withdraw to the same place (June, 1944). This they did with the greatest difficulty as the tracks were washed away by torrential rains and the soldiers had to walk several hundred miles through knee-deep mud. A few days later the Japanese forces, and the I. N. A. with them, had to withdraw to the east bank of the Chindwin river. Thus ended the liberating campaign of the Subhas Brigade.

3. Gandhi and Azad Brigades

Of the two other Brigades the Gandhi Brigade started first for the front. It moved to Burma early in March, 1944, and after a short rest at Rangoon proceeded towards Imphal, early in April. Being told by the Japanese that the fall of Imphal was impending and they were perhaps too late for taking part in its capture, the I.N.A. men rushed forward by forced marches. But on arriving at Tamu they learnt that Imphal had not yet fallen and that severe fighting was going on in the vicinity of Palel, lying about half-way between Imphal and Tamu. The Brigade was put in charge of an independent sector to the south of the main Tamu-Palel road and instructed to carry out the guerrilla activity against the enemy forces on the Tamu front. A Japanese Brigade operated on the main road to the east. The first major incident was an attack on the Palel aerodrome by the I.N.A. in co-operation with the Japanese forces. After a heroic fight against heavy odds a section of the I. N. A. captured the aerodrome, but found no trace of the Japanese there. Not being strong enough to hold the aerodrome by themselves they withdrew after destroying all the aeroplanes they found there. The casualties were very heavy and the I. N. A. lost 250 men.

After this the British launched several heavy attacks against the I.N.A. At the sight of the white troops, whom they met for the first time, the I.N.A. men threw challenge to them and they did the same. "A grim battle at close quarters ensued. The British soldiers came almost up to the trenches (occupied by the I. N. A.), but time and again they were beaten back with

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heavy losses."[33] The British fell back, but soon attacked again this time supported by artillery and aeroplanes. The I.N.A. Platoon held firm and the enemy withdrew to their defences. But Lt. Ajaib Singh, the Commander of the I.N.A. Platoon advanced and having approached the nearest British defence post shouted out challenge to them to come out and fight and not hide behind their defences and barbed wire fences. The British accepted the challenge and another grim battle started which continued till darkness fell.

By the middle of June the I.N.A. troops suffered much for lack of proper food and medicine and had become terribly weak. On the other hand, the British forces, being reinforced, took the offensive. Their first move was to capture the heights occupied by the Gandhi Brigade around Mythun Khunou. A whole British Brigade, 3,000 strong, supported by heavy artillery and aeroplanes led the attack against 600 I.N.A. men. The situation became extremely grave as all the commanding heights and strategic points were in the hands of the British. The Commander of the I.N.A. Brigade issued orders to capture these heights at any cost. Lt. Mansukh Lall, commanding a Platoon of 30 men, showed unparalleled heroism in capturing one of these heights. "While leading his small and semi-starved force up the steep ridge, he was wounded 13 times; through exhaustion and loss of blood, he staggered and fell to the ground." His men wavered, but "making a last supreme effort, with 13 bullet wounds on his body, he rose to his feet and personally led the final assault on the height which was to decide the fate of Gandhi Brigade that day."[34] The British forces retreated leaving the height in possession of the I.N.A.

Lt. Ajaib Singh also distinguished himself in the fight. His Company advanced and by a very clever manoeuvre encircled the British troops who were besieging the Brigade Headquarters and a Company of the I.N.A. The British troops were caught between two rings of fire and suffered heavy casualties—about 250 killed or severely wounded. The battle had lasted the whole day and when evening came the British broke off their engagement and retired."[35]

But though the I.N.A. warded off the British attacks, they had to face a more terrible enemy. Extremely heavy monsoon

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washed away the Tamu-Palel road, and the only supply line for the supply of rations and ammunitions, was cut off. The Commander of the I. N. A. Brigade, who "was at that time occupying approximately 200 square miles of Indian territory" and administered it through the *Azad Hind Dal* unit sent up by Netaji, refused to withdraw from this liberated area, and explained the whole situation to a Conference of the local Naga Chiefs. The Nagas implored the I. N. A. Commander not to retreat and said: "You are the army of India's liberation. You must not go back. We are extremely short of food ourselves but we will collect whatever we can for you. We will leave or starve to death together."[36] The Nagas were bitter against the British as well as the Japanese. They said: "We do not want the British, neither do we want the Japanese in our area. All that we would like to have is our own Raja, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose."[37]

Early in July, 1944, due to battle casualties, disease and starvation the front line strength of the Gandhi Brigade had diminished from 2,000 to 1,000 men, and these too were in very indifferent health. The British, fully informed of the condition, launched a fierce attack and encircled the entire Gandhi Brigade. Major Abid Hussain managed to break through the encirclement with one Company and, after a fierce battle, extricated the Gandhi Brigade from a very dangerous and critical situation. In the evening the Gandhi Brigade counter-attacked the enemy. Abid Hussain and two other officers were awarded the much prized medals of *Sardar-e-Jang* for displaying outstanding gallantry in the day's fight.

Shortly after this the war situation changed for the worse, so far as the Japanese and the I. N. A. were concerned, as mentioned above. After the retreat of their forces from Kohima the full weight of the British offensive on a large scale fell on Gandhi Brigade which was eventually ordered to retreat to Kalewa.

The Azad Brigade, which left Malaya shortly after the Gandhi Brigade, arrived in Rangoon late in April, 1944, and reached Tamu, via Kalewa, about the middle of May. The task allotted to it was that of carrying out intensive Guerilla activity against the British forces around Palel, the area assigned being to the north of the Tamu-Palel road. But before the Brigade

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could launch any large scale offensive it had to withdraw along with the Gandhi Brigade under circumstances which we may now proceed to relate.

4. IMPHAL

The main objective of the Japanese offensive in 1944 was the capture of Imphal, the capital city of Manipur. It is situated in a plain surrounded by mountain ranges, narrow roads through which were the only means of entrance into and exit from this area. The Japanese succeeded in blocking these roads and advancing within two miles of Imphal. The British made several attempts to evacuate Imphal, and but for the blockade of all the roads they would have certainly done so. The plan agreed to by the Japanese and Netaji was to capture all the British forces and war material intact at Imphal. "Netaji's own idea was that the I. N. A., as it was then, was not powerful enough to undertake a full-scale invasion of India, and at the same time fight successfully against a possible Japanese betrayal. He was, therefore, of the opinion that the five British Divisions, composed of nearly one and a half lakhs of Indians, must be captured intact so that they could be persuaded to join the I. N. A. to fight for India's liberation, and that with the captured material all the deficiencies of the I.N.A. in artillery and other essential war material could be made up."[38]

These special Auxiliary Units of the I. N. A. were attached to the Japanese force attacking Imphal. Each of these Units had elements from the Bahadur, Intelligence and Reinforcement Groups. Troops of the I.N.A. crossed the Indo-Burma frontier and planted the National Tricolour flag for the first time on the liberated Indian soil on the 19th of March, 1944. There was tremendous enthusiasm and rejoicing and the men, before reaching the frontier, raced and vied with one another to be the first to set foot on the free Indian soil. The enemy retreated largely to Manipur through the Tiddim-Manipur Road. On 21 March Subhas Bose "proclaimed to the whole world that the *Azad Hind Fauz* had crossed the eastern frontier of India and was fighting on the sacred soil of India." On the same day Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, stated in the Diet that the Provisional Government would administer the occupied territory."[38a]

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As mentioned above, the Japanese were somewhat over-sanguine about the capture of Imphal at an early date. Possibly the idea was due to the easy capture of Singapore, and would most probably have been realized, but for the entanglements of the Japanese with the Americans in the Pacific Ocean. The Japanese had to withdraw their aeroplanes from the Indo-Burma border to the Pacific zone and this enabled the British to bring full one Division by air from the Arakans. The Japanese calculation was that they would capture Imphal by the middle of May at the latest and then the advent of monsoon would make British counter-attack impossible, enabling the Japanese to consolidate their position and, if possible, to cross the Brahmaputra into Bengal and Bihar. But the monsoon started before the fall of Imphal and by the end of June, 1944, it became almost impossible to supply rations and ammunition to the forces besieging Imphal. This, together with the constantly increasing pressure of the British reinforcements—rendered easy by the absence of Japanese aeroplanes—forced the Japanese, and the I.N.A. along with them, to withdraw to the east bank of the Chindwin.

Summing up the whole situation Shahnawaz Khan, the Commander of the Subhas Brigade, writes :

"Thus ended the main I. N. A. and Japanese offensive which had been started in March, 1944. During this period the I. N. A. with much inferior equipments and an extremely poor supply system, was able to advance as much as 150 miles into Indian territory. While the I. N. A. was on the offensive, there was not a single occasion on which our forces were defeated on the battle-field, and there was never an occasion when the enemy, despite their overwhelming superiority in men and material, was able to capture any post held by the I. N. A. On the other hand, there were very few cases where the I. N. A. attacked British posts and failed to capture them. In these operations the I. N. A. lost nearly 4,000 men as killed alone."[39]

5. General Review of the Campaign

The I.N.A. troops had to undergo incredible sufferings almost throughout their campaign. This was mainly due to

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insufficiency of transport and consequently of supplies. For example, when the I. N. A. took charge of Falam and Haka, the rations were not available there and had to be brought from the Regimental Headquarters at a distance, respectively, of 50 and 85 miles from these places. The Japanese garrison was supplied by animal transport and coolies, but neither was available for the I. N. A. Haka-Falam is a mountainous area more than 6,000 ft. high. The I. N. A men had to clamber up these heights, on an average 16 miles every day, to carry food to their comrades on the front line. The ration consisted of merely salt and rice and even these were not available on certain occasions. Sugar, milk, tea and meat were luxuries which the I.N.A. men hardly ever saw."[39a] The condition of the Indian troops at Falam has been described as follows by their commander, Shahnawaz Khan :

"It was bitterly cold and our men had only one warm shirt and one thin cotton blanket. They spent whole nights sitting around the fire as it was impossible to sleep on account of intense cold. Many of our sentries...collapsed at their post.... There was also an acute shortage of medicine and medical staff. The Company had one Naik and two nursing sepoys as the only medical staff....The men's boots were in a poor state, and some men had no boots at all. Their clothes were in tatters."[40]

In Myitha Haka men had no mosquito nets and 60 per cent of them were in the hospital suffering from Malaria. It was not an unusual thing for the I.N.A. men to go without proper food for days together, living on a type of mountain grass known as Lingra.

The climax was reached when the I. N. A. arrived at Kohima, the capital city of Naga Hills. Rations were exhausted. Small quantities of paddy collected from abandoned Naga villages boiled with jungle grass served as their food for several weeks. They had not even a little salt to mix with this food of paddy cum grass. All the medicines were finished. Men were attacked by huge flies of which there were millions in the jungles, and as soon as they had the slightest wounds there were hundreds of maggots in their wounds in half an hour, "and in

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most cases there was no other alernative for the men than say *Jai Hind* and shoot themselves."[41]

The retreat from Kohima was disastrous from every point of view. Shahnawaz says : "Torrential rain had washed away all tracks. The men made fresh tracks which soon became almost a knee-deep mass of mud, in which many of the men got stuck and died there. At that time there was no transport of any type with us. Almost every man was suffering from dysentery and malaria. No one had any strength left in him to help any one else....I saw men eating horses which had been dead four days ago. There were hundreds of dead human bodies of Japanese and Indian soldiers lying on either side of the road."[42] The British took advantage of the situation and dropped leaflets from the aeroplane holding out all kinds of temptations to the weary I. N. A. men if they rejoined the British army. But they produced no effect,[43] and the I. N. A. men walked several hundred miles through knee-deep mud and slush under constant shell and machine-gun fire till they reached Tamu. Even then they were inspired by the hope that they would be sent up to the Palel front to fight for the liberation of their country. But they learnt at Tamu that the Japanese forces and I. N. A. were to withdraw to the east bank of the Chindwin, as stated above. This news broke men's hearts. Shahnawaz, the Commander of the forces, thus describes what followed :

"A strong deputation of officers and men came to me and suggested that the only honourable course left open to them was that all those who were still fit enough to walk a few miles should attack the enemy and perish fighting. The sick, they all realized, would die anyhow. I agreed to their plan, but the Japanese Liaison officer came to know of it, and sent a frantic message to Netaji who issued strict and final orders to me to come back. As soldier there was no other alternative for me but to obey these orders and return to Kalewa."[44]

The incident is fully in keeping with the conduct of the I.N.A. soldiers throughout the campaign. Anyone who reads the history of this campaign is bound to be struck with one charatecristic feature of the soldiers who dedicated their lives for the liberation of India. They were ready to risk everything, dare everything, and suffer and sacrifice to any extent in order to

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take part in liberating India. More than once the sick sepoys refused to be left behind when their comrades marched to the forward area lest they be deprived of the great honour and privilege of entering their motherland as her liberator. They sat on the railway tracks to prevent the trains from starting without them, and nothing but the promise to send them to the front as soon as they recovered would move them.[45]

The patriotic feelings of the I. N. A. may also be judged by the remarkable scene that followed the capture of Mowdok within the frontier of India, as described by Captain Shahnawaz. The emotion of the I. N. A. men, when they first set foot on Indian sail, was thus described by Thivy, a member of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in October, 1945.

"The uncontrollable urge to press forward and plant the Tricolour Flag of Free India on the soil of India was so great that by the early hours of the morning of the 19th March, our valiant troops were rushing down the hillside, racing with one another to be the first to cross the border and fall prostrate to kiss Mother India. Who can describe the ecstatic joy with which that band of India's Freedom Fighters hoisted the National Flag to the strains of the National Anthem ?" The writer continues: "This longed-for news was flashed to all the Territorial Branches of the League, and on the 21st of that month, which was exactly the fifth month of the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, this great occasion was celebrated with eclat by Indians all over East Asia. On this same day, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued the historic proclamation particularly directed to our countrymen in India. It informed them that the Army of India's Liberation was now fighting in Indian soil. and it called upon all Indians to give every assistance to, and fully co-operate with, the Army, so that British Imperialism in India is overthrown."[47]

These words indicate the spirit which inspired the Indian Independence Movement in South-East Asia.

Before concluding this topic a brief reference must be made to two other points. First, as to the moral basis of the formation of the I. N. A. Opinions might differ on the conduct of the Indian soldiers who had betrayed the British sovereign to whom they swore allegiance. It was undoubtedly the greatest

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crime of which a soldier can be guilty. But in the light of what has been stated above it is impossible to deny that in doing so they were inspired by the highest degree of patriotism which, by common consent, is regarded as one of the noblest passions of mankind. Both these facts have to be borne in mind in judging of the I. N. A. men.

Secondly, Shahnawaz Khan has accused the Japanese High Command that they deliberately withheld the regular supply of rations in order to break the morale of the I. N. A. so that they could offer to Netaji a good excuse for not taking the I. N. A. men with them in actual fighting as was their policy from the very beginning.[48] But he proceeds even further as the following observations will show :

"Lastly, and with a clear conscience I can say that the Japanese did not give full aid and assitance to the Azad Hind Fauz (I.N.A.) during their assult on Imphal. In fact I am right in saying that they let us down badly and had it not been for their betrayal of the I. N. A. the history of the Imphal campaign might have been a different one. My own impression is that the Japanese did not trust the I. N. A. They had found out through their Liaison officers that the I.N.A. would not accept Japanese domination in any way, and that they would fight the Japanese in case they attempted to replace the British. The Japanese were frightened of making the I.N.A. too powerful. They were too confident of themselves and thought that they would be able to capture Imphal without assistance and without much difficulty."[49]

While due consideration must be given to the fact that Shahnawaz was in a position to know all the facts relating to the subject, it is only fair to remember that the Japanese defence against this accusation is not available to us, and even Shahnawaz was not in a position to know or fully grasp the meaning of all the factors which the Japanese had to take into consideration in deciding their policy or which determined their action. It is difficult to entertain such serious and ungenerous charges against a friendly power, which certainly helped and highly honoured Netaji, without the most convincing evidence. For the present we do not possess any such evidence. For, obviously, Shahnawaz Khan, the victim of the so-called treachery

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of the Japanese, cannot be looked upon as an impartial witness.

6. The Last Phase

The British began their counter-offensive in the cold season of 1944-45. Arakan was cleared of enemy troops and the British advanced towards Burma. The Japanese retreated. Rangoon, which was left in the hands of the I. N. A. after its evacuation by the Japanese, was occupied by the British early in May, 1945. The I. N. A. men were disarmed and made prisoners. The Indian Independence Movement in South-East Asia collapsed.

Netaji left Burma in the hope of renewing the fight—a hope that was never to be realized. It is unnecessary to describe in detail his "historic twenty-one-day trek—a mere three hundred miles—from Rangoon to Bangkok, his flight to Singapore to carry on non-stop broadcasting campaign addressed to India against the Wavell offer in June-July (1945), the Japanese surrender of mid-August, and finally his last flight from Saigon."[50] After that there is a blank.

Netaji left Saigon with a single companion in a twin-engined Japanese Bomber carrying senior Japanese officers to Tokyo via Dairen in Manchuria. It arrived safely at Taihoku in Formosa at about 2 P. M. on August 18. After lunch it left Taihoku. This is all that is definitely known. What happened after this is uncertain. The Japanese official version, issued at the time, was that almost immediately after the plane had taken off, it caught fire. Netaji, badly burnt, somehow came out of the plane, and was removed to a hospital where he died that very night, between 8 and 9 P. M. This story was discredited in India from the beginning. The Government of Free India evidently shared the suspicions of the public and appointed a Committee of Inquiry. The majority of the members held that the official version was substantially correct, but one member—the elder brother of Netaji—disagreed and pointed out many serious flaws in the method of inquiry.[51] There the matter rests and the end of this valiant fighter for freedom is shrouded in mystery. A number of Indians believe that he is still alive though another Committee also held the view that Netaji was dead.

In spite of failure, the I. N. A. occupies an important place in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The formation

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of this force and its heroic exploits proved beyond doubt that the British could no longer rely upon the Indian sepoys to maintain their hold on India. The universal sympathy expressed all over India for the I.N.A. officers, who were tried for treason in the Red Fort at Delhi, gave a rude shock to the British, inasmuch as it clearly demonstrated that the Indians of all shades of opinion put a premium on the disloyalty of the Indian troops to their foreign masters and looked upon it as a true and welcome sign of nationalism. The honour and esteem with which every Indian regarded the members of the I. N. A. offered a striking contrast to the ill-concealed disgust and contempt for those sepoys who refused to join the I. N. A. and remained true to their salt. Incredible though it may seem, it is none the less true, that even the stories of oppression and torture suffered by the latter for their loyalty evoked no sympathy for them in the hearts of the Indians who remained absolutely unmoved. The British were also not unaware of the fact that after the reoccupation of Burma by the British troops there was widespread fraternisation between the sepoys and the I.N.A. and "its result was a political consciousness which the Indian Serviceman had never before possessed."[52] All these opened the eyes of the British to their perilous situation in India. They realized that they were sitting on the brink of a volcano which may erupt at any moment. It is highly probable that this consideration played an important role in their final decision to quit India. So the members of the I. N. A. did not die or suffer in vain, and their leader, Netaji Subhas Bose, has secured a place of honour in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

The views expressed above in the first edition of this volume published in 1963 have since been fully confirmed. We are now in a position to assert with confidence that the formation of I. N. A. was one of the major grounds for the decision of the British Government to quit India. This was admitted by no less a person than Clement Attlee, the head of the British Government which conceived the idea of granting freedom to India and carried out the decision in spite of the opposition of the die-hard Conservatives like Churchill. This is proved by the (English translation of the) following extract of a letter written in Bengali by Shri P. B. Chakravarti, ex-Chief Justice of the

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High Court, Calcutta, on 30.3.76. "When I was acting as Governor of West Bengal (in 1956) Lord Attlee, who gave India freedom by putting an end to British rule, visited India and stayed in the Rajbhavan, Calcutta, for two days. I had then a long talk with him about the real grounds for the voluntary withdrawal of the British from India. I put it straight to him like this :

'The Quit India Movement of Gandhi practically died out long before 1947 and there was nothing in Indian situation at that time which made it necessary for the British to leave India in a hurry. Why did they then do so ?' In reply Attlee cited several reasons, the most important of which were the activities of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which weakened the very foundation of the attachment of the Indian land and naval forces to the British Government. Towards the end I asked Lord Attlee about the extent to which the British decision to quit India was influenced by Gandhi's activities. On hearing this question Attlee's lips widened in a smile of disdain and he uttered, slowly, putting emphasis on each single letter,—"mi-ni-mal."

"I referred to this talk of mine with Attlee in a speech at Netaji Bhavan which was broadcast by the All-India Radio—but omitting all references to Gandhi."[53]

It seldom falls to the lot of a historian to have his views, differing radically from those generally accepted without demur, confirmed by such an unimpeachable testimony. As far back as 1948 I wrote in an article[54] that the contribution made by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose towards the achievement of freedom in 1947 was no less, and perhaps far more, important than that of Mahatma Gandhi, and I hope true historians and all lovers of truth will now accept this view.

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BOOK V

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FREEDOM

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CHAPTER I

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT

1. THE BRITISH DECISION TO QUIT INDIA

The end of the Second World War in 1945 also marked the end of India's struggle for freedom which had commenced first about a quarter of a century before. The Non-violent Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience movements had practically come to an end in 1933. The violent revolutionary movement which had started early in the twentieth century spent its force by 1935. A combination of the above two movements in August, 1942, was ruthlessly crushed by the Government before the year was over. Lastly, the efforts of Subhas Bose to fight the battle for India's freedom with the help of foreign powers, culminating in the campaign of *Azad Hind Fauz* or Indian National Army on the eastern frontier of India, came to an end with their retreat along with the Japanese forces in July, 1944.

So, in the early months of 1945, when the end of the War was within sight, the prospect of India's achieving freedom from the British yoke looked very gloomy indeed. The power which refused to grant freedom to India in the darkest hours of its national peril was not likely to concede it in the days of its triumph and glory. Such misgivings must have haunted the minds of Indians in general. But the future of India was being shaped by unforeseen factors.

It did not take Britain long to realize that she had after all won a Pyrrhic victory. She saved herself and her empire by inflicting a crushing defeat upon Germany and Japan, but her fight to a finish exhausted her man-power and economic resources to such an extent that she could never hope to recover her old power and prestige. Nobody could fail to perceive at the end of the War how the power-politics in Europe had suffered a radical change, and Britain lost her position as a first-rate world power. That position was transferred to U.S.A. and Russia, and both Britain and France sank to the position of second-rate power, with the menace of Communist Russia

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gradually lengthening like a shadow over Western Europe. The British imperialism was chastened by these stark realities, and though the die-hard Premier, Churchill, might still refuse to preside at the liquidation of the British empire,[1] the British people and their more sober leaders thought otherwise. The great change that the War had brought over the outlook of the British people was first manifested by the result of the General Election held in Britain in 1945. The world-wide reputation justly earned by Churchill by his magnificent contributions to the Allied victory naturally gave rise to the expectation that the Conesrvative Party led by him would easily retain its power. But this hope was dashed to the ground by the resounding victory of the Labour Party in the General Election. For the first time in its history the Labour Party secured a clear majority over all other parties combined in the British House of Commons. Accordingly Churchill's Government was replaced by the Labour Government with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister and Lord Pethick Lawrence as Secretary of State for India (26 July, 1945).

The Labour Governmnet were now in a position to pursue an independent policy. The past attitude of the Labour Party towards India and the changed condition of Britain, referred to above, made it very likely that they would perhaps be inclined to grant freedom to India in fulfilment of the pledges given by the British Government during the War. This was also a fair deduction from the Election speeches of the Party. In his speech at the Blackpool Conference on 23 May, 1945, Attlee clearly said that 'they would strive earnestly to enable India to get full self-government.'[2] The following observations of Leonard Mosley fairly reflect the general view of the British public :

"From the moment, in 1945, when the war was over and post-war world began to reshape itself, no one of clear mind had any doubt that the Indian people would achieve the independence from British rule. . . .Even the Government of Winston Churchill had grumblingly and reluctantly conceded—not it is true, without some goading from the United States—the need to accord to India the same hopes of freedom as those which British and Indian soldiers fought to achieve in Europe and Asia. With the advent in Britain in 1945 of a Socialist

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Government under Clement Attlee, the question of Indian's freedom was never in doubt. . . .It was a policy with which the bulk of the electorate at the time agreed ; and from a purely practical point of view, even the diehards at home and the imperialist British in India could do little to stop it....The British troops, which might hold the country against rebellion and insurrection, were clamouring, after years of fighting, to go home. And, above all, British power and prestige, in spite of victory, had been diminished by the war. The campaigns in Asia had shown up Britain's weaknesses. After Singapore, Burma and the sinking of her finest ships by the Japanese, Britain would never again be able to demonstrate in Asia the background of strength and influence—the *macht-politic*—which had for so long enabled her to rule a million people with one man-on-the-spot."[3]

Mosley has made a fair analysis—brief though it is—of the practical reasons or factors which induced Britain to concede Independence to India. But he has not sufficiently stressed one important factor. He has referred to the unavoidable absence of British troops 'which might hold the country against rebellion,' but has carefully avoided all mention of the Indian sepoys which formed the major part of the British-Indian army and hitherto formed the chief instrument of quelling rebellion in India. The home-sickness of the British troops in India, to which he refers, was only a passing phase and could not be reckoned as a determining factor in formulating a permanent policy. It is likely, therefore, that what Mosely had in mind was that the formation of I. N. A. by Subhas Bose, to whose tremendous popularity in India he refers later, had shattered all hopes for using Indian sepoys in future against Indian rebels, and hence the paramount need of permanently locating such a powerful British army in India as the British could no longer afford to do. But whatever Mosley might have intended to convey, the fact was obvious that if the British could not count on the loyalty or allegiance of the sepoys and had to rely solely or even mainly on British troops, they might as well give up all hope of ruling India ; for they had not the resources, either in men or money, to fight against the resurgent masses of India. This was practically admitted by Clement Attlee as mentioned above (p. 610). The history of the preceding half a century had shown how the gradual awake-

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ning of the national consciousness of the Indians had finally developed into a rising of the masses. The Government had a foretaste of what such rising meant and of the damage done to the traditional loyalty of the people both by Gandhi's policy of non-violence and by the violent acts of the revolutionaries in addtion to the utmost strain on their resources caused by both. There was almost universal discontent against British rule and the Government had really no friends in the country, barring a few sycophants. The events of 1942 showed what troubles might be caused by the people themselves even though bereft of their recognized leaders and their guidance. The peoples' war in 1942, overstepping the limits of non-violence put by Gandhi, must have opened the eyes of the British to the terrible dangers lurking ahead. It was sternrly put down with the help of the sepoys, but then in 1945 it was quite clear to the British, that though the popular outbreaks were bound to recur from time to time, the sepoys might not be available, in future, to put them down and, what was worse still, the sepoys might even turn against the British as they did in 1944. In the meantime the hammering blows of Japan had shattered beyond recovery not only the British army and navy in the east, but also all the political and military prestige which, even more than material resources, formed the solid foundation of the British rule in India.

Thoughts like these must have been passing through the minds of the majority of the politically minded people in Britain interested in Indian affairs, and the broad practical commonsense, which is a characteristic trait of British character, must have suggested to them that the best course was to quit India with good grace rather than wait to be driven out with ignominy.

But whether this analysis is correct or not, the fact remains that in 1945 the opinion of the British public, except perhaps a microscopic minority of die-hards belonging to the school of Churchill, was ready for the final showdown. The Labour Party had pledged itself to Indian independence more than once, and the task of the Labour Government was rendered easier by the solid support of public oponion behind it.

So a spectacle, somewhat strange in recent Indian politics, presented itself during the period of two years that followed the

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end of the Second World War in August, 1945. The real struggle for freedom was over, and the battle for India's freedom was henceforth to be fought round the Council table, the principal combatants being the Hindus and the Muslims and not the Indians and the British. The British were now sincerely anxious to grant freedom to India, but the Indians were slow to take it, for they could not decide among themselves what form it should exactly assume. The role of the British was that of a mediator between two disputants, sometimes degenerating into that of a judge in a boxing bout between two prize-fighters.

II. SETTING THE STAGE

The Labour Party did not let the grass grow under their feet. His Majesty announced in his gracious speech from the throne 'that his Government are determined to do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion the early realisation of full self-geovernment for India.' The first practical step in this direction was the announcement, on 21 August, 1945, that the elections to the various Indian Legislatures would be held in the cold weather and that the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, would proceed to London for consultation with His Majesty's Government.

Wavell left for London on 24 August and returned on 16 September. Three days later he made an announcement on behalf of His Majesty's Government from which the following passage is quoted :

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body, and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with the representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alterntive or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.

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"During these preparatory stages, the Government of India must be carried on, and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new World Order. His Majesty's Government have therefore further authorised me, as soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties."[4]

Sumultaneously Lord Wavell issued a personal message emphasizing the fact that His Majessy's Government were determined to go ahead. They were well aware of the difficulties, but were determined to overcome them. On the same day Prime Minister Attlee broadcast an appeal to the Indians to make a united effort to evolve a Constitution which would be accepted as fair by all parties and interests in India.[5]

The impending elections served, in a sense, to clear the political sky in India. The Muslims outside the Muslim League could clearly feel which way the wind was blowing and flocked to the standard of the League. The number of Nationalist Muslims who still adhered to the Congress was almost negligible. Thus, on the eve of the election, two rival Parties—the Congress and the Muslim Legaue—stood face to face, representing, broadly speaking, the Hindu and Muslim elements of the population in India. Both the Parties made elaborate preparations for contesting the election. The Muslim League fought on the single issue of Pakistan. The Congress announced that it would contest the elections on the issue of the immediate transfer of Power. The Working Committee of the Congress which met in September, 1945, reiterated the Congress ideal of Indian unity, together with the proviso that it does not imply 'compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will.' The Congress leaders, however, were strongly against conceding the right of secession. They declared that henceforth they would not negotiate with the Muslim League but would make direct contact with the Muslim masses and would try to win them over by assurances contained in their election manifesto.[6]

The Congress had grave difficulties in fighting the elections. It had been in wilderness for more than three years, its organi-

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zations had broken down as many leaders and members were still in prison, and its party funds had been sequestrated by the Government. But, as on more than one occasion in the past, the blunders committed by the Government came to its rescue just at the psychological moment when its fortunes were at a very low ebb. It was the trial of the Indian soldiers who had joined the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) organized by Subhas Bose in Singapore, whose exploits have been mentioned above. About twenty-five thousand Indian soldiers—prisoners of war in the hands of the Japanese—,who had joined the I.N.A., were rounded up after the collapse of the Japanese army in Burma. The military authorities, on the basis of evidence in their possession, brought charges against some of the Officers not only of waging war against the King but also of committing gross brutality on the members of the I.N.A. accused of desertion. Accordingly a Military Tribunal was constituted by an Ordinance and the first batch of three accused officers—a Hindu, a Muslim, and a Sikh—were put on public trial in the historic Red Fort at Delhi. The Indian public did not, so long, know anything of the I.N.A., but now came to regard them as a band of patriotic heroes figting for the liberation of their motherland, and a wave of sympathy for them swept the whole of India. There was an I.N.A. Defence Fund; also I.N.A. Flag Days. The Congress took up the case of the accused and set up a panel of defence lawyers which included Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Nehru. The fame of Subhas Bose's I.N.A. and the fact that the Congress had taken up the cause of the accused excited great interest in the trial throughout India. The official evidence, given in course of the trial, brought home to the Indians, *for the first time*, the magnitude of the I.N.A. organization set up by Subhas Bose and the heroic feats performed by I.N.A. men. Popular enthusiasm now rose to the highest pitch. When the Muslim League associated itself with the defence of the accused, the agitation became all-India in character. There was great resentment at the persecution of the 'patriots' and wild popular demonstrations were held over a wide area, from Calcutta to Lahore and Bombay, and from Lakhnau to Madura, occasionally occompanied by popular outbrust of violence and the firing of the police. The Government quailed before the storm. The

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accused were convicted but ultimately the sentence of transportation for life was remitted and they were simply cashiered.[7]

There are some grounds to believe that the Government decision to put the I.N.A. men on trial "met with gratified approval, even from the Congress leaders."[8] It is difficult to explain their sudden change, for there was no love lost between Subhas Bose and the Congress leaders who were bitterly opposed to his alliance wih the Japanese and threatened to fight them if they entered India. It was, therefore, not unnaturally suspected by many at the time that the Congress deliberately used the I.N.A. as an election stunt. Whether this is true or not, there is not the least doubt that the Congress swept the polls at the crest of the wave of enthusiasm created by the I.N.A. trial.

There is little doubt that "the widespread disturbances arising out of the trial of the I.N.A, prisoners, created so dangerous and tense a situation" in India that the British Government decided to take some fresh action.[8a] On 4 December, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Lords that a Parliamentary Delegation, drawn from all the Parties, under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, would shortly visit India. They would meet "leading political Indian personalities to learn their views at first hand, as also to convey in person the general desire of the people of England that India should speedily attain her full and rightful position as an independent partner State in the British Commonwealth."[9] For the first time the British Government officially declared the independence of India as their immediate goal, and there was a wide appreciation of His Majesty's present Government for pronouncing it and making an earnest endeavour to settle the constitutional problem in India as urgently as possible. Nobody, of course, thought much of the Parliamentary Delegation, or expected that any tangible result would follow its visit, which was really exploratory in character.

The Parliamentary Delegation of ten members, led by Professor Robert Richards, arrived in India on 5 January, 1946. It spent about a month in this country and met almost all the important political leaders. Jinnah insisted on two constitution-making bodies, and conceded that he did not want predominantly non-Muslim areas like the Ambala Division of the Punjab to be

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included in Pakistan. He also assured the Delegation that Pakistan would remain within the British empire with a British Governor-General.

"Nehru in his talks with the Delegation conceded that the British Government might have to declare for Pakistan, but that there would have to be a plebiscite in border districts to confirm it."[10]

In the meantime elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were held, and the results were known towards the end of December, 1945. "The Congress won an overwhelming majority in the General constituencies, the Hindu Mahasabha and other opposing candidates preferring in most cases to withdraw rather than risk defeat. The Muslim League won every Muslim seat, the Nationalist Muslims forfeiting their deposits in many instances. The Congress secured 91.3 per cent of the votes cast in non-Muhammadan constituencies and the Muslim League 86.6 per cent of the total votes cast in Muhammadan Constituencies. The final figures were, Congress 57; Muslim League 30; Independents 5; Akali Sikhs 2; and Europeans 8, making a total of 102 elected seats. In the previous Assembly the figures at the time of dissolution were, Congress 36; Muslim League 25; Independents 21; Nationalist Party 10, and Europeans 8.[11]

"Both parties were jubilant over the victories. The Central Election Board of the Congress in a bulletin issued on 6 January, 1946, declared that the Congress stood vindicated; it was the biggest, strongest and most representative organization in the country. The Muslim League celebrated 11 January as its day of victory, and Jinnah's message for the occasion congratulated the League on winning all the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly."[12]

The results of elections in the Provinces confirmed the deductions made on the basis of the election to the Central Legislative Assembly. They proved that the Congress and the Muslim League were the only two Parties that counted in the country and, generally speaking, dominated, respectively, the Hindu and Muslim communities, except in the N.W.F.P. and Sindh. But it is noticeable that of the four Indian Provinces which were to constitute Pakistan, the separate sovereign Muslim State, the Muslim League had not absolute majority in any, and

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could form Ministry in only two, Bengal and Sindh, though in the latter it was more a matter of grace on the part of the Government than a claim of right. Another noticeable result of the elections was the fact that a large section of the Scheduled Castes supported the Congress.

The Viceroy announced on 28 January, 1946, that he would establish a new Executive Council formed by political leaders and also set up a Constitution-making body as soon as possible. But before further steps could be taken, a great sensation was created all over India by the revolt of a section of Indians serving in the Royal Indian Navy, followed by grave disturbances in the city of Bombay. "It started on 18 February, when ratings of the Signal School in Bombay went on a hunger-strike in protest against what their Central Strike Committee described as 'untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination,' and in particular against their Commander's derogatory references to their national character. They were joined later by ratings from other naval establishments. These persons got completely out of hand. They took possession of some of the ships, mounted the guns and prepared to open fire on the military guards. A very ugly situation developed. Admiral Godfrey, Flag Officer-Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, broadcast to the ratings calling upon them to surrender. At the same time efforts were made to secure guns and planes and to rush reinforcements to the scene. There were even some who tried to fish in the troubled waters. It was due largely to efforts of Vallabhbhai Patel that, on 23 February, the ratings surrendered. In the meantime, contrary to the advice of Congress and Muslim League, strikes and *hartals* were organized in Bombay and unruly crowds went about looting and setting fire to banks, shops, post offices, police posts and grain shops. The police had to open fire several times and the military had to be called in to assist before order could be restored. Over 200 persons were killed as a result of these disturbances, which had their repercussions in other centres such as Karachi, Madras and Calcutta.

"The Army and the Air Force were not altogether unaffected. There was trouble in several places, though not of a serious character."[13]

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The troubles in the Navy began on 18 February, 1946. On the very next day, 19 February, 1946, 'Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons made a simultaneous announcement that in view of the paramount importance, not only to India and to the British Commonwealth, but to the peace of the world, of a successful outcome of discussions with leaders of Indian opinion, His Majesty's Government had decided to send out to India a special mission consisting of three Cabinet ministers to seek, in association with the Viceroy, an agreement with those leaders on the principles and procedure relating to the constitutional issue. The members of the Mission would be Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty."[14] Whether the decision of despatching a Cabinet Mission was hastened by the revolt of the naval ratings it is difficult to say. It is, however, significant that the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps was also announced just four days after the fall of Rangoon in Japanese hands.

In any case the announcement about the Cabinet Mission was well received throughout India. It was felt that the grant of independence to India was now a certainty and would not be delayed beyond a period that was absolutely necessary to complete the preliminary arrangements.

III. THE CABINET MISSION

The Cabinet Mission arrived at New Delhi on 24 March, 1946. It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the numerous interviews and meetings held by the Mission. It would suffice to give a summary of the views of the two principal political parties.

"The Congress case was presented on 3 April by its President, Abul Kalam Azad. It proceeded on the basis of independence and on the assumption that the future constitution would be determined by a constitution-making body. It was obvious from the Congress point of view that in the intervening period there should be an Interim Government at the Centre which would be responsible for all subsequent stages, including the setting up of the constitution-making body. With regard to the

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composition of the Central Government, elections having taken place everywhere, the wishes of the Provincial Governments should be ascertained. In an Interim Government, of say fifteen members, there might be eleven Provincial representatives, and four places might go to representatives of the minorities. This did not necessarily mean that there should be one member from each province; members would be chosen by the provincial governments, but they need not come from within the province nor need they be members of the legislatures.

"Regarding the future constitution, what the Congress had in mind was a federal government with a limited number of compulsory federal subjects such as defence, communications and foreign affairs, and autonomous provinces in which would vest the residuary powers. There should be a list of optional subjects, so that it would be open to any province to decide for itself the extent to which it would be federated over and above the subjects in the compulsory list. The Congress plan was that on the completion of the work of the constitution-making body, a province should have three choices: (1) to stand out of the constitution, (2) to enter the constitution by federating for the compulsory subjects only, and (3) to federate for the compulsory as well as for the optional subjects."[15]

In the course of discussion Azad admitted that under his proposal the Muslims would not get more than two or three seats in the Executive Council, but observed that arrangements could be made to give them more. He also suggested that the constitution-making body might be elected by the provincial legislatures voting together as one federal college, rather than elected on the widest possible franchise, as originally proposed by the Congress.

Gandhi, who was interviewed immediately after Azad, gave only his personal views. He denounced Jinnah's two-nation theory as most dangerous, for, in his view the Indian Muslims, save a microscopic minority, were all descended from Indians. He was also opposed to two constitution-making bodies. For the interim period Gandhi suggested that Jinnah should be asked to form the first Government with the ministers chosen from amongst the elected members of the legislature. If he refused, the offer should be made to the Congress.[16]

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Jinnah argued the case for Pakistan somewhat as follows: "The differences in India were far greater than those be- en European countries and were of a vital and fundamental acter. Even Ireland provided no parallel. The Muslims a different conception of life from the Hindus. They ad- ed different qualities in their heroes; they had a different ure based on Arabic and Persian instead of Sanskrit origins. ir social customs were entirely different. Hindu society and sophy were the most exclusive in the world. Muslims and dus had been living side by side in India for a thousand s, but if one went into any Indian city one would see sepa- Hindu and Muslim quarters. It was not possible to make tion unless there were essential uniting factors.

"How would His Majesty's Government put 100 millions of lims together with 250 millions whose whole way of life was fferent? No government could survive unless there was a inant element which could provide a 'steel frame'. This e had hitherto been provided by the British, who had always ed the key posts in the Civil Service, the Police and the y. It was necessary to have a 'steel frame' for an independ- India, but Jinnah could see none. He had therefore come e conclusion, after years of experience, that there was no solution but the division of India. There were in India totally different and deeply rooted civilizations side by side the only solution was to have two 'steel frames', one in dustan and one in Pakistan. He agreed that it would be enient to have common railways, customs and so forth, but question was, by what government would those services be rolled? He certainly contemplated treaties and agreements ming such matters, which could be settled once the funda- tals of Pakistan were agreed."[17]

It is impossible to deny that there was a great deal of truth Jinnah's assessment of Hindu-Muslim relationship, as has dy been pointed out more than once in this and the two ding volumes of this History. In any case, Jinnah's view more realistic than that of Gandhi or Nehru.[18] The only at issue which Jinnah always cleverly and carefully avoid- was whether in view of India's geographical unity, and the that even if Pakistan were formed large numbers of Hindus

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and Muslims would have to live together in the same State as at present, an earnest attempt should not be made for the two nations to live under the same Government under a constitution mutually agreed upon. If Canada with its two warring nations, the English and the French and Switzerland, an artificial combination of three different nations, could evolve a formula of political integration was that inherently impossible in the case of Muslims and Hindus of India who had lived together within the natural limits of the same country for wellnigh seven hundred years? This question was not squarely faced by either Jinnah or the top-ranking Congress leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It was not to the interest of Jinnah to raise this issue and the Congress leaders were precluded from raising it because they never admitted the validity of the two-nation theory. This is the principal reason why all the past (and future) attempts for the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem proved a failure.

Among the other minorities the two most powerful and vocal ones were the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs, but they were divided among themselves and neither could present a common demand except that they desired special provisions for safeguarding their rights and interests. The two extremists were Ambedkar who was opposed to any Constituent Assembly as it would be dominated by the Caste Hindus, and Giani Kartar Singh, who demanded a separate sovereign State where the Sikhs would be in a dominant position.

Jinnah assumed a truculent attitude. "On or about 10 April and while these interviews were still in progress, Jinnah called together in Delhi a convention of over four hundred members of the various legislatures recently elected on the Muslim League ticket. A lengthy resolution was passed which demanded a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan, comprising the six provinces of Bengal and Assam in the north-east, and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India; the setting up of two separate constitution-making bodies by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions, and the provision of safeguards for the minorities. The acceptance of the Muslim League demand for Pakistan, and its implementation without delay, were declared to be the sine qua non for

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slim League cooperation and participation in the formation
n interim Government at the Centre. Any attempt to im-
e a constitution or to force on them an interim Government
rary to their demand would leave the Muslims no alternative
o resist such imposition by all the means possible for their
ival and national existence."[19]

Undeterred by these threats the Cabinet Mission calmly
ght of various possible alternatives which would secure the
ce of the Muslim League demand and at the same time be
ptable to the Congress. Ultimately they decided to offer
th the two following alternatives to choose from.

(1) Pakistan as a sovereign State with the exclusion of
Districts where the non-Muslims formed a majority.

(2) Pakistan, comprising the areas demanded by Jinnah,
nly as a separate federation forming a part of Indian Union.

But Jinnah decided against the idea of Indian Union. He
ed that the domination of the Muslims by the Hindus
not be prevented in any scheme in which they were kept
her, for "no amount of equality provided on paper would
. Equality could not exist between the majority and a
rity within the same Governmental system." Further nego-
ns followed, but no agreement between the Congress and
Muslim League was found possible. So on 16 May, 1946,
Cabinet Mission issued a Statement containing its own pro-
s which had received the approval of His Majesty's
rnment.

It began with the announcement that "immediate arrange-
s should be made 'whereby Indians may decide the future
itution of India and an Interim Government may be set up
ce to carry on the administration of British India until such
as a new Constitution can be brought into being."

The Cabinet Mission then examined the question of a fully
reign State of Pakistan as demanded by the Muslim League
pointed out that "the size of the non-Muslim minorities in
kistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated

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above would be very considerable as the following figures show

	Muslim	Non-Muslim
North-western Area		
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
N. W. F. P.	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62.07 per cent	37.93 per cent
North-Eastern area		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51.69 per cent	41.31 per cent

"The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India numbe some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 18 million.

"These figures show that the setting up of a separate sove reign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim Lea gue would not solve the communal minority problem ; nor can w see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakista those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in whic the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argumen that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our vie be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim area from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the positio of the Sikhs."

The Commission then considered the question of a small Pakistan by excluding non-Muslim areas. Apart from the fa that the Muslim League regarded it as quite impracticable, th Commission added :

"We ourselves are also convinced that any solution whic involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as th would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Province Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language an a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of th Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs, leaving substanti bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have ther

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been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a ller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable tion for the communal problem."

The Commission then pointed out the serious consequences the partition of India :

8.[18] "Apart from the great force of the foregoing argus, there are weighty administrative, economic and military siderations. The whole of the transportation and postal and graph systems of India have been established on the basis united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure parts of India. The case for a united defence is even ger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force ld become much less effective. The two sections of the sted Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakis- would be insufficient.

9. "A further consideration of importance is the greater culty which the Indian States would find in associating themes with a divided British India.

10. "Finally, there is the geographical fact that the two es of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some hundred miles and the communications between them both ar and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hin-

11. "We are therefore unable to advise the British Govern- that the power which at present resides in British hands ld be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States."

The Commission then considered the Congress scheme of ration of India "under which Provinces would have full nomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications."

12. "Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, ld cede to the centre optional subjects in addition to the com- ory ones mentioned above.

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13. "Such a scheme would, in our view, present consi derable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion. Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way."

After this remarkably statesmanlike review of the proposals put forward by the Muslim League and the Congress, the Commission set forth its own suggestion which reads as follows:

15. "We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British-Indian and States' representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union Subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with Execu

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...s and Legislatures, and each Group could determine the Pro-...cial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups ...uld contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a ...jority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsidera-...n of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten ...rs and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter."

As regards setting up the constitution-making machinery the ...mmission rejected the selection of a Constituent Assembly ...sed on adult franchise as it would delay the matter too long. ...ey also decided against utilizing the recently elected Provin-...l Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies, for there were ...o serious objections against it.

18. "First, the numerical strengths of Provincial Legisla-...e Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total ...ulation in each Province. Thus, Assam, with a population ...10 millions, has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, ...e Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an ...embly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given ...inorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the seve-...communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not ...proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number ...seats reserved for Moslems in the Bengal Legislative Assembly ...only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent ...the provincial population. We have come to the conclusion ...t the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats pro-...tional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a ...llion, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult ...frage.

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the ...n communities in each Province in proportion to their popu-...ion.

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each ...mmunity in a Province shall be elected by members of that ...mmunity in its Legislative Assembly.

"We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recog-...e only three main communities in India: General, Moslem ...d Sikh."

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The operative part of the Commission's Statement, may be quoted in full :

"19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislative Assembly (General, Moslem or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote :

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

Section A

Province	General	Musilm	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Section B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total.
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

Section C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70

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tal for British India	292
aximum for Indian States	93
Total	385

(ii) It is the intention that the States would be given in e final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which ould not, on the basis of the calculations of population adopted r British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will ve to be determined by consultation. The States would in e preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Commi-

(iii) Representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the gene- order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other offi- s elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 low) on the rights of citizens, Minorities and Tribal and Ex- ded Areas set up. Thereafter the Provincial representatives l divide up into three Sections shown under A, B and C, in Table of Representation in subparagraph (i) of this para- ph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle Provincial Cons- tions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall o decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for se Provinces and, if so, with what Provincial subjects the oup should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of oups in accordance with the provisions of subclause (viii) be- w.

vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian tes shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union stitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions vary- the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major mmunal issue shall require a majority of the representatives esent and voting of each of the two major communities. The airman of the Assembly shall decide which, if any, resolutions se major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a

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majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution."

The Cabinet Mission proceeded to point out the important problems, both internal and external, which the Government of India will have to face in the post-war world, and therefore proposed immediately to set up an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties, in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

It is a sad commentary on the political acumen of the Congress leaders that the most cogent and powerful arguments against Pakistan should have been advanced, for the first time, by the Cabinet Mission whose realistic appreciation of the Indian problem offers a refreshing contrast to the emotional outbursts of both Hindu and Muslim leaders. Even after the Statement was issued, both the Congress and the Muslim League criticised it from their respective doctrinaire attitude. But so great was the wisdom of practical statesmanship displayed in the Statement that neither party was in a mood to reject it, as a whole, but only raised specific issues for discussion. The most important among these, which was ultimately responsible for the break-down of the whole plan, may be stated in some detail. The Congress Working Committee interpreted para 15 of the Mission's Statement to mean that in the first instance, the respective Provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the sections in which they are placed. The Cabinet Mission, however, pointed out that the Congress in interpreting para 15(5) ignored para 19(iv), and the Commission rightly stressed that "the scheme stands as a whole." This insistence on the original proposal of initial grouping disturbed the Sikhs who felt that they would not have sufficient safeguards against the Muslim majority in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. They rejected the Mission's plan and decided to fight. The Congress also disapproved of the compulsory grouping of Provinces, but was evi-

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gently more concerned with the exact status of the Interim Government *vis-à-vis* the Governor-General. On 25 May Azad wrote to the Viceroy suggesting that convention might be established to recognize the responsibility of the Interim Government to the Central Legislative Assembly. In his reply dated 30 May, the Viceroy gave Azad assurances of "the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day to day administration of the country."[20]

IV. NEGOTIATION FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

The composition of the Interim Government proved to be a bone of contention between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, accepted the suggestion of Jinnah that there should be 5 each of the Congress and the League, 1 Sikh, and 1 Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian,—altogether 12—in the Executive Council. Nehru, on behalf of the Congress, rejected this scheme 'as it was even worse than the one proposed at Simla Conference', and suggested instead that there should be 5 Congress Hindus, 4 League Muslims, 1 non-League Muslim, 1 non-Congress Hindu, 1 Congress Scheduled caste, 1 Indian Christian, 1 Sikh, and 1 Congress woman, altogether 15. Wavell turned it down and suggested 6 (including one Scheduled caste) Congress, 5 League and 2 Minorities. This was rejected by the Congress.

In view of the deadlock thus created the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy issued a Statement on 16 June, 1946, setting forth their own proposal to set up an Executive Council of fourteen persons (all of whom were mentioned by name), six belonging to the Congress including a represntative of the Scheduled castes, five to the Muslim League, one Sikh, one Indian Christian and one Parsi. The list included the names of Nehru and Jinnah. "The Sikhs rejected the long-term plan and refused to agree to any Sikh representative joining the Executive Council."[21]

The paragraph 8 of the Statement ran as follows :

"In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to

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proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16th."[22]

But the Viceroy went out of his way to assure Jinnah that "the proportion of members community-wise would not be changed without the agreement of the two parties, and that no decision on a major communal issue could be taken in the Interim Government if the majority of either of the parties were opposed to it."[23] The Viceroy also wrote to Jinnah on 22 June, that the Congress would not be allowed to nominate a Muslim in the Interim Government.

It is difficult to account for this complete surrender of the Viceroy to Jinnah. Even one of the most appreciative associates of Lord Wavell was constrained to observe that he made these commitments to Jinnah "without sufficient and timely consideration." But taken along with his later conduct, his present action may be looked upon as the beginning of a new policy of shift to the Muslims, which wrecked the Cabinet Mission plan as well as his own career.

The Viceroy's correspondence with Jinnah became public, and, as could be easily anticipated, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on 25 June, rejecting the plan of Interim Government.

The Committee, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the Constitution of a free, united and democratic India.[24]

Immediately after the Congress decision, the Cabinet Mission told Jinnah that the scheme of 16 June had fallen through; but since both the Congress and the League had now accepted the Statement of 16 May, it was proposed to set up a Coalition Government, including both parties, as soon as possible.

The Cabinet Mission left India on 29 June, 1946. If it had not succeeded in achieving its object, its strenuous efforts extending over more than three months were not altogether barren of results. The Indian constitutional problem had been put in the form of concrete realities and a machinery had been devised to discuss them and come to a decision. More important still, the Indians now felt convinced that the Labour Government in Britain were really anxious to see India free. The question for

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India was no longer how to achieve freedom, but how to enjoy it without cutting each other's throat.

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on July 6 and 7, and ratified by 205 votes against 51 the settlement with the British, i.e., the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Only the Socialist wing of the Congress opposed.

Unfortunately, at this critical moment, when a peaceful settlement of India's future was almost within sight, it was upset by some indiscreet utterances of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1937 his outright rejection of Jinnah's offer of Congress-League Coalition Ministry ruined the last chance of a Hindu-Muslim agreement. His observations in 1946 destroyed the last chance—though a remote one—of a free united India.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who was elected President of the Congress sometime ago, took over the office from Azad at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay (6 and 7 July). In winding up the proceedings of the Committee, Nehru made a long speech explaining the position of the Congress *vis-à-vis* the Cabinet Mission plan. He said "that as far as he could see, it was not a question of the Congress accepting any plan, long or short. It was merely a question of their agreeing to enter the Constituent Assembly, and nothing more than that. They would remain in that Assembly so long as they thought it was for India's good and they would come out when they thought it was injuring their cause. 'We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided for the moment to go to the Constituent Assembly."[25]

Later, speaking at a press conference on 10 July, Nehru qualified his statement. He admitted that the Congress was bound by the procedure set down for election of members to the Constituent Assembly. But then he added: "What we do there we are entirely and absolutely free to determine."[26] Far more important however were his observations on paras 20 and 22 of the Cabinet Mission's plan. These paras read as follows:

20. "The Advisory Committee on the rights of Citizens, Minorities, Tribal and Excluded Areas will contain due representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, clauses for protecting Minorities, and a

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scheme for the administration of Tribal and Excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union Constitution.

22. "It will be necessary to negotiate a treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certrain matters arising out of the transfer of power."

Referring to these Nehru observed that he would have no treaty with the British Government if they sought to impose anything upon India ; as for the Minorities it was a domestic problem and "we shall no doubt succeed in solving it. We accept no outsider's interference in it, certainly not the British Government's interference, and therefore these two limiting factors to the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly are not accepted by us."[27] These observations, at that particular moment, were very injudicious and impolitic, to say the least of it. Still more unfortunate were Nehru's observations on the question of grouping the Provinces. He hoped, he said, that there will be no grouping because some States and Groups B and C will oppose it. So far there could be no valid objection. But then Nehru added : "But I can say with every assurance and conviction that there is going to be finally no grouping there, because Assam will not tolerate it under any circumstances whatever. Thus you see this grouping business, approached from any point of view, does not get us on at all."[28] Such words, coming from the new President of the Congress, were justly calculated to rouse a genuine fear in the minds of Jinnah that the Congress might accept the Cabinet Mission plan, but was determined not to work it in the proper spirit.

"Dealing with the powers of the proposed Union Centre, Nehru said that Defence and Communications would embrace a large number of industries necessary for their support. Foreign affairs must inevitably include foreign trade policy. It was equally inevitable that the Union must raise its finances by taxation, rather than by any system of contribution or doles from the Provinces. Further, the Centre must obviously control currency and credit ; and there must be an over-all authority to settle inter-Provincial disputes and to deal with administrative or economic breakdowns."[29]

These words might be legally and constitutionally true, but

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f Nehru were determined to scare away Jinnah he could not have evised a better or more ingenious plan. The grouping of Pro-inces and a weak Centre with residuary powers to the Provinces r Provincial groups were, in the opinion of Jinnah, the only two eritorious features of the plan, which might make amends for crificing the idea of a sovereign Pakistan. Nehru's assertion r explanation negatived the latter and neutralised, to a very rge extent, the value of the former.

In view of the importance of Nehru's statement and its tragic nsequence of putting "Hindus and Muslims back in two fuming d suspicious camps," it would not be improper to refer to the ews of two Englishmen, both intimate friends of Nehru, and e of whom was the author of what Nehru regarded as his best ography. Leonard Mosley says :

"And on 10 July, after he (Nehru) had been elected Presi-nt, he called the Press together for a conference to discuss his licy as the new head of Congress. It was a moment in history en circumspection should have been the order of the day. ere was much to be gained by silence. The fortunes of India re in the balance, and one false move could upset them. hru chose this moment to launch into what his biographer, ichael Brecher has described as "one of the most fiery and pro-cative statements in his forty years of public life."

After giving a summary of Nehru's statements, quoted above, osley continues :

"Did Nehru realize what he was saying? He was telling e world that once in power, the Congress would use its strength the Centre to alter the Cabinet Mission Plan as it thought fit. t the Muslim League (as had Congress) had accepted the Plan a cut and dried scheme to meet objections from both sides. was a compromise plan which obviously could not afterwards altered in favour of one side or another. In the circumstances, hru's remarks were a direct act of sabotage. Whether he ant them to be so, in the mistaken belief that Jinnah and the slim League were not really a force to be reckoned with or ether they were the ham-handed remarks of a politician who d not know when to keep his mouth shut will never be known."[30]

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had just relinquished the sidentship of the Congress in favour of Nehru referred to the

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latter's press conference as "one of those unfortunate events which change the course of history," and categorically states that "it was not correct to say (as Nehru did) that Congress was free to modify the (Cabinet Mission) Plan as it pleased."[31]

Every political leader, perhaps with the single exception of Jawaharlal Nehru, should have easily anticipated Jinnah's reaction to his statement. Azad sums up the whole position as follows :

Jinnah had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan as there was no alternative. Jawaharlal's statement came to him as a bombshell.' He "issued a statement that the Muslim League had accepted the Plan as it was assured that the Congress had also accepted the scheme and that the Plan would be the basis of the future constitution of India. Now that the Congress President had declared that the Congress could change the scheme through its majority in the Constituent Assembly, this would mean that the minorities were placed at the mercy of the majority."[32]

Even the Congress realized the folly of its President. The Working Committee which met on 8 August was faced with a dilemma. As Azad put it : "To repudiate the President's statement would weaken the organization but to give up the Cabinet Mission Plan would ruin the country. Finally, we drafted a resolution which made no reference to the Press Conference but reaffirmed the decision of the A.I.C.C."[33] accepting the scheme in its entirely, thus indirectly repudiating Nehru's statement. The British Cabinet also made a genuine effort to undo the mischief caused by Nehru's statement. On 18 July the Secretary of State in the House of Lords and Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons unequivocally assured Jinnah that the Government would stick to the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16 May as it stood.

But Jinnah remained unmoved. He held "that Jawaharlal's statement represented the real mind of Congress. He argued that if Congress could change so many times, while the British were still in the country and power had not come to its hands, what assurance could the minorities have that once the British left, Congress would not again change and go back to the position taken up in Jawaharlal's statement ?"[34] He was particularly afraid that the Congress by virtue of its majority in the Constituent Assembly "will wreck the basic form of the grouping of

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Provinces and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the ion Centre" in violation of the paras 15 and 19 of the State- ent of 16 May. This cannot be regarded as an altogether base- s fear, and seems to be the real background of the changed titude of Jinnah and the Muslim League Council which met at ombay on 27 July. In his opening speech Jinnah reiterated the mand for Pakistan. The Council, on 29 July, rejected the binet Mission Plan and decided to resort to 'Direct Action' for achievement of Pakistan.

The resolution on the 'Direct Action' reads in part as llows: "Whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste- ndu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; and hereas recent events have shown that power politics and not stice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs;... w the time has come for the *Muslim Nation* to resort to *direct tion* to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate ir honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the emplated future Caste-Hindu domination."

Then comes the operative part which reads as follows:

"This Cauncil calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a n behind their sole representative and authoritative organiza- n, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every rifice.

"This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare thwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy nciated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming ggle to be launched as and when necessary.

"As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment the attitude of the British, the Council calls upon the Mussul- ns to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the n Government."[35]

These two momentous resolutions were passed by the Coun- of the Muslim League without any dissent.

In the meantime the Viceroy had made one further proposal an Interim Government which would consist of 6 (including Scheduled caste) from the Congress, 5 from the League and representatives of Minorities nominated by the Viceroy. A tter containing the above proposal was written to both Nehru d Jinnah on 22 July. But in view of the resolutions of the

V3

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Council of the Muslim League on 29 July Jinnah's reaction to it was a foregone conclusion. In his reply dated 31 July Jinnah refused to accept the proposal of the Viceroy.

But, for the first time in recent history, the British Cabinet refused to allow Jinnah and his League to put a veto upon constitutional progress in India.

On 6 August the Viceroy wrote to Nehru that, "with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government he had decided to invite him to make proposals for the formation of an intertm Government on the basis of the assurances contained in his letter of 30 May to Azad."

In his reply to Jinnah's letter of 31 July, the Viceroy informed him "that in view of the League resolutions of 29 July, he had decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an interim Government and he was sure that if they made a reasonable offer of a coalition, he could rely on Jinnah for a ready response."[35]

The Congress Working Committee, meeting in Wardha on 8 August, authorized Nehru to accept the invitation to form an Interim Government. The Viceroy accordingly issued a communique on 12 August inviting the President of the Congress to form the Provisional Government. Nehru accepted the invitation and wrote to Jinnah offering five seats out of fourteen, in the Interim Government, to nominees of Jinnah. But the negotiations broke down as Jinnah did not agree to the appointment of a non-League Muslim in the Government even out of the Congress quota.

V. THE DIRECT ACTION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

In pursuance of the resolution of the Muslim League Council, passed on 29 July, the Working Committee of the League called upon the Muslims throughout India to observe 16 August as 'Direct Action Day', when meetings would be held all over the country to explain the resolution. This looked innocuous enough. But the real spirit of the 'Direct Action' was expressed by Jinnah himself immediately after the resolution was passed by the League Council. He said :

"What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League

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ve anything except by constitutional methods and by constitionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this posi-
n. This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods."
He recalled that throughout the fateful negotiations with the abinet Mission the other two parties, the British and the Con-
ess, each held a pistol in their hand, the one of the authority d arms and the other of mass struggle and non-co-operation."
To day," he said, "we have also forged a pistol and are in a sition to use it."[37]

Whatever Jinnah might have in view when he uttered these rds, the 'Direct Action' was interpreted in the light of these marks by the Muslim League in Bengal with the full backing d support of the Muslim League Ministry under Mr. H. S. hrawardy, ruling over that unfortunate Province. The irect Action' in certain localities in Bengal was merely a nouflage for an organized anti-Hindu campaign of loot, arson d indiscriminate murder of men, women and children in broad -light with impunity. The worst holocaust took place in lcutta. The League Ministry had declared 16 August as a blic holiday. Long processions were taken out by the Mus- League along the prominent streets of Calcuttta, and sud-ly the members of the procession began to attack and loot e Hindu shops. Then the horrors of Muslim goondaism in its rst form were let loose upon the Hindus in the predominantly slim areas in Calcutta. The Hindus were taken unawares d had the worst of it at the beginning; they were butchered e sheep, their women were ravished, and their houses looted d occasionally burnt. It has now been proved beyond all ubt that this great killing and outrage were deliberately orga-ed beforehand with the active support of the League Govern-nt. It was even then openly alleged that the Chief Minister, hrawardy, shielded the worst ruffians in Calcutta and couraged them to do their worst without any fear. Azad es: "I found there (Dum Dum, Calcutta) a large military tingent waiting in trucks. When I asked why they were not ing to restore order, they replied that their orders were to nd ready but not to take any action. Throughout Calcutta, e Military and the Police were standing by, but remained in-ve while innocent men and women were being killed."[38]

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This was indeed the strongest and the saddest part in the whole tragic episode!

The British Governor, all the while in Calcutta, sat inactive, and the Central Government did not take any effective step even though they received secret official reports that the Muslim League Government was at the back of the whole affair. This unwillingness of the British Government to maintain law and order for which they were still responsible under the existing Constitution rendered the Hindus desperate and forced them to organize themselves. Then followed what may be described as a Civil War between the Hindus and Muslims, members of each community indiscriminately killing those of the other whenever any opportunity offered itself. When it was realized by the Government that the butchery, pillage and arson were no longer one-way traffic, they cried halt and peace was restored after about a week. No regular inquiry was made, but according to a rough official estimate at the time, nearly 5,000 lives were lost over 15,000 persons were injured, and about 100,000 were rendered homeless.

According to Mosley, "between dawn on the morning of 16 August 1946 and dusk three days later, the people of Calcutta hacked, battered, burned, stabbed or shot 6,000 of each other to death, and raped and maimed another 20,000."[39]

The *Statesman* wrote on the Calcutta riot of 16 August:

"The latest estimate of dead is 3,000, who have lain thick about the streets. The injured number many thousand and it is impossible to say how many business houses and private dwellings have been destroyed. This is not a riot...For three days, the city concentrated on unrestrained civil war. Upon whom the main guilt for it rests is manifest. ...Where the primary blame lies is where we have squarely put it—upon the Provincial Muslim League Cabinet...and particularly upon the Chief Minister."[39a]

During an interview with the Viceroy Maulana Abul Kalam Azad "severely criticized the Bengal Ministry (Premier Suhrawardy in particular) and alleged that, although the Government of Bengal had apprehended trouble, they had not taken sufficient precautions; that they had been much too late in enforcing Section 144 and a total curfew, and in calling out the

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troops. The declaration of a public holiday on 16 August had made the hooligans of Calcutta's underworld believe that they had the licence of the Government to behave as they liked."[39b]

VI. INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Far-sighted observers could realize that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to bridge the river of blood that flowed between the Hindus and the Muslims in Calcuttta during August, 1946. Azad mournfully observes that "the turn that events had taken made it almost impossible to expect a peaceful solution by agreement between the Congress and Muslim League." He justly regards this as "one of the greatest tragedies of Indian history", and, "with the deepest regret", lays the main responsibility for this at the door of Jawaharlal Nehru, though he adds: "Jawaharlal is one of my dearest friends and his contribution to India's national life is second to none."[40] But Nehru does not seem to have fully realized the consequences of his own folly. While Calcutta was the scene of an unprecedented holocaust, Nehru was busy negotiating with the Viceroy about the Interim Government. On 17 August, i.e., the very next day after the "great killing" had begun, but not ended, nor shown any sign of abating, he submitted his proposals to the Viceroy, and after discussion for a week the personnel of the Interim Government was announced on 24 August, 1946, in the following *communique*.

"His Majesty the King has accepted the resignation of the present members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following:

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. M. Asaf Ali, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. John Matthai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Mr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer and Covesji Hormusji Bhabha.

"Two more Muslim members will be appointed later. The Interim Government will take office on September 2."[41]

In a broadcast on the same day, the Viceroy made an earnest—almost pathetic—appeal to the Muslim League to join the Government. "The door of coalition is not closed." said the Viceroy, and he gave all possible assurances to remove mis-

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givings about the Congress tyranny, but Jinnah refused to budge an inch.

Shortly after the announcement of the Interim Government, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, visited Calcutta. What he saw and learnt there filled him with dismay. He was convinced that some sort of agreement between the two major communities was not brought about soon, the Calcutta happenings would be repeated in varying degrees of recklessness all over India. At this psychological moment Khwaja Nazimuddin, a prominent leader of the Muslim League in Bengal, suggested that if the Congress would make an unequivocal statement that Provinces could not opt out of groups except as laid down in the Statement of 16 May, there was just a chance that the Muslim League might join the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly. Immediately after his return Wavell saw Gandhi and Nehru on 27 August and gave them an account of what happened in Calcutta. He told them that the only way to avoid similar tragedy all over India was to set up coalition Governments both in Bengal and at the Centre. He handed over to Gandhi and Nehru the draft of a formula which he thought might satisfy the Muslim League. It ran thus :

"The Congress are prepared in the interests of Communal harmony to accept the intention of the Statement of May 16th, that provinces cannot exercise any option affecting their membership of the sections or of the groups if formed, until the decision contemplated in paragraph 19 (viii) of the Statement of 16th May is taken by the new Legislature after the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation and the first general elections have been held."[42]

What transpired at the meeting is not accurately known, but neither Gandhi nor Nehru was prepared to accept the formula. Menon has given a long account of the discussion. Leonard Mosley, who had access to official records not yet made public, has referred to the conversation in some detail from which the following extracts are quoted :

"Give me a simple guarantee that you accept the Cabinet Mission Plan", asked Wavell. "We have already said that we accept it", replied Gandhi, "but we are not prepared to guarantee that we accept it in the way that the Cabinet Mission set it out

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have our own interpretations of what they propose."

Said Wavell: "Even if those interpretations differ from what the Cabinet Mission intended?

Replied Gandhi: "But of course. In any case, what the Cabinet Mission Plan really means is not what the Cabinet Mission thinks but what the interim Government thinks it means."

Wavell: "It is a moment—possibly the last we have—to bring the League and the Congress together. And all I ask is a Guarantee (that no minorities in the groups should be allowed to opt out of them before the ten-year period specified by the Cabinet Mission Plan).

Nehru: "To accept this is tantamount to asking Congress to put itself in fetters."

Wavell: If so why did you accept it (C.M Plan) at all?

Gandhi: "What the Cabinet Mission intended and the way we interpret what they intended may not necessarily be the same."[43]

At the request of the Viceroy Nehru placed the formula before the W.C. of the Congress. They stuck to their old view but added that any dispute as to the interpretation of the clauses relating to grouping might be referred to the Federal Court and that they would abide by its decision. In his letter to the Viceroy, dated 28 August, communicating this to the Viceroy, Nehru added that the Viceroy's reference to the non-summoning of the Constituent Assembly unless the course suggested by him was adopted by the Congress had produced a feeling of resentment in the Working Committee. The Home Government, however, did not agree with the Viceroy. They asked him not to take any steps which were likely to result in a breach with the Congress, and to form the interim Government with the personnel already announced. So the Interim Government was sowrn in on 2 September. On the eve of the new Government's assumption of office, a merderous attack was made on Mr Shafaat Ahmed Khan, one of the Ministers, and communal riots broke out in Bombay and Ahmadabad. The League had realized that violence did pay, so far at least as the Viceroy was concerned.

The firm attitude of the British Cabinet evidently made some impression on Jinnah, for on 13 October, the Muslim

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League agreed to join the Interim Government. On 14 October Jinnah sent the names of five nominees of the Muslim League. They were Liaquat Ali Khan, I. I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and Jogendra Nath Mandal. Mandal belonged to the Scheduled caste and was a Minister in the Muslim League Government of Bengal. The inclusion of a Scheduled caste member was obviously a reply to the right claimed by the Congress to nominate a Muslim.

There was, however, no Coalition Government in the real sense of the term. "The League's representatives in the Interim Government refused to accept either Nehru's leadership or the convention of collective responsibility. The Interim Government, as Liaquat Ali Khan described it, "consisted of a Congress bloc and a Muslim bloc, each functioning under a seperate leadership."[44] The Muslim members were in the Government but not of the Government, or rather, against it. The result was that there were constant wranglings within the Cabinet which presented the sad picture of one composed of an almost equal number of members belonging to two hostile groups who differed on almost every matter of importance. It seems to have been the constant endeavour of the Muslim members to discredit the Congress in every possible way. As Iiaquat Ali, the leader of the Muslim group in the Cabinet, held the Finance portfolio, he had the right to scrutinize every proposal of every department. He fully utilized this power to make it difficult for any Congress member in the Cabinet to function effectively. The proposals of taxation introduced in the Budget were inspired by a deliberate motive to damage the interest of the businessmen, most of whom were Hindus. There was almost an open rupture in the Cabinet over this, but it was somehow averted by the modification of the proposals.

Events outside also made it clear that there was not real improvement in communal feelings. About the middle of October, 1946, there was an organized attack on the Hindus of Noakhali and Tippera districts, in East Bengal, the population of which was predominantly Muslim. The attacks were "made by people armed with guns and other deadly weapons; roads had been dug up and other means of communication cut off to prevent ingress and egress; canals had been blocked and stra-

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strategic points were being guarded by armed insurgents.

"Two of the Muslim League's nominees to the Interim Government were openly indulging in belligerent speeches."

One of them, Ghazanfar Ali Khan, declared on 19 October : "We are going into the Interim Government to get a foothold to fight for our cherished goal of Pakistan, and I assure you that we shall achieve Pakistan. The disturbances which have occurred in many parts of the country after the installation of the purely Congress Government at the centre have established the fact beyond any shadow of doubt that the ten crores of Indian Muslims will not submit to any Government which does not include their true representatives. In the Interim Government all our activities shall be guided by two considerations, that is, to convince the Congress that no Government in India can function smoothly without the co-operation of the Muslim League and that the League is the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. The Interim Government is one of the fronts of the direct action campaign and we shall most scrupulously carry out the orders of Mr. Jinnah on any front that we are called upon to serve."

In other words, even responsible leaders of the Muslim League, selected by Jinnah for administering the Interim Government, held "that the events in East Bengal were but part of the all-India battle for Pakistan."[45]

But as in the Direct Action in Calcutta, the killings soon ceased to be merely a one-way traffic. There were severe reprisals by the Hindus in Bihar, the population of which was predominantly Hindu, and to lesser extent in Ahmadnagar and Ahmadabad. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the horrors enacted in these places, particularly in Noakhali and Bihar, as the outrages beggar all description. Murder, arson, looting, and outrages on women, specially abduction and forcible conversion of Hindu women—all on a massive scale—formed the usual pattern. One thing, however, deserves special notice. The outrages by the Hindus in Bihar, horrible though they were, were firmly repressed by the Government and the personal interference of the Viceroy and Nehru, in striking contrast to the outrages by the Muslims, first in Calcutta and then in Noakhali, which were allowed to run their own course.

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The Muslim outrages in Noakhali, however, brought out the real elements in the greatness of Gandhi, the Saint. He voluntarily undertook the task of pacifying the Muslims, in his own characteristic non-violent way, and for that purpose proceeded to Noakhali and stayed there for about four months, trudging on foot from village to village, preaching the cult of non-violence to the Hindus and Muslims, and instilling courage and confidence among the thousands of Hindus who had been forced to leave their hearth and home. It was a sight for the gods to see, and perhaps no other episode in the life of Gandhi exalts his saintly charater to such a high degree and stamps his personality with those qualities which found expression in the epithet 'Mahatma' unconsciously bestowed upon him by the populace. There is ample evidence to show that Gandhi's tour had very little effect on the improvement of communal relations,[45a] but its value is to be judged not by the result, but by the spirit which prompted it. Further, it is to be remembered that it was beyond human endeavour to bring about a cordial—or even normal human—relation between the Hindus and Muslims after the Direct Action of 1946. Gandhi made a similar tour in Bihar also.

Differences between the Congress and the League came to a head over the summoning of the Constituent Assembly. The Viceroy had accepted Jinnah's offer to join the Interim Government on condition that the League should rescind the resolution of 29 July rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan. But Jinnah showed no earnest desire either to summon a meeting of the Council of the League, or to join the Constituent Assembly. He evaded a final decision on various pretexts and urged upon the Viceroy to announce immediately the postponement of the Constituent Assembly *sine die*. But the Secretary of State stood firm and on 20 November invitations were issued for the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly to be held on 9 December. Jinnah called upon the representatives of the Muslim League not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and emphasized that the Bombay resolution of the Council of the League, passed on 29 July, still stood. Naturally the Congress leaders demanded that the League should either accept the Cabinet Mission Plan and come into the Constituent Assembly, or quit the Interim Government.

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With the prospect of a civil war throughout India the Secretary of State made one more effort to bring about an agreement between the two major parties by inviting their representatives to London. A Sikh representative was added at the suggestion of the Viceroy. Nehru, Baldev Singh, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali khan, together with the Viceroy, arrived in London on 2 December, 1946. As could be easily anticipated the interpretation of para 19 (v and viii) of the Cabinet Mission Plan proved to be the stumbling block and no settlement could be achieved.

But though no agreement was arrived at, the British Government gave its verdict in favour of the interpretation put upon the disputed clauses by the Muslim League, after taking legal advice. But the Statement issued by the British Government on 6 December, 1946, also conceded the right of each party to refer all questions of interpretation, including that of the disputed clauses (19, v and viii), to the Federal Court, whose decision shall be final.

So far the Statement seems to be fair to both sides. But the sting was in the tail. The Statement added:

"Should a constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country."[46]

This very important declaration was accompanied by an assurance to Jinnah in the presence of Nehru, that if the decision of the Federal Court was contrary to the British Government's interpretation they would have to consider the position afresh.[47] This cut the ground from under the feet of Nehru who had agreed to abide by the decision of the Federal Court even if it went against the Congress. It is therefore no wonder that Nehru took the line that the Statement amounted to a variation and extension of the Statement of 16 May and that he and his colleagues would have to consider the whole situation." It was undoubtedly a triumph for Jinnah. He was assured on two important points. First, that the interpretation of the disputed clauses, whatever the decision of the Court, was ultimately

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bound to be in his favour. Secondly, the Muslim League need only boycott the Constituent Assembly in order to render nugatory any decision that it might arrive at 'regarding the Constitution of an Indian Union.' Jinnah further strengthened his position by staying on in England where he made a number of speeches warning Englishmen that the only alternative to grant of Pakistan was a civil war in India.

VII. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly met on 9 December, 1946, but the Muslim members did not attend. Rajendra Prasad was elected President, and Nehru moved the 'Objectives Resolution.' "It envisaged the Indian Union as 'an independent Sovereign Republic,' comprising autonomous units with residuary powers, wherein the ideals of social, political and economic democracy would be guaranteed to all sections of the people and adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities and backward communities and areas."

But its discussion was postponed till 20 January, 1947, to enable the representatives of the Muslim League and the Indian States to participate in the Constituent Assembly. During the interval an emergency meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held at Delhi on 5 January. It agreed to accept the procedure contained in the Statement made by the British Government on 6 December, 1946, but added :

"It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a Province and the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a Province or a part of a Province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned.[43]

The Constituent Assembly reassembled on 20 January, 1947, and had a session of six days. Nehru's resolution on 'Objectives' was passed and some important committees were appointed. On 31 January the Working Committee of the Muslim League met at Karachi and passed a lengthy resolution denouncing the composition and procedure of the Constituent Assembly as *ab initio* void, invalid and illegal, and declining to call a meeting of the Council of the League to reconsider the

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resolution passed on 29 July, 1946.[49] This meant in effect that the League not only rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and boycotted the Constituent Assembly, but was also committed to the policy of 'Direct Action'. The Congres and the Minority communities therefore made a demand to the Viceroy, on 5 February, for the resignation of the League members from the Interim Government.

The Muslim League was not in a mood to oblige the Congress, and the Viceroy was sympathetic to its point of view. But on 13 February Nehru wrote a strong letter to the Viceroy reiterating his demand for the resignation of the members of the Muslim League from the Interim Government.[50] Two days later Vallabhbhai Patel stated in a press interview that otherwise the Congress would withdraw from the Interim Government.[51] Everybody could realize that either course would be followed by disastrous consequences, in the shape of communal fight, almost leading to civil war, in which it was doubtful if the loyalty of the Indian elements in the Army and the Civil Services could be relied upon.[52]

It was at this grave crisis which faced India that the British Prime Minister Attlee rose to the height of his stature. Probably no other British Minister, certainly not Churchill, possessed that courage, foresight, and sympathy for India which inspired Attlee. Azad, who was in close touch with the British authorities at the time, writes: "Mr. Attlee was of the view that a stage had been reached where suspense was most undesirable. It was necessary to take a clear-cut-decision and he decided that the British Government should fix a date for the withdrawal of British power from India. Lord Wavell did not agree regarding the announcement of a date. He wished to persist with the Cabinet Mission Plan, for he held that it was the only possible solution of the Indian problem. He further held that the British Government would fail in its duty if it transferred political power before the communal question had been solved. Passions had been roused to such a peak in India that responsible people were carried away. The withdrawal of British power in such an atmosphere would in his view lead to widespread riots and disturbances. He therefore advised that the *status quo* should be maintained and that every attempt should be made to com-

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pose the differences between the two major parties. It was his firm conviction that it would be dangerous and unworthy if the British withdrew without a previous understanding between Congress and the League.

"Mr. Attlee did not agree. He held that once a dateline was fixed, the responsibility would be transferred to Indian hands. Unless this was done, there would never be any solution. Mr. Attlee feared that if the *status quo* was continued, Indians would lose their faith in the British Government. Conditions in India were such that the British could not maintain their power without an effort which the British people were not prepared to make. The only alternatives were to rule with a firm hand and suppress all disturbances, or transfer power to the Indians themselves. The Government could continue to govern, but this would require and effort which would interfere with the reconstruction of Britain.[53] The other alternative was to fix a date for the transfer of power and thus place the responsibility squarely on Indian shoulders.

"Lord Wavell was not convinced. He still argued that if communal difficulties led to violence, history would not forgive the British. The British had governed India for over a hundred years and they would be responsible if unrest, violence and disorder broke out as a result of their withdrawal. When he found that he could not convince Mr. Attlee, Lord Wavell offered his resignation."[54]

On 20 February, 1947, Attlee made a statement in the House of Commons which decided the fate of India. After a brief review of the failure to bring about an agreement among the different parties in India, Attlee observed :

"The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948."

Keeping in view the possibility of the Muslim League abstaining from the Constituent Assembly till the last, Attlee added that in such a contingency "His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over...in the best interests

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of the people." In order to perform this delicate and difficult task Attlee announced that Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten has been appointed Viceroy in succession to Lord Wavell with effect from March, 1947.[55]

This remarkable Statement finally set at rest all doubts and uncertainties about the future line of action to be adopted by the British Government in handing over the Government of India to her own people. But it "whipped up the tempo in the politiacl field." The Muslim League now made a desperate attempt to secure control over the Provinces which it planned to be attached to Pakistan. Direct Action was started in Assam, but it was not attended with success. The Muslim League, however, established its Ministry firmly in Sindh and the Congress influence in N.W.F.P. declined to a considerable extent. In the Panjab the Muslim League, unable to remove the Coalition Ministry of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs under Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, followed the tactics of Direct Action. The Ministry was forced to resign and the Governor asked the League to form the Ministry. Immediately, Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, called upon the Hindus and Sikhs to declare war. "If we can snatch the Government from the Britishers," said he, "no one can stop us from snatching the Government from the Muslims. We shall not allow the League to exist.... We shall rule over them and keep the Government fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League."[56]

Violent communal riots broke out practically all over the Punjab, forcing the Governor to take over the administration of the Province in his own hands. Street-fighting in Lahore developed into a frenzy of stabbing and killing which soon spread to other towns such as Multan, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, etc. The trouble also spread to the N.W.F.P. Shocking atrocities that outraged humanity and a heavy toll of life and property marked the Direct Action in the Punjab as in Bengal. Nehru, who visited Rawalpindi, reported : "I have seen ghastly sights and I have heard of behaviour by human beings which would degrade brutes." According to official account 2,049 persons were killed and over 1,000 seriously injured in course of a fortnight. Mountbatten's Press Attache, visiting Rawalpindi, stated that the destruction in the Hindu and Sikh quarters was "as tho-

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rough as any produced by fire bomb raids in the war. . . .The Muslims of the areas were quite pleased with themselves."[56a]

It was in this dismal situation that the Working Committee of the Congress took a realistic view and passed the following resolution, foreshadowing the Partition of India, on 8 March, 1947 :

"During the past seven months India has witnessed many horrors and tragedies which have been enacted in the attempt to gain political ends by brutal violence, murder and coercion. The tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion, and that no arrangement based on coercion can last. Therefore it is necessary to find a way which amounts to the least compulsion. This would necessitate division of the Punjab into two Provinces so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part."

The W.C. welcomed the statement of Attlee, accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan with the interpretations put upon it by the British Government, and made an appeal to the Muslim League to discuss with the Congress methods of ensuring a peaceful transfer of power. The Muslim League, however, did not make any favourable response either to the Congress appeal or to Attlee's statement of 20 February.

The resolution of the W.C. recommending partition of the Panjab was not agreeable to a section of the Congress. "The Congress President explained in a press interview that the Congress had only suggested a division of the Punjab as a means of putting an end to violence, and that the same remedy would hold good for Bengal if the circumstances in that province were similar."[57]

There is thus no doubt that the Indian National Congress must be held mainly responsible for the ultimate Partition of India. But the Communist Party of India must share it to a large extent. It is therefore very interesting to note that in a letter to the Statesman dated 29-8-73 Shri Hiren Mukherjee M.P., a leader of the Communist Party laid the blame for the Partition at the door of the Congress and the Muslim League. Reference has been made above to the resolution passed at a students' Conference, supporting Partition, at the instance of

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Mukherjee and Ashraf. Again after the invasion of Russia by the Germans when the C.P.I. changed overnight their hostile attitude to the British to a friendly one they passed a resolution "committing the Party to the principle of self-determination, including right of separation, of all the nationalities of India such as Pathans Western Punjabis (dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindustanis, Rajasthanis, Gujaratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Beharis, etc., and claimed that "the demand for Musilm self-determination or Pakistan is a just, progressive and rational demand." The motive is obvious and comment is needless. Communism must be placed above nationalism.

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CHAPTER II.

FREEDOM AND PARTITION OF INDIA

I. THE CONGRESS LEADERS ACCEPT PARTITION

Lord Mountbatten assumed the office of Governor-General on 24 March, 1947. He invited Gandhi and had five interviews with him between 31 March and 4 April. Gandhi made a quaint proposal which is on a par with his suggestion during the Second World War that Britain, instead of fighting Hitler, should offer peaceful *Satyagraha*. He advised Mountbatten, during his very first interview, to dismiss the existing Executive Council and give Jinnah the option of forming a Government with members of his own choice who might be all Muslims. It is hardly necessary to add that the suggestion astounded the whole of India and was most unceremoniusly rejected by the Congress. Gandhi thereupon not only withdrew his proposal but also withdrew himself from politics, leaving all future negotiations to the Working Committee.

Mountbatten was a practical man with realistic approach. He soon realized that in the present circumstances, the Cabinet Mission plan was unworkable and a partition of India was inevitable. This was, in a way, foreshadowed by the resolution of the Congress W.C. passed on 8 March. Nevertheless, it must have caused a great wrench of heart to the Congress leaders to give up the ideal of Indian unity,—a free India whole and entire —for which they had fought and died for more than half a century. But stern facts stared them in the face and one by one they yielded to the pressure of necessity. The first to accept definitely the idea of Partition and the plan of Mountbatten was Sardar Patel. His experience of working with the League members in the Executive Council had convinced him that the Pakistan mentality was so strong among the Muslims that it was impossible to work with Muslim League. At last the naked truth dawned upon him and he said that "whether we liked it or not

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there were two nations in India. He was now convinced that Muslims and Hindus could not be united into one nation. There was no alternative except to recognize this fact. In this way alone could we end the quarrel between Hindus and Muslims. He further said that if two brothers cannot stay together, they divide. After separation with their respective shares they become friends. If, on the other hand, they are forced to stay together, they tend to fight every day. It was better to have one clean fight and then separate than have bickerings every day."[58] Sardar Patel also felt that the British officials lacked the will to prevent communal outbreaks, though they had the power to do so. He "came to the fateful decision that unless the counrty was partitioned chaos and anarchy would spread throughout the land."[59]

Jawaharlal Nehru at first reacted violently against the Partition, but was gradually reconciled to it. Azad suggests that he was influenced by Vallabhbhai Patel and Lord and Lady Mountbatten. There may be some truth in it, but as regards the reasons which finally induced him to accept it we have the testimony of Nehru himself which should outweigh everything else.

Leonard Mosley writes :

"Pandit Nehru (in 1956) told Michael Brecher, his biographer, the reasons for accepting the Partition of India :

"Well, I suppose it was the compulsion of events and the feeling that we could'nt get out of that deadlock or morass by pursuing the way we had done ; it became worse and worse. Further a feeling that even if we got freedom for India with that background, it would be a very weak India, that is a federal India with far too much power in the federating units. A larger India would have constant troubles, constant disintegrating pulls. And also the fact that we saw no other way of getting our freedom—in the near future, I mean. And so we accepted it and let us build up a strong India. And if others do not want to be in it, well, how can we and why should we force them to be in it." Mosley continues :

"But perhaps Pandit Nehru came nearer the truth in a conversation with the author in 1960 when he said :

"The truth is that we were tired men, and we were getting

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on in years too. Few of us could stand the prospect of going to prison again—and if we had stood out for a united India as we wished it, prison obviously awaited us. We saw the fires burning in the Punjab and heard every day of the killings. The plan for partition offered a way out and we took it.'

"He added : 'But if Gandhi had told us not to, we would have gone on fighting, and waiting. But we accepted. We expected that partition would be temporary, that Pakistan was bound to come back to us. None of us guessed how much the killing and the crisis in Kashmir would embitter relations."[20]

When we remember that Nehru looked upon Brecher as his best biographer and was very intimate with Mosley, we may reasonably put a great value upon their version of what Nehru himself said. The two statements, though somewhat different, are not self-contradictory, and perhaps both contain a great deal of truth.

The most striking change was that of Gandhi. As some obscurity and uncertainty still exist in this matter, it is better to review the facts whose authenticity cannot be questioned. Gandhi arrived in Delhi on 31 March to see Mountbatten. Azad writes in his Memoirs :

"I went to see him at once and his very first remark was, 'Partition has now become a threat. It seems Vallabhbhai and even Jawaharlal have surrendered. What will you do now? Will you stand by me or have you also changed ?'

"I replied, 'I have been and am against partition. Never has my opposition to partition been so strong as today. I am however distressed to find that even Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel have accepted defeat and, in your words, surrendered their arms. My only hope now is in you. If you stand against partition, we may yet save the situation. If you however acquiesce, I am afraid India is lost.'

"Gandhiji said, 'What a question to ask ? If the Congress wishes to accept partition it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Nor will I, if I can help it, allow Congress to accept it.'

"Later that day Gandhiji met Lord Mountbatten. He saw him again the next day and still again on 2 April. Sardar Patel came to him soon after he returned from his first meeting with

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Lord Mountbatten and was closeted with him for over two hours. What happened during this meeting I do not know. But when I met Gandhiji again, I received the greatest shock of my life, for I found that he too had changed. He was still not openly in favour of partition but he no longer spoke so vehemently against it. What surprised and shocked me even more was that he began to repeat the arguments which Sardar Patel had already used. For over two hours I pleaded with him but could make no impression on him."[61]

Abul Kalam Azad was an intimate friend and a close associate of Gandhi, and his views about Gandhi must always carry great weight. Nevertheless, available documents seem to indicate that Gandhi's conversion to the idea of Partition was neither so sudden nor so complete as the statement of Azad implies. Gandhi seems to have actively opposed the idea of Partition till the very last. He had been preaching against the Partition in his Prayer meetings[62] and the Muslim leaders made a complaint on the subject. Even so late as 4 June, 1947, Lord Mountbatten was apprehensive about Gandhi in this matter, and invited him to come round to the Viceregal Lodge just before the Prayer meeting. The net result of the interview may be judged from what Gandhi said in the Prayer meeting. "The British Government is not responsible for Partition," he said. "The Viceroy has no hand in it. In fact he is as opposed to division as Congress itself, but if both us—Hindus and Moslems —cannot agree on anything else, then the Viceroy is left with no choice."[63]

It appears from some of his conversations that Gandhi believed that India was behind him in his opposition to Partition, but unfortunately the Congress leaders were not. The consequences of rejecting the Partition would be to entrust the administration to the hands of a new set of leaders. But Gandhi thought it would be most unwise, if not impossible, to remove the old and tried leaders. This was the burden of his speech in the A.I.C.C. on 14 June.[64]

On the other hand, one naturally wonders why Gandhi, if he felt so strongly against the Partition, did not try to force the Congress leaders into accepting his views. Fischer writes : "In the summer of 1948, I asked Nehru, Patel and others in

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India why Gandhi had not attempted to prevent Congress from accepting Pakistan; if nothing else had availed he might have coerced them by fasting. It was not Gandhi's way, their composite reply ran, to compel agreement even on the most crucial issue."[65] It is difficult to accept this view, for Gandhi not unoften took to fast and enforced his views on many issues of much less importance. Besides, it should be remembered, that Nehru himself told Mosley[66] that he and others would not have accepted Partition if Gandhi had told them not to. Fischer is probably nearer the truth when he observes: "The only alternative would have been to reject Pakistan, leave the Government and stake everything on a restoration of the people's sanity and peaceful inclinations. But Gandhi saw that (Congress) leaders had no faith in this alternative. He might have induced them to vote for his view in Committee; he could not have infused them with faith in it except by proving that Hindus and Moslems could live together amicably. The burden of proof was on Gandhi. And time was running out fast."[67] In other words, Gandhi at last realized that he had been leaning throughout on the broken reeds of Hindu-Muslim unity and mass nonviolence—and that these were nothing but will-o'-the-wisp which he had been pursuing throughout his political career.

The acceptance of the Partition by Gandhi and other prominent Congress leaders like Nehru and Patel is generally regarded as inexcusable and inexplicable, and many look upon it as a sudden and unexpected decision at the last moment which plunged India into unspeakable misery. Such an opinion is due to the fact that those leaders were always guided by a false notion of Indian nationality based on Hindu-Muslim unity, and persuaded the people to ignore the reality and cherish this ideal. But those who carefully review the history of Hindu-Muslim relations from the beginning of the 19th century, Pakistan can only be regarded as the logical culmination of political development in India. It has been pointed out more than once in the three volumes of this work that there were fundamental differences between the Hindus and Muslims of India which stood in the way of their fusing into one nation, as this term is normally understood. This was emphasized by the separate electorate, originally devised by Minto, but later

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accepted by the Congress. Since then the Congress had, *in practice* if not *in theory*, recognized the two-nation theory propounded by Syed Ahmed in the 19th century and Jinnah in the 20th. As far back as 1934 the Congress pledged itself to reject any scheme of solving communal problem *vis-a-vis* Indian constitution which was not agreed to by the Muslims.[68] In 1942 Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* that if the vast majority of Muslims want to partition India they must have the partition ;[69] and in 1944 he actually carried on negotiations with Jinnah on this basis.[70] In 1945 the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution that it could not think "of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will."[71] The eminent Hindu leader Rajagopalachari[72] actually suggested the idea of Pakistan as the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem and even Nehru cenceded the possibility of Pakistan in January, 1946.[73] Early in March, 1947, the Working Committee of the Congress itself suggested the partition of the Panjab, and (therefore also of) Bengal, on communal basis.[74]

In addition to all this Mountbatten very effectively used one strong argument in favour of the partition of India to win over the Congress leaders. In all the plans discussed so far there was one point in common, namely that there should be a weak centre, with a very limited authority, while residuary powers should be vested in the Provinces. This was a concession to the Muslims, who were apprehensive of Hindu majority in the Centre. In a country like India, with diverse languages, races and religions, and people in different stages of political and cultural evolution and with different historical traditions, a strong central authority was needed to keep down the fissiparous tendency which has been a permanent feature of Indian politics since the beginning of recorded history. The separation of Muslim Provinces would give an opportunity to the rest of India to evolve a constitution with a strong Central Government. So Pakistan would not be an unmixed curse. What it would take away in quantity, would be compensated by the solidarity it would give to the rest. What idealism would suffer, real politics would gain. Azad observes : "Lord Mountbatten advised that it would be better to give up a few

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small pieces in the north-west and then build up a strong and consolidated India. Sardar Patel was impressed by the argument that co-operation with the Muslim League would jeopardize Indian unity and strength. It seemed to me that these arguments had influenced not only Sardar Patel but Jawaharlal. The same arguments repeated by Sardar Patel and Lord Mountbatten had also weakened Gandhiji's opposition to partition."[75]

The general principles of Partition having been agreed upon, the question arose of the minorities of the Panjab and Bengal. Jinnah insisted upon the transfer of these two Provinces wholesale to Pakistan. But the Congress leaders, though agreeing to the creation of Pakistan, were adamant on the point that the non-Muslims in the Panjab and Bengal living in districts contiguous to Hindusthan and forming a majority of population in these areas, must be given the option to choose between Pakistan and Hindusthan. This would mean the creation of two separate Provinces of East Panjab and West Bengal. When Jinnah protested, it was pointed out that this was in strict accordance with the terms of the Lahore resolution of 1940 demanding Pakistan.

While this discussion was going on, a proposal was made to the effect that Bengal should be made a sovereign and independent State. The Chief Minister of Bengal, Suhrawardy, and Sarat Chandra Bose, elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose and leader of the left wing of the Congress party, sponsored the scheme. This, however, received little support from either the Congress or the Muslim League. On the other hand, the Congress and the Muslim League organizations in Bengal endorsed the proposal for creating a separate Province of West Bengal.[76]

II. THE TRANSFER OF POWER

Mountbatten was so deeply moved by the rapid deterioration in communal relations that he was eager to effect the transfer of power without any avoidable delay. He sent his plan to London on 2 May, 1947, and received it back on 10 May with the approval of the Cabinet in a modified form. This plan envisaged the division of India into a quite a large number of autonomous States to start with. But Nehru, to whom Mount-

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Batten showed it confidentially in advance, was dead against such a Balkanization of India. It was at this stage that V. P. Menon, a high official in the Viceroy's Secretariat, dealing with the various reform proposals for a long time, put up a plan which he had drawn up during the regime of Wavell, but of which no notice was taken by the Secretary of State to whom it was sent. It was based on the partition of India into two States enjoying Dominion Status, the predominantly non-Muslim areas in the Panjab and Bengal being excluded from Pakistan. This plan, being approved by Nehru, was accepted by Mountbatten. Thereafter the Viceroy had consultations with Nehru and Patel on behalf of the Congress; Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the League; and Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs. In the light of these consultations the new plan was finalized. On 18 May the Viceroy proceeded to London. The Cabinet approved the new plan and issued a Statement the main points of which may be summarised as follows:

'The question of Partition will be settled by the following procedure:

I. BENGAL AND THE PANJAB

'The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Panjab (excluding the European members) should meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province.

'The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

II. SINDH

'The Legislative Assembly of Sindh (excluding the European members) will, at a special meeting, take its own decision as to whether its constiution should be framed by the existing, or a new and separate Constituent Assembly.

III. N. W. F. P.

'With regard to the North-West Frontier Province it will be necessary, in view of its special position, to give it an oppor-

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tunity reconsidering its position if the whole or any part of the Panjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly. A referendum will be made, in such a case, to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly to choose between the existing Constituent Assembly and a new and separate one.

IV. BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

'British Baluchistan, in view of its geographical situation, will also be given a similar opportunity of reconsidering its position.

V. ASSAM

'Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet, which is contiguous to Bengal, is predominantly Muslim. If it be decided to partition Bengal, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district to decide whether the district should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of East Bengal.

'In case a partition of the Panjab and Bengal be decided upon a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General to demarcate the exact boundary line.

'His Majesty's Government are willing to hand over the power even earlier than June, 1948, the date originally proposed. His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session of Parliament for the transfer of power in 1947 on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken under the plan. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether the parts of India which they represent will remain within the British Commonwealth.'[7]

Lord Mountbatten returned to India on 31 May and discussed the Statement with the Party leaders on 2 and 3 June. The leaders having accepted it the Prime Minister announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June, 1947. The Viceroy also spoke over the All India Radio on the evening of 3 June, and immediately after it the Statement of His Majesty's Government was broadcast and released to the Press.

Lord Mountbatten held a Press Conference on 4 June and announced that the transfer of power would be effected, not in

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June, 1948, as declared in the Statement of 20 February, 1947, but much earlier than that, and probably about 15 August, 1947.

The Working Committee of the Congress met on 3 June, 1947, and approved of the new plan announced by the Viceroy. The most intriguing problem before the Committee was the future of the N. W. F. P. In spite of the opposition of the Muslim League, the Congress Government under the Khan brothers had been functioning still. The new plan would place the Khan brothers and the Khudai Khidmatgars at the mercy of the League who looked upon them as mortal enemies. When therefore Gandhi supported the plan in the W.C., Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan "was completely stunned and for several minutes he could not utter a word. He then appealed to the Working Committee and reminded the Committee that he had always supported the Congress. If the Congress now deserted him, the reaction on the Frontier would be terrible. His enemies would laugh at him and even his friends would say that so long as the Congress guided the Frontier, they supported the Khudai Khidmatgars. When however the Congress wished to come to terms with the Muslim League, it gave up its opposition to partition without even consulting the Frontier and its leaders. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan repeatedly said that the Frontier would regard it as an act of treachery if the Congress now threw the Khudai Khidmatgars to the wolves."[78]

This statement—if it has been correctly reported by Azad—cannot be regarded as having fairly or accurately represented the actual state of things. Lord Mountbatten had declared in unequivocal language that the people of the N.W.F.P. would be given an opportunity, like the non-Muslim minorities in Bengal and the Panjab, to decide for themselves whether they would opt for Pakistan or Hindusthan. This was a fair and square proposal, and if Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan had as much hold over the people as his statement implied there was no reason why he should have hesitated to accept it. Once having opted for Hindusthan he could have negotiated with the friendly Congress party for the future status of N.W.F.P. either as a separate Pathan State or as an autonomous State under Hindusthan. If the Congress then failed to meet his reasonable demands he would have been justified in hurling the abuses which he did

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against the Congress. Further, it is interesting to note that even in 1944, Gandhi offered to Jinnah a separate Pakistan State including N.W.F.P.[79]

But Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan evidently knew full well that blood was thicker than water and on a straight issue of joining either Hindusthan or Pakistan, the Muslim population of N.W.F.P., in spite of their profession of loyalty to the Congress, would overwhelmingly vote for Pakistan. He was therefore unwilling to accept the proposal of plebiscite. It is consequently difficult to maintain that the Congress treatment of its Muslim followers in N.W.F.P. was more harsh or unjust than its treatment of the non-Muslim followers in Bengal and the Panjab.

Azad tells us that Gandhi was moved by the appeal of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 3 June. Gandhi even told the Viceroy that he would not support the plan for Partition without a satisfactory assurance of fair treatment to the Khudai Khidmatgars by the Muslim League. For, how could he desert those who had always stood by the Congress in the days of difficulty and distress ?[80] It would be interesting to know whether Gandhi had expressed similar feelings in the Committee for the non-Muslim minorities of Bengal and the Panjab. They, too, had stood by the Congress in weal and woe, and in one respect deserved more pity. If the Muslims of N.W.F.P. were as devoted to the Congress ideals as they were represented to be, they had the remedy in their own hands, for the decision would be made by plebiscite. The Hindus and Sikhs in the W. Panjab and the Hindus of E. Bengal had no such remedy. It was really these peoples whom the Congress, *with far greater justice*, might be described as having thrown to the wolves.

Lord Mountbatten had a personal discussion with Dr. Khan Saheb. The latter demanded that if there was to be plebiscite, the voters should have the right to vote for a separate independent State of their own,—Pakhtoonistan. Mountbatten pointed out that the original suggestion of Attlee Cabinet to give option to each Province to declare for Hindusthan, Pakistan, or independence, was turned down by Nehru as Balkanization of India. An exception could not now be made for a single Province, ex-

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...pt with the consent of both the parties. But while the Con...ess was agreeable to Abdul Gaffar Khan's proposal, Jinnah ...rongly opposed it and characterized the demand for an inde...endent Pakhtoonistan (or Pathanistan) as insidious and spuri...s. He, however, declared that the N.W.F.P. would enjoy full ...tonomy in Pakistan. This did not satisfy the Khan brothers ...d they advised their followers to boycott the referendum when ...took place. The plebiscite was in favour of joining Pakistan.

III. THE CONGRESS ACCEPTS PARTITION OF INDIA

The Congress Working Committee met on 12 June, 1947, ...d prepared a draft resolution for All-India Congress Commit... which met at New Delhi on 14 and 15 June, 1947, and ac...pted it.[81] Some extracts of this resolution are quoted below :

"The Committee welcomes the decision of the British Go...rnment to transfer power completely to the Indian people by ...t August...

"In view...of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept ... Plan of May 16, and to participate in the Constituent As...mbly, and further, in view of the policy of the Congress that ...t cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any terri...rial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared ...d established will,' the A.I.C.C. accepts the proposals embo...d in the announcement of June 3.

"The Congress has consistently upheld that the unity of ...dia must be maintained.... The picture of India we have ...nt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The A.I. ...C. earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided, ...dia's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and ... false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and ...carded by all.

"The proposals of June 3, 1947, are likely to lead to the ...ession of some parts of the country from India. However ...ch this may be regretted, the A.I.C.C. accepts this possibi...y, in the circumstances now prevailling."

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, who moved the resolution in ... A.I.C.C., said that 'this was the only way to achieve freedom ...d liberty for the country. It would assure an Indian Union

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with a strong centre. ... The Congress had worked hard and sacrificed everything for the sake of unity. But there was a limit beyond which it could not go. The choice today was between accepting the statement of June 3 or committing suicide.'

Pandit Pant maintained that 'it was the declared policy of the Congress not to coerce any unwilling areas to join the Union.' 'It was,' he said, 'better to accept the Statement of June 3 than fritter away their energies in trying to keep unwilling people in the Union.'

The resolution was seconded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He said 'that the decision of the W.C. was not the right decision, but the Congress had no alternative, as the present state of indecision and drift could not be allowed to continue any longer, specially in view of the internal strife and disorder and the obstinacy of the Muslim League. The Congress stood by the ideal of a United India, but it was also committed to the principle of self-determination and was against coercing any unwilling areas to join the Union. He felt sure that the Partition would be short-lived and the seceding parts of India would, in the very near future, hurry back to the Indian Union.'

The Congress President then announced that notice had been given of 12 amendments, but eight of them, being of the nature of direct opposition, were out of order. In course of the discussion that followed there was strong opposition to the resolution from several members. Choitram Gidwani, the Sindh Congress leader, in a forceful speech asserted 'that the unity of India was much more precious than the advantage of a strong centre. He characterized the resolution as downright surrender to brute force and violence.'

Among the opponents the most impressive and impassioned speech was that of Purshottamdas Tandon. He said: 'Acceptance of the resolution will be an abject surrender to the British and the Muslim League. The W.C. has failed you, but you have the strength of millions behind you and you must reject this resolution. The decision of the W.C. was an admission of weakness and the result of a sense of despair. The Partition would not benefit either community—the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in India would both live in fear.'

The point of view expressed in the last sentence was also

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stressed by Maulana Hafizur Rahman who vehemently opposed the resolution.

Dr. Kitchlew, President of the Panjab Provincial Congress Committee, opposed the resolution and characterized it as a 'surrender of nationalism in favour of communalism.'

When passions were rising high against the resolution, Gandhi intervened in the debate and spoke for about forty minutes. 'He advised the House to accept the resolution. They must remember that the W.C., as their representative, had accepted the plan, and it was the duty of the A.I.C.C. to stand by them. The acceptance of the plan did not involve the Congress Working Committee alone. There were two other parties to it, the British Government and the Muslim League. If at this stage the All-India Congress Committee rejected the Working Committee's decision, what would the world think of it? The consequences of rejection would be the finding of a new set of leaders, who could not only constitute the Congress Working Committee, but also take charge of the Government. They should not forget that peace in the country was very essential at this juncture. The Congress was opposed to Pakistan and he was one of those who had steadfastly opposed the division of India. Yet he had come before the All-India Congress Committee to urge the acceptance of the resolution on India's division. Sometimes certain decisions, however unpalatable they might be, had to be taken.'

Nehru who spoke on the second day asserted 'that the most urgent task at present was to arrest the swift drift towards anarchy and chaos by the establishment of a strong Central Government. He said that there was no question of any surrender to the Muslim League. The Congress had all along been against coercing any unit to remain under the Indian Union. It was wrong to suggest that the Congress Working Committee had taken fright and therefore surrendered, though it was correct to say that they were very much disturbed at the prevailing madness. Partition was better than murder of innocent citizens.'

Following Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a vigorous speech extended his full support to the June 3 Plan. He entirely disagreed with the view of Azad that the Cabinet Mission Plan was better and said 'that, looking at the Cabinet Mission's

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proposals today in the light of his experience in the Interim Government during the past nine months, he was not at all sorry that the Statement of 16 May had gone. Had they accepted it, the whole of India would have gone the Pakistan way. Today they had seventy-five to eighty per cent of India, which they could develop and make strong according to their genius. The League could develop the rest of the country. He denied that the W.C. accepted the Plan out of fear. Any course other than the one which the W.C. had suggested would not only be injurious but would also make the Congress the laughing stock of the world. Here was a chance for India to attain her independence. Was she going to throw it away'?

Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, in his concluding speech, -also refuted the charge that the Working Committee had taken the decision out of fear. He said :

"The Hindu and Moslem comunities have vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence...I have seen a well where women with their children, 107 in all, threw themselves to save their honour. In another place, a place of worship, fifty young women were killed by their menfolk for the same reason. I have seen heaps of bones in a house where 307 persons, mainly women and children, were driven, locked up and then burnt alive by the invading mob. These ghastly experiences have no doubt affected my approach to the question. Some members have accused us that we have taken this decision out of fear. I must admit the truth of this charge, but not in the sense in which it is made. The fear is not for the lives lost, or of the widows' wail, or the orphans' cry, or of the many houses burned. The fear is that if we go on like this, retaliating and heaping indignities on each other, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a stage of cannibalism and worse. In every fresh communal fight the most brutal and degraded acts of the previous fight become the norm."

The resolution of Pant, when put to the vote, was carried, 157 voting for it, 29 against, and 32 members remaining neutral.[82]

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi on 10 June, and approved of His Majesty's Government's Statement of 3 June. "The Council was of the opinion that,

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although it could not agree to the partition of Bengal and the Panjab, or give its consent to such partition, it had to consider His Majesty's Government's plan for the transfer of power as a whole. The resolution gave full authority to Jinnah to accept the fundamental principles of the plan as a compromise and empowered him to take all steps and decisions in that connexion."[83]

But though the two principal Parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, accepted the June 3rd Plan, the extremists of both communities sharply reacted against it. "The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met in Delhi and passed a resolution which declared : "India is one and indivisible and there will never be peace unless and until separated areas are brought back into the Indian Union and made integral parts thereof." The Mahasabha even called for an all-India 'Anti-Pakistan Day.'"[84]

Thus at last the curtain fell on the question of Indian unity. Curiously enough, very little attention was devoted by the Congress leaders to the pitiable condition of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan. When the point was raised, the members from Sindh, who vehemently opposed the resolution of Partition, were given all kinds of assurances and were told in private discussion, that if they suffered in any way in Pakistan India would retaliate on the Muslims in India. Soon this kind of propaganda was used, as a regular means, to remove opposition against Partition. "It was being openly said in certain circles that the Hindus in Pakistan need have no fear as there would be 45 millions of Muslims in India and if there was any oppression of Hindus in Pakistan, the Muslims in India would have to bear the consequences."[85]

IV. INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT

As could be easily anticipated, East Bengal and the West Panjab, as well as Sindh, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. opted for Pakistan, while West Bengal and the East Panjab opted for India. In Sylhet a majority of the voters —239,619 to 184,041 were in favour of separation and joining East Bengal.

On 4 July, 1947, the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. High tributes were paid to

V3

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both Attlee and Mountbatten by members on both sides of the House. The Bill was passed without any amendment on 15 July, and by the House of Lords on the following day ; it received the Royal Assent on 18 July.

The main provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, may be summarised as follows :

1. Two independent Dominions, known respectively as India and Pakistan, shall be set up as from the 15th day of August, 1947.

2. The territories of the two Dominions were defined in such terms that Pakistan was to comprise Sindh, British Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., the West Panjab and East Bengal. (The exact boundaries of the last two were determined by two Boundary Commissions, each consisting of two nominees of the Congress and two of the Muslim League, and a Chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe. As the members could not agree, the Chairman gave his award).

3. "For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty for the purposes of the government of the Dominion :

"Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions."

4. The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, and no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, nor any Order in Council passed after 15 August, 1947, shall have any validity in either of the two Dominions. In short, the jurisdiction of the British Parliament over India will cease from that date.

5. With effect from 15 August, 1947, His Majesty's Government will cease to have any responsibility for the government of British India ; and all traeaties and agreements between His Majesty's Government and the rulers of Indian States or any authority in tribal areas shall lapse. The words "Emperor of India" shall be omitted from the Royal style and Titles.

6. The Constituent Assembly of each Dominion shall exercise the powers of the Central Legislature and the existing

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Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State would be automatically dissolved.

In accordance with the above provisions Lord Mountbatten became the Governor-General of the Dominion of India, and M.A. Jinnah, the Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan.

It is unnecessary to discuss the various steps that were taken to give effect to the partition of the country. This stupendous task was entrusted to a Partition Committee, later replaced by a Partition Council, with equal number of representatives from the Congress and the Muslim League, and with Lord Mountbatten as Chairman. This Council continued even after the Dominions of India and Pakistan came into existence on 15 August, 1947. The Partition Council worked through a Steering Committee of two members and was assisted by ten expert committees of officials, covering the entire field of administration. An Arbitral Tribunal was set up for the settlement of all differences between the two Governments.

The question of the international status of the two Dominions also proved a thorny problem. "The Congress claimed that the Dominion of India would continue as the international personality of pre-partition India. The Muslim League, on the other hand, maintained that the existing Government of India would, on 15 August, disappear altogether as an entity and would be succeeded by two independent Dominions of equal international status, both of which would be eligible to the existing rights and obligations."[86]

The matter was referred to U.N.O. and in accordance with its recommendations Lord Mountbatten promulgated on 14 August, 1947, the Indian Independence (International Arrangements) Order, 1947, according to which membership of all international organizations, together with the rights and obligations attached to such membership, devolved solely upon the Dominion of India. Pakistan was left to apply for membership of such international organizations as she chose to join.

In the meanwhile the Constituent Assembly of India continued to function. As mentioned above, its first three sessions were boycotted by the members belonging to the Muslim League. "After the acceptance of partition, however, Jinnah and the League leaders agreed that Muslim League members from

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the non-Pakistan provinces should participate in the Constituent Assembly... When the Constituent Assembly began its fourth session on 14 July, the Muslim League members from the non-Pakistan provinces took their seats and declared themselves to be loyal and law-abiding citizens of India."

Another important step was the solution of the problem of the Indian States. Under the Indian Independence Act the British Paramountcy was to lapse on 15 August. After protracted negotiations settlement was arrived at and the rulers of all the States geographically contiguous to India, with the exception of Hyderabad, Junagarh and one or two other States in Kathiawar with Muslim rulers, signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement with India, before 15 August, 1947. Thus though the two wings were lopped off, the heart of the Indian Dominion gained in strength and solidarity. The credit for thus establishing 'a unified political structure in the new Dominion of India' must go principally to Sardar Patel and his lieutenant, V. P. Menon, who has given a very interesting account of the integration of States. It was a great, though silent, revolution which did not attract as much notice as it deserved, being cast into shade by the still greater revolution which brought freedom to India. By the waving of a magician's wand, as it were, there tumbled down in a heap hundreds of States, big and small, some of which traced their existence to the ancient Hindu Age.

V. THE INAUGURATION OF INDEPENDENCE

On 7 August Jinnah left India for Karachi, and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which met on 11 August, elected him as its President. The assembly also conferred upon him the honorific of Quaid-e-Azam (great leader), a title which had been attached to his name by his followers for several years past. Lord Mountbatten flew to Karachi on 13 August and addressed the Constituent Assembly the next day. Pakistan officially became a Dominion on 15 August, 1947, when Jinnah was sworn in as Governor-General, and the new Pakistan Cabinet headed by Liaquat Ali Khan was also sworn in.

The Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union met in Delhi on the night of 14 August. It was a red-letter 'night' in

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the annals of Modern India. After the British domination for 190 years India once again became a free country. There was no doubt a tinge of sorrow, in the minds of some, for the Hindus of East Bengal and the Hindus and Sikhs of the West Panjab who were denied enjoyment of the blessings of liberty for which they had made supreme sacrifices. But gratitude has no place in politics. No tears were shed for the lands, the sacrifice of whose children paved the way for the liberty of the rest of India. If there were any wailings of their people they were drowned by the shouts of joy which heralded the liberation of the rest of India.

In an atmosphere, tense with excitement, Nehru addressed the members. "At the stroke of the midnight hour," siad he, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity."[87]

The Constituent Assembly then appointed Lord Mountbatten the first Governor-General of the Dominion. After the meeting was over, Rajendra Prasad and Nehru went to the Government House and conveyed to Lord Mountbatten the request of the Constituent Assembly. Lord Mountbatten feelingly replied; "I am proud of the honour and I will do my best to carry out your advice in a constitutional manner." Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General on the morning of the 15 August, and the new Cabinet headed by Nehru was sworn in by the Governor-General. Lord Mountbatten then drove in State to the Chamber of the Constituent Assembly. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Assembly, read messages of congratulation from all over the world, and Lord Mountbatten read out the King's message felicitating the birth of the Dominion of India. Lord Mountbatten then addressed the Assembly. Rajendra Prasad gave a suitable reply in the course of which he said that "while our achievement is in no small measure due to our own sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events and, last though not the least, it is the consummation and

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fulfilment of the historic tradition and democratic ideals of the British race." This is a great truth, which is not always realized, nor remembered, by the Indians.

It is hardly necessary to say that August 15 was hailed with joy all over India, and no words can adequately describe the tumultuous scenes of wild rejoicings witnessed in every city and every village. Lord and Lady Mountbatten, driving in State, were greeted with resounding cheers by the enthusiastic crowds that lined the streets. This heralded a new era of goodwill between India and Britain. Stories of many hard and bitter struggles between India and Britain, and of animosities between the Indians and the British fill the pages of this work. Let it end with a note of goodwill, trust, and confidence which manifested itself on the streets of Delhi on 15 August, 1947.

How the author wishes that he could have closed this volume with a similar note in respect of the relation between India and Pakistan. But that was not to be. Instead of an era of goodwill, the independence ushered in one of communal hatred and cruelty of which there is perhaps no parallel in the recorded history of India. It is unnecessary to recount that story of shame and barbarity as it falls beyond the period under review. It will suffice to quote a few lines written by Leonard Mosley, by way of indicating the price which India paid for her freedom:

"Both sides had signed, on 20 July, at Mountbatten's behest, a declaration that they would respect the rights of minorities. But Mountbatten was right in suspecting that they did not know what they were signing. The Sikh policy was to exterminate the Muslims in their midst. The Muslims, with their eyes on the rich Sikh farmlands, were content to drive the Sikhs out and only massacre those who insisted on remaining. It is sad to have to admit that in their deliberate disobedience of their signed pledge they were encouraged by the British Governor of West Punjab, Sir Francis Mudie, who wrote to Mr. Jinnah on 5 September, 1947:

'I am telling everyone that I don't care how the Sikhs get across the border; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible.'

"600,000 dead. 14,000,000 driven from their homes.

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100,000 young girls kidnapped by both sides, forcibly converted or sold on the auction block."

Mosley continues :

"It need not have happened. It would not have happened had independence not been rushed through at such a desperate rate. A little patience and all the troubles might have been avoided....Jinnah was dead within a year. A little patience. A refusal to be rushed."[88]

This seems to be too optimistic a view. The question whether Mountbatten or his critics were right may be safely left to the verdict of history.

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As a general rule books are referred to by the surname of the author whose full name and the title of the book will be found in the Bibliography. Two or more books by the same author are distinguished by Arabic numerals added after the surname, and the same numeral will also be found in the Bibliography.

The following further abbreviations have been used in the foot-notes in addition to those in the earlier Volumes.

Hist. Congr.	*The History of the Indian National Congress*, by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
IAR	*The Indian Annual Register.*
ICND	*Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* (1600-1919), by G. N. Singh.
Muslim League	*The Muslim League*, by Lal Bahadur.
Pakistan	*The Birth of Pakistan*, by Dr. Sachin Sen
Rebel India	*Rebel India*, Edited by Bejan Mitra and Phani Chakraborty (Calcutta Book Company), 1946.
Sources	*Sources of Indian Tradition*, published by the Columbia University (1958).

BOOK IV, CHAPTER I.

1. Cf. Vol. II. p. 472.
1a. Montagu, 156.
2. Cf. Vol. II, Chapter IV and Chapter VIII.
3. *Sedition Committee Report*, Ch. XVII,
4. For details, cf. *ICND*, 667 ff.
5. Gandhi—I, 126.
6. The account of Gandhi in South Africa is based on Louis Fischer's book, *Gandhi, His life and Message for the World*. The passages quoted are also from this book.
7. Sitaramayya—II, : 111.
8. Ibid., 101.
9. Diwakar—II, 17 ; III, 26.
10. Diwakar—I, 5.
11. Cf. Vol. II, 124.
12. Ibid, 167 ff.
13. Gandhi—I, 457.
14. Gandhi—II, 21.
15. Ibid., 10.
16. Ibid., 12.
17. Cf. Vol. I, 355.

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Gandhi—I, 521-22, 526-8.
Ibid., 531-38.
Tendulkar, I, 293.
Gandhi—I, 562.
Young India, (published in U.S.A.), III. 14.
Mahatma Gandhi—The Man and His Mission (Natesan Publication), p. 55.
Gandhi—I, 576.
Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee set up by the Congress in 1922.
Young India (U.S.A.), III. 151. *ICND*, 664.
Young India (U.S.A.), II. 155.
Hist. Congr., I. 164.
Ibidi., 163.
ICND., 679.
Horniman, 89-92.
Chirol—II, 177-8.
Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, 56-7.
Ibid., 57.
Motilal Nehru's Address as Congress President at Amritsar, 1919.
Ibid. Another such Englishman was Horniman, many quotations from whose book are given later.
IAR., 1921, p. 26.
The passages within inverted commas in the last four paragraphs are quotations from Horniman, pp. 125-30.
The account of atrocities in other places that follows is based upon the Reports of the Hunter Committee and the Congress Committee and Horniman's account which is also based mainly on the former.
Photographs of public floggings and of public cage are given in Horniman's book, pp. 120, 154.
Horniman, 150-54.
For a detailed account of the bombing and machine-gunning, cf. Horniman, 142-49.
ICND., p. 686, f.n., 4.
IAR., 1921, Part III, pp. 39-41.
Young India (published in U.S.A.), III. 77.
This is given in *IAR*, 1921, Part I, p. 45. The date, 28 May, is given in both *Hist. Congr.* (I. 198) and *India in* 1921-22 (p. 37). J. S. Sharma gives the date as 20 May as well as 28 May (pp. 468-9).
Hist. Congr., I. 167. *IAR*, 1921, p. 221.
Hist. Congr., Vol. I, 171.
Ibid, 146, 148.
The following account is based on the Government of India Act, 1919, and the *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, Vol. I, Part II, from which many passages have been quoted.

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50. *IAR*, 1920, Part I, pp. 379, 384.
51. Cf. Vol. II, pp. 331 ff.
52. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 156 ; *Sources*, 769-70.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER II.

1. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 189. According to an official report Provincial Khilafat Committees had commenced to spring up in 1919. The first of these, of which Mohammad Chotani was President, was constituted in the Bombay Presidency. At a meeting on the 11th of November it changed its title to the 'Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay.' At about the same time the Delhi Khilafat Committee, of which Ajmal Khan was President, decided to convene an All-India Khilafat Conference which was held at Delhi on 23 and 24 November. It was presided over on the 23rd by Fazlul Huq. "Gandhi attended the meeting on the 23rd and presided over it on the 24th." If this be true the statements in lines 8-9 should be modified accordingly.
2. *IAR.*, 1921, p. 156.
3. *Hist. Congr.* I. 191. Italics mine.
4. Ibid.
5. Pradhan, 151-2.
6. *Sources*, 770. It is interesting to note in this connection that even Dr. A. Ansari, one of the few Muslim leaders that remained in the Nationalist camp till the end, wrote : "It is difficult for any non-Indian Moslem to realise what Pan-Islamism means to Indian Moslems. ...Pan-Islamic sentiment has been one of the Indian Moslem's most sacred and exalted passions," (Introduction to the *Conflict of East and West* by Halide Edib).
7. *Sources*, 777.
8. *Hist. Congr.*, I.199. Also cf. Hasrat Mohani's Presidential Address at the Ahmadabad Session of the Muslim League, December, 1921.
9. Nair, Sankaran, 28.

9a. That the Indian Muslims tried to enlist the support of the Amir of Afghanistan and opened negotiations with him for that purpose is clear from the statement of Choudhury Khaliquazzaman, a leading Muslim politician of the time. Cf. his recently published book, *Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 42. Cf. also Ambedkar, *Pakistan*, p. 144, and the following passage in a confidential official report :

"At the end of April (1919) his (Amir Amanullah's) Foreign Minister sent confidential instructions to the Afghan envoy at

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Simla that endeavours should be made to obtain the allegiance of both Hindus and Muhammadans to the Amir in return for which Afghanistan would assist them in their struggle for independence." Nair, Sankaran, p. 38. Cf. Montagu's statement in the House of
10. Commons in May, 1921 (*IAR*, 1922-23, Voll. II, p. 43). Muhammad Ali denied the allegation though he admitted, "I am a Muslim first and everything else afterwards." For the whole controversy arising out of the alleged threat of Afghan invasion, cf. *IAR*, 1922, pp. 206-12. But cf. also the preceding footnote. The official report referred to in the preceding footnote contains the follwoing : "A very violent speech was delivered by Muhammad Ali in Madras in which he openly stated that he would assist an army invading India from Afghanistan, provided that the invaders came to free the country and withdrew after accomplishing their task." The proviso is, of course, a mere eye-wash and it is difficult to believe that anyone, far less Muhammad Ali, could seriously expect it.

11. The official report, referred to above, gives a detailed account of the Pan-Islamic Movement in India which became a live force in 1911, being stimulated by the events of that year. It refers to the following specific incidents. During 1914 several Turks visited India. "During their tour in India they conveyed the impression that they were in the confidence of the young Turk Party and that their visit to India had been undertaken with the express intention of cementing the relationship between the Pan-Islamic Party in India and the Young Turk Party in Constantinopole. At Delhi they associated with Dr. Ansari and the Ali Brothers." Another party had been sent in August "to stir up Indian Muslims.' Turkey also endeavoured "to spread pro-Turk and Pan-Islamic ideas in India through the press. A weekly Turkish paper, the *Jihan-i-Islam*, published in Arabic, Turkish and Urdu and edited by an Indian Muhammadan, found its way in considerable numbers into India before the War, and the avowed object of this periodical was to promote intercourse between Muhammadans and to encourage Indians to trade with Muslim countries."

12. Some of these have been quoted above.

13. Quoted in *Pakistan*, 73. The mystic statement of Gandhi is explained by the following passage contained in an official report : "In March last (1919) an understanding was arranged between M. K. Gandhi and Maulana Abdul Bari to the effect that the Hindu politicians would espouse the cause of Turkey and the Muhammadans would refrain from slaughtering kine."

14. Ibid.

15. Nehru's statement will be quoted later.

16. The *Young India* (edited by Gandhi), 4 May, 1921 (quoted in *Pakistan*, p. 72). In reply to B. C. Pal's criticism Gandhi said : "I would rather see India perish at the hands of Afghans than

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purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the cost of her honour. To have India defended by an unrepentant Government that keeps the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds still bleeding, is to sell India's honour." (*IAR*, 1922, pp. 211-12). The logic of this is not apparent to one who is not a mystic saint. Gandhi's nationalism seems to differ essentially from the modern conception of it. In an appeal to the Musalmans of India published in the *Independent*, dated Allahabad, 2nd October, 1921, after the arrest of Ali brothers (which, he said, left him 'without his arms') he observes: "The brave brothers are staunch lovers of their country but they are Musalmans first and everything else after and *it must be so with every religiously minded man.*" It would be interesting to know whether Gandhi's followers, who are anxious about national integration, are prepared to subscribe to the views contained in the words italicized by me.

17. Nair, Sankaran, pp. 37-46.
18. Ambedkar, *Pakistan*, pp. 144 ff.
19. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 371, 378.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER III.

1. See pp. 48-50.
2. *IAR*, 1921, Part I, p. 103.

2a. But cf. Ch. I, f.n. 45.

3. *IAR*, 1921, Part I, pp. 105 ff. 11a.
4. Ibid, 108.
5. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 198 ; Ram Gopal, *Lokamanya Tilak*, p. 445.
6. Bapat, *Reminiscenecs of Tilak*.
7. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 198.
8. *IAR*. 1921, Part I, pp. 194 ff. 11b.
9. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 12-14 ; Nehru, *Towards Freedom*, 52-3.
10. *IAR*. 1921, Part I, p. 116.

10a. *IAR*, 1921, Part I, p. 206, Italics mine.

11. Gandhi says with reference to his resolution on the Non-co-operation movement passed in the Special session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 : "In my resolution non-co-operation was postulated only with a view to obtaining redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. That, however, did not appeal to Sjt. Vijayaraghavachari.

'If non-co-operation was to be declared, why should it be with reference to particular wrongs ? The absence of Swaraj was the biggest wrong that the country was labouring under ; it should be against that that non-co-operation should be directed, he argued. Pandit Motilalji also wanted the demand for Swaraj to be includ- 12. 13.

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ed in the resolution. I readily accepted the suggestion and incorporated the demand for Swaraj in my resolution . . . ." (*My Experiments with Truth*, p. 610). Vijayaraghavachari, and many others, clearly perceived what Gandhi failed to see, that India's chief problem was the attainment of political independence,—everything else being merely a side-issue. Gandhi seems to have been still under the spell of loyalty of the British rule.

A somewhat different version is given by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. Referring to the Special session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920, and the resolution on Non-co-operation moved by Gandhi, he observes : "As soon as Gandhiji's resolution came under discussion Mr. Bipendra (sic. Bipin) Chandra Pal, under a misconception that Muslims would not accept it, proposed that along with the Khilafat the word Swaraj might also be introduced. Gandhiji was not prepared for it for he said, 'there should be no question of bargaining ; if we have to express our sympathy with the Muslim cause we should do it without any thought of recompense.' The Muslims, who had attended this session in very large numbers, rushed to Maulana Shaukat Ali to ask him to beg Gandhiji not to oppose the amendment. Maulana Shaukat Ali persuaded Gandhiji after some reluctance to accept the amendment." *Pathway to Pakistan*, pp. 55-6.

This does not tally with the statement of Gandhi that the suggestion came from Vijayaraghavachari and he *readily* accepted it. We cannot, therefore, without any further evidence, accept the statement of Khaliquzzaman even though he was present in the Congress session.

11a. That on this date Gandhi did not consider the Panjab atrocities as adequate cause for N.C.O. is proved by his attitude of co-operation with the Government, as against that of C.R. Das, in the Amritsar session of the Congress held in the last week of December, 1919 (see above, p.p. 42-43).

11b. Attention may be drawn to the italicised words in Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy, quoted above on pp. 63-4, and the last sentence in the resolution of the National Liberal Federation quoted above in p. 59, to the effect that the N.C.O. would not do any good to the Turks. Mrs. Annie Besant says : "It will be remembered that Mr. Gandhi, in March, 1920, had forbidden the mixing up of non-co-operation in defence of the Khilafat with other questions ; but it was found that the Khilafat was not sufficiently attractive to "Hindus", 'so at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Benares on May 30 and 31, the Punjab atrocities and the deficiencies of the Reforms Act were added to the list of provocative causes.' *The future of Indian Politics* (quoted by Ambedkar in *Pakistan*, p. 139).

12. Report, p. 8 ; cf. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 198-9.

13. See pp. 60-62.

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14. Karmarkar, 286.
15. Pradhan, 153.
16. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 194. The full text of the Manifesto is quoted in pp. 159 ff.
17. Bapat, op. cit., III. 142.
17a. In view of what has been stated above regarding the gradual evolution of the idea and programme of N.C.O. it is very unlikely that a detailed programme of it could be placed before a meeting on 18 January, 1920. This is also not compatible with the resolution of the Central Khilafat Committee on 2 June (see p. 61).
18. As noted above (p. 60), this is contradicted in the official history of the Congress.
19. Bapat, op. cit., I. 253.
20. For the different views quoted, cf. Bapat, op. cit., 115, 140, 514, and Preface.
20a. Introduction, *Freedom's Battle. Gandhi's speeches*, p. ix. Quoted in Raghuvamsi, 2nd Edition, 1959, pp. 154-5.
21. *IAR.*, 1921, Part I, p. 206. Italics mine.
22. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 205. Italics mine.
23. See pp. 36-8. Annie Besant, *India : Bond or Free*, p. 191.
23a. *IAR.*, 1921, Part I, pp. 137-8.
23b. There are some differences in the text of the resolution as given, respectively, in A. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 202 ff., and B. *Congress in Evolution* by D. Chakrabarty and C. Bhattacharya, pp. 33 ff. A uses the word 'Muslims' instead of 'Mussalmans' used in B. In this passage A omits the words 'or indirectly' which occur in B.
23c. See preceding note. A omits the words 'House of Commons and specially in the'.
23d. A omits the words 'showed virtual support of the'.
23e. A has 'Mahatma' instead of 'Mr.' as in B.
24. This is the voting figure given in *Hist. Congress*, I. 202 ; but others give the figures as 1855 to 873, 1866 to 884, etc.
24a. Ambedkar writes : "The Resolution of non-co-operation was carried by 1886 votes against 884. The late Mr. Tairsee once told me that a large majority of the delegates were no others than the taxi drivers of Calcutta who were paid to vote for the non-co-operation resolution". *Pakistan*, p. 141 f.n. Though the political parties were not above such tactics, it is difficult to believe that the hired taxi drivers could turn the scale so much in favour of the resolution.
24b. See above, pp. 66-67.
25. Louis Fischer-I, p. 68.
26. *Nation*, 300.
27. Cf. the passage from Rajagopalachari's writings quoted above (pp. 68-9).
28. See pp. 42-3.
29. *India in* 1921-22, p. 36.

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30. Louis Fischer-I, p. 56.

30a. See p. 82.

30b. The reason behind all this is perhaps the view expressed by Pattabhi Sitaramayya quoted above, in p. 55.

30c. B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan*, p. 144. Italics mine. The Muslim attitude in this respect may be judged from the letter of Kidwai published in the *Leader*, March, 1922. "It is a great a pity that most of the Indian Muslims...have yet failed to understand the full import of the Khilafat question. It is an international question....It cannot be surprising if Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders fail to understand the international significance of Islam, ...(many of his Muslim followers do the same).... I cannot help reminding Mr. Gandhi that his programme of removing untouchability or picketing liquor shops or boycotting Councils and Universities or even of wearing nothing but Khaddar cannot have the slightest effect on the Khilafat question.... As an old Indian 'Nationalist' of the 'extreme' wing I can say this without being misunderstood that the most urgent question for India to-day is the Khilafat question. That is the *danger point* and Hindus and Muslims should both unitedly attend to the solution of that question first and when a calm amosphere is obtained Indians of different shades of political and religious views should meet in a conference to draw up a constructive and definite scheme for Swaraj."

30d. A Muslim political leader says : "The Congress session in Nagpur was almost a Muslim session of the Congress for I believe the number of Muslims was so large as to give it a Muslim colour". Khaliquzzaman, p. 57.

31. *The Indian Struggle*, I, 67. Mr. B. C. Pal was very much annoyed and took C. R. Das to task for changing his views overnight without consulting the Party or its leading members (H. Das Gupta, *Bharater Jatiya Congress*, III, 37).

32. Iswari Prasad, *Modern India*, 408.

33. Ibid.

34. *The Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee* (hereinafter referred to as the Report). For the origin and nature of this Committee, see pp. 171 ff. According to an official report, the reduction of excise revenue in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Bombay was, respectively, 33, 10, and 6 lakhs of Rupees.

35. *IAR.* 1922, p. 250.

36. Report, p. 70. It serves as a typical illustration of the naivete', almost pathetic in character, which characterized Gandhi—obviously the result of judging others by his own standard.

37. *IAR.* 1924, II, 205.

38. *IAR.* 1921, p. 245. National Schools and Colleges were, how-

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ever, established. Their number in 1921-22, according to official Report, was as follows :

Province	Number of Institutions	Number of Scholars (in thousands)	
Madras	92	5	
Bombay	189	17	
Bengal	190	14	
U.P.	137	8	(Figures up to 31 July)
Punjab	69	8	
Bihar & Orissa	442	17	
C.P.	86	6	
Assam	38	2	(do)

Curiously enough, these numbers do not correspond, even roughly, with the number of scholars who had boycotted recognized institutions. Their number, in thousands, in the above Provinces was, respectively, 1,2,11,3,1,2,2,1. Altogether out of 670,000 scholars (in round number) about 23,000 withdrew, of whom more than 2,030 (excluding Bengal, for which no figure is available) returned to the institutions.

39. Muhammad Ali's speech at Madras in 1921. Montagu referred to it in the House of Commons (*IAR.* 1922-3, II. 55). Muhammad Ali, however, sang in a different tune in his speech as Congress President at Cocanada in 1923. He said that "he would resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim." Was it due to the fact, stated by himself, that while his Madras speech was considered as highly treasonable by the British officials, it had not found favour with the Afghans (Congress Presidents' Addresses, II. 705-6). On this point see above, pp. 53-6 and f.n., 10.
40. See p. 54.
41. See pp. 54-5.
43. Ibid, 238.
44. Ibid, 267.
45 Ibid, 270 ; *Hist. Congr.*, I, 217-8.
46. *India in* 1921-2, p. 87.
47. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 216.
48. Ibid, 218.
49. *The Indian Struggle*, II, 89-90.
50. *IAR.* 1922, pp. 377, 384.
51. Ibid, 307.
52. Pradhan, 183.
53. *The Indian Struggle*, II, 94 ff.
54. Ibid, 97-8.
55. *India in* 1921-2, p. 93.
56. *The Indian Struggle*, II, 99-101.
57. *India in* 1921-2, p. 94.

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58. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 233-35.
59. See pp. 149-151.
59a. *Young India*, October, 1919.
59b. *The Indian Struggle*, II, 108.
60. Khaliquzzaman, who was then in the same jail with Motilal Nehru, writes : "Pandit Motilal was furious when he woke me up early the next morning and expressed his deep resentment and anger at what had happened. He handed to me the *Leader* which he had in his hand and shouted, 'Look here what has happened.' He further said : 'This ends the movement ; there was no need to call off the movement because some people in a big country like India have lost their balance of mind and committed violence (p. 63),
61. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 38-9.
62. Quoted by Pradhan, p. 196.
63. *India in* 1921-2, pp. 104-5.
64. See pp. 76-77.
65. *IAR*. 1922, pp. 340-1.
65a. Ibid, 341.
66. *IAR*, 1922, pp. 382-83.
67. See pp. 116 ff.
68. *IAR*. 1922, pp. 321-24.
68. *IAR*. 1922-3, p. 793.
69. *IAR*. 1922-3, pp. 803-806.
70. *IAR*. 1921, Part I, p. 156.
71. *IAR*. 1922, p. 190 ; 1922-3, p. 780.
72. *IAR*. 1922, p. 192.
73. *IAR*. 1922-3, pp. 64-5.
73a. See p. 130.
74. Published in the *Leader* of Allahabad, on 9 February, 1922.
75. *India in* 1921-2, p. 61.
76. *India : Bond or Free*, pp. 194-5. Sir Sankaran Nair also narrates the misdeeds of Gandhi's followers (*Gandhi and Anarchy*, pp. 96 ff.).
76a. See pp. 7-9.
77. Chintamani, p. 132.
78. *Accounts and Papers*, 1922, Vol. XVI, p. 108 (Parliamentary Papers)
79. *HCIP*. Vol. IV, p. 164.
80. *India in* 1921-2 ; *IAR*, 1921, p. 41.
81. Sankaran Nair, op. cit., Appendix III.
82. Ibid, Appendix V.
83. Ibid.
84. *New India*, 6 December, 1921. Report, dated Calicut, 7 September, published in the *Times of India*.
85. *Gandhi and Anarchy*, p. 40.
85a. The following passage occurs in a confidential report of the Inte-

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lligence Bureau, Government of India : "The Moplah rebellion broke out in August after Khilafat agitators, including Abul Kalam Azad and Hakim Ajmal Khan, had been making violent speeches in that area. Ever since the Majlis-ul-Ulema Conference at Erode in April, the feelings of the Moplahs had been steadily growing with respect to the Khilafat, while the non-violent Non-co-operation movement was receding more and more into the background. A Khilafat Ulema Conference had been held at Ponnani about the middle of July at which the highly exciting speeches, followed by clear suggestions for the proclamation of a republic in the event of a hostile British attitude towards Angora, provided the requisite torch to the inflammatory and fanatical Moplahs." The same Report gives an extract from the speech of one of the leaders of the Moplahs from which a few sentences are quoted as specimens : "We have extorted Swaraj from the white men....We shall give Hindus the option of death or Islam. We have the example of the Holy Prophet that it is a good act to kill for God's work....

"The Jews and Christians, as believers in revealed book, may be tolerated, but the idolatrous Hindus can only be allowed to live in a Muslim State on sufferances....The time for establishing the Khilafat has come."

The detailed account given above shows that these professions were carried into practice.

86. *IAR.* 1923, Supplementary, p. 194.
87. Subhas Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, II, pp. 144-5. P. C. Ray, *Life and Times of C. R. Das*, p. 204.
88. Cf. Vol. I, p. 354.
89. *IAR.* 1922, p. 755.
90. Ibid, 772.
91. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 256-7.
92. Mahadev Desai, *The Story of Bardoli*. Also cf. R. Diwakar, *Satyagraha in Action*, p. 70.
92a. See pp. 102-03.
93. *The Indian Struggle*, II, pp. 115-7.
94. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 249.
95. *IAR.* 1924, I. 37-40.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER IV.

1. See above, pp. 90-91.
2. *IAR.* 1924, II. 55.
3. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 373 ff.

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4. See p. 96.
5. See pp. 182-3.
6. The text of the Manifesto is given in *IAR*, 1923, Vol. II, pp. 219-20,
7. *IAR*. 1925. p. 40.
8. Rao, B. Shiva, Chapter VI ; Appendix I, III.
9. *IAR*, 1925, Vol. I, p. 245.
10. See below, pp. 209-10.
11. *IAR*, 1924, Vol. I, 601-04.
12. For a comparison of the three original propositions of Gandhi with the amended resolutions, as finally passed, see *IAR*, 1924, II. 132.
13. Ibid, I, 620-1.
14. Ibid, II. 184.
15. *The Indian Struggle*, II, 156-7.
16. Ibid, 157.
17. *IAR*, 1926, I, 17.
18. Ibid, 40, 27.
19. Ibid, 50.
20. Ibid, II, 34.
21. It is significant that the Hindu Mahasabha was noticed for the first time in *IAR* in 1923, in connection with its annual session on 30 December, 1922 (*IAR*, 1923, p. 943).
22. Cf. pp. 222-3.
1. The account of Communism is mainly based on the following : M. R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India*, London, 1954. G. D. Overstreet and M. Windmiller, *Communism in India*, Bombay, 1960.
2. Annie Besant, *India Bond or Free*, 210 ; *IAR*, 1924, I. 74 ff., 703 ff.
3. See above, p. 218.
4. Cf. Vol. II, p. 252.
5. Besant, op. cit.
6. *IAR*, 1923, Supplement, p. 59. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras, 1934. Second Series, p. 673.
7. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, 673-4.
8. Ibid, 699-700.
9. *IAR*, 1923, Supplement, 192.
10. *IAR*, 1924, II. 25-6.
11. For the Kohat riot, cf. *IAR*, 1924, II. 25-32, 308, 421, 434, 481, 486 ; *IAR*. 1925, 97-106.
12. For full text, cf, *IAR*, 1924, I. 63.
13. Ibid, II. 147-160 (a).
14. *IAR*, 1926, II. 312.
15. This is the official version. According to *IAR*, 1925 (p. 182) only 14 were killed and 7 wounded.
16. *Statutory Commission's Report*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 106. The

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account of the communal riots given in this chapter is mainly based on this and the *IAR*.

36. Ibid, p. 99.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER V.

1. See pp. 186, 194-97.
2. *IAR*, 1924, Part I, pp. 265, 268.
3. See p. 193.
4. *IAR*, 1925, Vol. I, p. 314.
5. See pp. 206-9.
6. *IAR* 1925, I. 336 ff. ; 1926, II. 121-35.
7. *IAR*, 1924, I. 790-94.
8. *British Rule in India Condemned by the Britishers Themselves* (published by the Indian National Party, London, 1915), p. 3. This book contains a large collection of statements made by emi nent Britishers regarding the deplorable condition—both politic and economical—of India under British rule.
9. *IAR*, 1924, II. 8-10.
10. Ibid, 138.
11. *IAR*, 1924, I. 672.
12. Cf. Vol. II, pp. 494-5.
13. The full text is given in *IAR*, 1924. II. 289-98.
14. It is fully in keeping with the police methods described by Sir Sankaran Nair, Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council (see p. 243) and a body of Britishers who came to India in 1932 (pp. 340, 349-88).

14a. The alleged tortures include inserting pin in the flesh and nails, keeping a man hanging with heads down for days together, flogging a man till he becomes unconscious and then again as soon as he regains consciousness, etc. Ram Manohar Lohia, a poli tical leader, has narrated his own experience (see pp. 544-5), which was by no means unusual as similar tortures were reported by other political prisoners. Cf. also the gruesome details narrated by the India League Delegation and summarised in pp. 422-47.

15. Cf. Vol. II, p. 122.
16. *IAR*, 1926, II. 132.
17. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 353 ff.
18. Nevinson, 115-16.
19. Ibid, 116.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid, Italics mine.
22. Ibid, 117.

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Ibid, 118.
Sir Walter Strickland, Bart., *British Justice and Honesty* (1913), p.4.
IAR, 1922, 256-7.
Nevinson, 118.
Ibid, 229.
Ibid, 228-9.
Ibid, 230.
Ibid, 43.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER VI

1. Gwyer, 208.
2. Ibid, 210.
3. For the alleged remark of Nehru, cf. Louis Fischer, *The life of Mahatma Gandhi* Bhavan's Edition, Part II, p. 150.
   Nehru's attitude towards Jinnah, as delineated by Leonard Mosley, (cf. Book IV, Chapter VIII, f.n., 15.) is both interesting and instructive Mosley thinks that Jinnah's return to Indian politics was mainly due to an earnest appeal of Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the Muslim League (Mosley, pp. 66-68).
4. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 215.
5. Ibid, 220-22.
6. This has been discussed in detail in the next chapter. Only a brief reference is made here to some stirring events which added to the political tension of the time.
7. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 226-7.
8. Ibid, 223.
9. Ibid, 229.
10. Ibid, 230-1.
11. See pp. 216-7.
12. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 238-41. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 350 ff.
13. Louis Fischer-II, II. 10.
14. Cf. next Chapter.
15. See pp. 276-7.
16. Subhas Bose moved that "the Congress should aim at setting up a parallel Government in the country and, to that end, should take in hand the task of organizing the workers, peasants and youths." But this resolution was defeated (*The Indian Struggle*, II. 244).
17. *Nehru on Gandhi*, p. 54.
18. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 245.
19. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 363-4.

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19. The eleven items of reforms include total prohibition, abolition of salt tax, reduction of land revenue, military expenditure and high salaries of officials, abolition of the C.I.D., and discharge of all political prisoners. Ibid 366.
19a. Ibid.
20. Ibid, 368-9.
21. The ful text of the letter is given in *Hist. Congr.*, I. 372-6.
22. See pp. 37-8.
23. Ishwari Prasad, 427.
24. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 55 ; *Toward Freedom*, 156 ff.
25. For full text, cf. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 377. Italics mine.
26. According to some accounts, 75 (*Hist. Congr.*, I. 383), or 78.
27. Louis Fischer-II, II. 15-16. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 378 ff.
28. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 398 ff.
29. Ibid, 425.
30. Ibid, 413.
31. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 258, f.n., 1.
32. Legislative Assembly Debate, 14th July, 1930 (quoted in *Hist. Congr.*, I. 410).
33. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 260-61 ; *Hist. Congr.*, I. 41, 412, 420.
34. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 412.
35. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 262.
36. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 413.
37. Ibid, 413.
38. Ibid, 414.
39. Ibid, 415-18.
40. Ibid, 418-20.
41. Ibid, 420.
42. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 260, f.n., 2.
43. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 399-400.
44. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 263-4.
45. Shamrao Hivale, *Scholar Gipsy—A study of Verrier Elwin*, pp. 15, 44, 57.
46. Miller, Webb, *I Found no Peace*, Chapters 16, 17 ; pp. 192-96.
47. Ibid, 197-99.
48. Ibid, 200-202.
49. Ibid, 202-6.
49a. See p. 265.
50. Coupland, I. 117. The account of the sub-committees that follow is based upon Coupland, I. 117-20.
51. *Pakistan*, 95-6.
52. Coupland, I. 121.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. *Report of the Sapru Committee*, p. 15.
56. Coupland, I. 122.
57. *Sapru Committee Report*, 15-6.

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58. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 424-5.
59. Gwyer, 232 . For details of the pact of which only a summary is given below, cf. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 438-42.
60. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 66-70.
61. Cf. Subhas Bose's view on the subject (*The Indian Struggle*, II, 237-8).
62. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 381.
63. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 283-89.
64. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 456.
65. Ibid.
66. See above, p. 205. It is difficult to understand Gandhi's views in this respect. Once while a revolutionary was on trial at Nagpur Gandhi requested a prominent lawyer of this place to take up the defence and also offered to pay his fees. The lawyer said : "But Bapu, this man is accused of arrant and flagrant violence, so why ?" The reply in Hindi was to the effect, "Bhai, courage and determination (*himmat*) must be honoured" (*Hindusthan Standard, Puja Annual*, 1963, pp. 152-3). Yet Gandhi was deadly opposed to the resolution about Gopinath Saha which meant nothing more than this.
67. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 458.
68. Ibid, 466.
69. Ibid, 468.
70. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 299-301.
71. See above, p. 270.
72. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 480-81.
73. Ibid, 473-4. Italics mine.
74. Ibid, 472-3.
75. Ibid, 474-7, 488.
76. Ibid, 478.
77. Ibid, 479, 484.
78. For the full text, cf. Ibid, 487.
79. Ibid, 488-92.
80. Ibid, 489.
81. Ibid, 378.
82. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 495.
83. *Ibid*, 511-12.
84. Ibid, 512-14.
85. Ibid, p. 516 ; pp. 514-17 give the details.
86. Ibid, 518.
87. Verrier Elwin, *Truth about India, Can We get it ?* p. 38
88. Ibid.
89. See f.n. 87, for the name of the book.
90. Ibid, 34-5. For a fuller account of what happened in NWFP, see Verrier Elwin's Report, published by the Friends of India, 46 Lancaster Gate, London.

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91. The whole of section 2 is based upon the *Delegation Report*, (mentioned in the next section), pp. 469-71.
92. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 528.
93. Ibid, 529, where further details are given.
94. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 378.
94a. The ground was that the Governor in Council was satisfied that "the amount was intended to be used for the purposes of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee or the Gujarat Prantik Samiti". The fund was held in the joint names of V. J. Patel and Mavlankar. The latter made a written protest denying the allegation, but in vain.
95. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 341-2.
96. *Delegation Report*, 76.
97. Referred to hereafter as 'Report'.
98. Report, 28.
99. Ibid, 29.
100. Ibid, 33.
100a. Briefly referred to above, in pp. 285-6.
101. Report, 5-6.
102. Ibid, 5, f.n. This case illustrates the worthlessness of the official statements in such matters.
103. Report, 493.
104. Ibid, 495.
105. Ibid, 496-500.
107. The Report adds the following footnote :

The ordinances by definition made even private gatherings into public meetings. Law courts have in several instances decided that these actions for which police arrested or beat Congress men are not illegal. Chairmen and officials of municipalities in India have been penalised for hoisting the Congress flag over municipal buildings.

108. The Delegation explains it as follows : 'The Ordinances gave powers to the Executive officers to keep any person in detention for fifteen days on mere suspicion. At the end of the period the person against whom no charge was preferred was released, but he was sometimes re-arrested in a few minutes or a few hours after release.

'In this way the period of detention sould be extended at the sweet will of the Executive officers. Sometimes the released person was asked to report to the police station, usually three times a day. Cases are on record where arrests have taken place before the end of the time allowed for reporting, and where the time allowed is not even sufficient to enable the person to go from the prison to the specified police station. The aim of the procedure is to create a legal offence which was punished with imprisonment, ranging between twelve and eighteen months.'

109. The Report adds the following footnote :

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"The Police everywhere appear to have made a practice of releasing women prisoners at night, often late".

Footnote : "This appears to be a common police story. We were told even more amusing one on the frontier, but it was too ridiculous to be even a good story, and the Inspector-General of Police whom we met afterwards denied it.

Footnote : "These include collected statements as well as cases mentioned to us. We have refrained from using collected reports as evidence here, though from the widespread nature of the allegations and circumstantial evidence, it stands to reason that they represent facts."

Footnote : "The Report is in Bengali and a copy of it is in the Assembly Library. Mr. Mitra had attempted to obtain publication of these facts in the press, but no paper would dare to print them."

Footnote : "The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, an old established paper of Calcutta, was ordered to deposit Rs. 6,000 as security for publishing the news."

Footnote : "Intimidation of women by the military and punitive police were reported to us in a number of villages in Bengal."

Footnote : "We were supplied with one bucket of water for six of us per day for washing purposes"—Vidya Devi Varma, Woman ex-prisoner, Bareilly jail. Evidence, U.P. Committee Report.

Footnote : "U. P. Committee Report—Hari Singh (Btereilly jail) stated : "In oil mills political prisoners were made to run like bullocks. They had to eat while they were doing work". Altar Singh of Muzaffarnagar, Bareilly jail, stated that he worked on the oil mill from 6 A. M. to 5 P. M. Had to work while suffering from fever. Reported to Superintendent and punished for short labour."

Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, no. 5.

Footnote : "Most of the incidents took place while we were in India."

The statement of the official is quoted in the Report, p. 413.

The Indian Struggle, II. 103.

Cf. Sapru Report, 17 ; Ambedkar-II, Chapter III ; *Hist. Congr.*, I, 494 ff.

Hist. Congr., I. 495.

For the full text of the letter, cf. ibid, 539-41.

It was released on 16 August, according to Gwyer, 261. The date of announcement is given as 17 August in *Hist. Congr.*, I. 532.

For the full text of the Communal Award, cf. Gwyer, 261-5.

ForF the full text of the letter, cf. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 542-3.

For the full text, cf. Gwyer, 265-6.

Nehru on Gandhi, 72-3.

The Indian Struggle, II. 361.

Ibid, 361-2.

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129. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 538-9.
130. Speaking of Gandhi's condemnation of secrecy, K. F. Nariman observes : By what rule of modern warfare or sport are we bound to disclose our plans and schemes to the enemy ? Secrecy of one's plans and future action is the very essence of all modern national movements and struggles". *The Indian Struggle*, II. 367.
131. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 560-61.
132. Ibid, 562. Subhas Bose gives the following account of this Conference : "Two groups were represented at the Conference—one in favour of calling off the movement altogether and the other in favour of resuming it with full vigour. The former group had probably a majority and most of the members of this group were in favour of reviving the Swarajist policy of carrying the fight inside the Legislatures which had been abandoned at the Lahore Congress in December, 1929. Nevertheless, at the end, the Conference decided to give in to the Mahatma". *The Indian Struggle*, II. 364.
133. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 562.
134. Ibid.
135. For Nariman's comment, cf. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 367-8.
136. Jawaharlal Nehru possessed the power of independent rational thinking, as his many adverse comments on Gandhi's action would show, but he always ultimately yielded to the personal magnetism of Gandhi.
136a. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 563.
137. Ibid.
138. Nehru observed : "It seemed an extraordinarily trivial matter for such a tremendous step. It was quite impossible for me to understand his decision". *Nehru on Gandhi*, p. 84.
138a. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 565.
139. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 381.
140. *The Indian Struggle*, II. 363.
141. Ibid, 368.
142. Referring to Gandhi's Dandi march, Pattabhi Sitaramayya observes : "It was also prophetic visualisation of what was to come to pass. Perhaps Gandhi himself had no full conception of what was to follows. He saw things as if by a flash and framed his conduct by impulse. To the righteous man, these two are the supreme guides of life, not reason nor intellect." *Hist. Congr.*, I. 378. The same writer remarks elsewhere : "Gandhi's plans have all along been revealed to him by his own instinct, not evolved by the cold, calculating logic of the mind. His inner voice is his mentor and monitor, his friend, philosopher and guide." Ibid, 371. Similar view was expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru (p. 400)
143. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 557.
144. Ibid, 547-52.

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145. Ibid, 535.
146. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 78.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER VII.

1. Vol. II, Chapters VI and VII.
2. This and the other incidents mentioned in this chapter are, unless otherwise stated, described on the authority of memoirs published by the revolutionaries. The accounts given by different authors sometimes differ in minor details, but their general accuracy is, in most cases, proved by offical reports.
3. *Report* (see f.n., 9), p. 325.
4. See p. 103.
5. It should be four ; cf. Vol. II, p. 444 where the name Nirendra is wrongly printed as Jitendra.
5a. *Report*, 327.
6. Ibid, 328.
7. See p. 169.
8. For his earlier activities, cf. Vol. II, pp. 285, 424.
9. This is referred to as *Report* in these footnotes.
9a. *Report*, 320.
10. See p. 178.
11. According to Khaliquzzaman an Indian member of the C. I. D. "unearthed the conspirators in mere five days" (p. 78).
12. See p. 215.
13. *Da* is an abbreviation of *Dada* (elder brother).
14. Kalpana Dutt, *Chittagong Armoury Raids—Reminiscences*, p. 7.
15. The full text is given by Suprakash Ray, p. 649.
16. *Report*, 327.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. According to some accounts, eleven died in the very first volley. The youngest of the lot, nicknamed Tengra, a boy in his early teens, and younger brother of Lokenath Ball, the leader, was one of the first to be mortally wounded by a shot. His dying words to his brother were : "I am going, fight till the last."
20. *Report*, 328.
21. Ibid, 332, 336.
22. Ibid, 335.
23. Ibid, 336.
24. Cf. Vol. II, pp. 265-6.
25. *Report*, 337.
26. Ibid, 339.

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27. The details of I and II are given in the *Report*, pp. 342-52. The figures refer to Bengal. A separate list is given for other Provinces in pp. 353-61, year by year. The figures given in *India in 1930* (p. 540) are somewhat different.
27a. See pp. 281-82.
28. Ajay Kumar Ghosh, *Bhagat Singh and his Camrades*, p. 2.
29. Ibid, p. 4.
30. The Account of Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta given in this section and the next is based on *IAR.*, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 78-80, and the documents and information supplied to the author by Batukeshwar Datta, who is happily still alive. The author takes this opportunity to express his obligations to Sri Datta.
30a. See pp. 177-78.
31. The statement was supplied by Sri Datta.
32. See pp. 215-16.
33. See pp. 314-5.
34. *India in 1933-34*, p. 48.
35. Ibid, p. 321, para 5.
36. See p. 428.
37. This is an extract from a published article, kindly supplied by Sri Datta.
38. Quoted in the *Weekly Pratap*, October, 1929, p. 1. I am indebted to Sri Datta for this quotation.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER VIII

1. Chintamani and Masani, 174.
2. Gwyer, I. pp. xliii-xliv.
3. As will be shown later, Gandhi made a complete *volte face* in 1940 (p. 499), but then it was too late.
4. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 579-86.
5. Ibid, 601-2.
6. *The Times of India*, 24 April, 1930 (quoted in Coupland, I. 111)
6a. Coupland, II. 121.
7. See p. 259.
8. See p. 268.
9. *Hist. Congr.*, I. 485-6. cf. p. 393.
10. Rajendra Prasad, 140.
11. Ibid, 140-41.
12. *Muslim League*, 225.
13. Coupland, II. 14.
14. Cf. the Presidential Address of Nawab Habibullah. *IAR*, 1936, I. 305.

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Cf. Vol. I, pp. 32 ff., 465 ff.

14a. 15. Nehru had a poor opinion of Jinnah and the Muslim League. Leonard Mosley, to whom he seems to have unburdened his heart, observes : "His (Nehru's) contempt for Jinnah was ill-concealed (the contempt was reciprocated) and his dislike of the aims and intentions of the Muslim League was such that he seriously underestimated its strength. Of the Muslim League he once said, in a conversation with the author : 'It was an organization which was both very strong and very weak. It could always bring its followers out on the streets, always cause trouble, always threaten violence. But it had no other *raison d'etre* than a negative anti-Hindu feeling. And of Jinnah he said : ...He was a snob. ...He had no real feelings about the Muslims. He wasn't really a Muslim at all. I know Muslims. I know the Koran. I have Muslim relatives and friends. Jinnah couldn't even recite a Muslim prayer and had certainly never read the Koran. But when he was offered the leadership of the Muslim League, he saw the opportunity and accepted it. He had been a comparative failure as a lawyer in England and this was a way out." Mosley, 26. For a somewhat different attitude, cf. Nehru-II, 339 ff. For Nehru's estimate of the League, see pp. 465-66.

16. See p. 316.

17. *Hist. Congr.*, I, 603.

18. Coupland, II. 10-11.

19. See pp. 394-95.

20. For the spread of Commission in India, see pp. 216 ff.

21. *The Indian Struggle*, III. 16-7. The predominance of the Socialist group in the Congress is admitted by Gandhi himself in his statement of 17 September, item 3, quoted above in p. 445. Gandhi threatened to retire from the Congress "if they gained ascendancy as they may." This supports the charge that under Gandhi's leadership the Congress was losing its democratic character.

22. Ibid, 10.

23. Ibid, II. 366.

24. Ibid, 430.

25. Ibid.

26. *Hist. Congr.*, II. 11.

27. *Nehru on Gandhi*, 78.

28. Ibid, 91.

29. Ibid, 64.

30. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 30.

31. Ibid, 31.

32. Ibid, 33.

33. Ibid, 36.

34. Report of the Sapru Committee (23 ff.), which gives other details.

35. Ibid, 27-8.

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36. For a detailed account of the work of the Ministries, cf. Coupland, Part II.
37. Ibid, 110.
38. Ibid, 111.
38a. Khaliquzzaman (pp. 161-2) refers to the Congress offer as a death warrant. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi who discusses this point in detail refers to the pithy saying of Nehru, mentioned above, as adding insult to injury (p. 89).
38b. Azad says in his Memoir (pp. 160-62) that the breakdown of the negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League in U.P. was due to the refusal of Nehru to take more than one minister from the League although hopes were held out that two could be taken. Azad obesrves that Nehru's attitude was due to fondness for abstract theory which was also responsible for his most unfortunate statement about the Constituent Assembly on 10 July 1946 (cf. pp. 637 ff).
39. Nehru-II, 332.
40. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 32 ff., 465 ff.
41. Nehru-II, 331. Cf. also Mosley's observations quoted above, in f.n. 15.
41a. Ibid, 335.
41b. See pp. 480-84.
42. See p. 50.
43. Coupland, II. 181.
44. Ibid.
45. Jinnah, 295-8.
46. Coupland, II. 182.
47. Ibid, 182-3.
48. Rajendra Prasad, 154-5.
48a. Ibid, 155.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid, 146-7.
51. Coupland, II. 188.
51a. Azad, 22.
52. *Sources*, 763-8 ; *Pakistan*, 140.
53. It is interesting to note that five years before Iqbal Lala Lajpat Rai suggested "the creation of Moslem Provinces in the north-east and north-west of India...to set at rest the ceaseless Hindu-Muslim bickerings and jealousies in some Provinces." *Modern Review*, 1925, Part I, p. 489.
54. Halide Edib, a Turkish lady, visited India in 1935 and recorded her impressions in a book entitled *Inside India*, published in 1937. She gives an interesting account of her interview with Rahmat Ali long before the scheme of Pakistan was looked upon as a practicable proposal or a living political issue, even by the Muslim leaders.
54a. Coupland, Part II. 206.

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55. See pp. 216-17.
56. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 72 ; *Nehru on Gandhi*, p. 78.
57. *The Indian Struggle*, III, 19.
58. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 106 f.n.
59. Ibid, 106.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid, 110-11.
62. Ibid, 113-4. The stormy scenes are described in *IAR*, 1939, I. 327-30.
63. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 32.
64. *The Indian Struggle*, III, 19-20.
65. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 115.
66. Ibid, 116-7.
67. Ibid, 118.
68. Ibid.
69. *The Indian Struggle*, III, 21, 23.
70. Ibid, 23-5.

BOOK IV, CHAPTER IX

1. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942*, p. 628.
2. The *Harijan*, 9 September, 1939 ; quoted in Coupland, II. 214.
3. The *Statesman*, 10 September, 1939 ; quoted in Coupland, II. 214.
4. See above, pp. 479, 481.
5. *The Indian Struggle*, III. 28-9.
6. Coupland, II. 215. *IAR*, 1939, II. 226-8.
7. *IAR*, 1939, II. 231.
8. Coupland, II. 216.
9. Ibid, 217.
10. Ibid, 217-8. Italics mine.
11. *The Indian Struggle*, III. 32.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid, 33.
14. Ibid, 34.
15. Ibid.
16. Azad, 33.
17. Ibid, 34.
18. Coupland, II. 239-40.
19. Ibid, 240.
20. Azad, 35.
21. The letter was published in the *Harijan*, 9 September, 1939 ; quoted in Coupland, II. 214, f.n., 1.

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20. Azad, 36.
21. Coupland, II. 242.
22. See pp. 317-19.
23. Coupland, II. 242.
24. Ibid, 243-4.
25. Coupland (II. 245) gives arguments both for and against such a view.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid, 248.
27a. Ibid, 247.
28. *The Indian Struggle*, III, 37-8.
29. Coupland, II. 258.
30. Ibid, 259-60.
31. Ibid, 260.
32. Ibid.
33. *Hist. Congr.*, 293-4.
34. Ibid, 298.
35. Coupland, II. 267.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid, 268.
38. Gwyer, II. 519.
39. Ibid.
39a. The documents are published in the *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942*, Vol. I, pp. 593 to 750.
39b. Ibid, 603.
39c. Ibid, 602-4.
39d. Ibid, 605-6.
39e. For the full report, cf. Ibid, 606-7.
39f. Ibid, 608.
39g. Ibid, 612.
39h. Ibid, 615-6.
39i. Ibid, 617-8.
39j. Ibid, 619.
40. Azad, 62.
41. Coupland, Part II. 279-80.
42. Ibid, 279.
43. Ibid, 280.
44. Ibid.
45. Menon, 132.
46. Ibid, 126.
47. Ibid, 127.
48. Ibid, 128.
48a. Ibid, 129.
49. Ibid, 128-30.
50. Ibid, 130-1.
51. Ibid, 133.
52. See f.n., 39 a (hereafter referred to as *Documents*).

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Documents, pp. 630-34.
53. Louis Fischer-II, 111-2.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid, 110.
55a. *Documents*, 640.
55b. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 326, 331.
55c. Coupland, II, 288-9.
56. Ibid, 290.
57. Statement published by the Government of India on the Congress Party's Responsibility for the Disturbances in India, 1942-3. *Parliamentary Report, Accounts and Papers*, 1942-3, Vol. IX (hereafter referred to as *Statement*). It is reproduced in *IAR*, 1942, pp. 237-54.
59. Ibid.
60. Coupland, II, 291.
61. Azad, 72-3.
62. Ibid, 72.
63. *Statement* (See f.n., 58 above).
64. Azad, 73-77.
65. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 340-42.
66. *The Indian Struggle*, III, 41-3.
67. Azad, 81.
68. Ibid, 82.
69. *Hist. Congr.*, II, 342-46.
70. Coupland, II, 297-8.
71. Nehru-II, 429.
72. *Statement*.
73. *Hist. Congr.*, II. 375.
76. Ibid, 376.
78. *Statement*.
83. Ibid, 373-4.
84. The account that follows is mainly based on unofficial publications mentioned in the Bibliography and the footnotes.
85. The account of Midnapore is chiefly based on *Rebel India*, Edited by Bejan Mitra and Phani Chakraborty (1946), and a Bengali book, *August Viplab*, by Tarinisankar Chakravarty (1946).
86. *Rebel India*, p. 24.
87. Ibid, 25.
88. Nehru observes : "It was extraordinary how British authority ceased to function over many areas, both rural and urban, and it took many days and sometimes weeks for a 'reconquest', as it was often termed. This happened particularly in Bihar, in the Midnapur District of Bengal and in the south-eastern districts of the United Provinces." (Nehru-II, 431).
89 Nehru-II, 430-31. The figures quoted by Nehru are different from those given in *Hist. Congr.* (quoted above) on the authority of the statement by Home Minister.

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80. *Hist. Congr.*, II. 377.
80a. Coupland, II. 302.
80b. *Rebel India*, p. 212.
81. Nehru-II, 427.
81a. According to the statement of K. C. Mahindra of the India Supply Mission in U.S.A. According to Sir G. C. Bajpai only 57 battalions were employed (*Documents*, pp. 737,, 735).
82. Ibid, 427-8. Alexander, Horace, *India since Cripps*, p. 47.
83. See pp. 527-28.
84. Nehru-II, 419. The same view is emphatically asserted by Jayaprakash Narain and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The relevant passages are quoted in pp. 556, 547-8 and 552-3.
84a. Tendulkar (VI, 212-15) reproduces these instructions which are fairly comprehensive and cover three printed pages.
85. K. K. Datta, *Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. III, p. 37.
86. Coupland, II, 303, f.n., 1.
87. *Statement* (see f.n., 58).
87a. For these and other statements of Gandhi, see above, p. 532.
88. Coupland, II. 303.
89. See p. 547.
90. Cf. Chapter VII.
91. See p. 315.
92. Horace, Alexander, op. cit., 49.
93. *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, August 1942—April, 1944*, published by the Government of India (1944), p. 1.
94. K. K. Datta, op, cit., p. 444.
95. Ibid, 266-7.
96. For the text of the letter, cf. Ibid, 436 ff. ; also *Rebel India*, 194.
97. K. K. Datta, op. cit., 267.
97a. Letter "To All Fighters of Freedom," *Rebel India*, 222-3.
98. K. K. Datta, op. cit., 272-3.
99. Ibid, 273-5.
100. For details, cf. ibid, 275 ff.
101. *Correspondence* (See f.n., 93), pp. 3-4. The Congress made a grievance that this letter 'condemning acts of violence' was not published by the Government in time. "If it had been published in its entirety then and there, Gandhi's comdemnation of the acts of violence by people outside would have had telling and forthright effect in subduing them" (*Hist. Congr.*, II. 485).
102. Nehru-II, 427. The relevant passage has been quoted above, in p. 534.
103. Azad, 90.
104. Diwakar, 100.
104a. In a long letter addressed to the President, Indian National Congress, on 7 January, 1946, Achyut Patvardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali made an emphatic protest against such a view of "the momentous events of the past three years" (*Rebel India*, p. 206).

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104b. Letter "To All Fighters of Freedom," dated 1 September, 1943 (*Rebel India*, p. 223).
105. Nehru-II, 427.
106. *Hist. Congr.*, II. 373.
107. Horace, Alexander, op. cit., p. 44.
108. *Correspondence* (see f.n., 93), pp. 8, 9, 11.
109. Azad, 91.
110. Letter dated December, 1942 (*Rebel India*, pp. 194-5).
110a. See pp. 54-6, 81, 318-19.
111. See p. 499.
112. Coupland, II. 298. Italics mine.
113. Ibid, 289.
114. Ibid, 299. On 8 August, 1942, on the eve of his arrest Gandhi wrote to the same effect to a Muslim businessman in Bombay (ibid).
115. Khaliquzzaman, 282-3.
116. Ibid, 286.
117. Ibid, 286.
118. Ibid, 285.
119. Coupland, II. 299.
120. Ibid, 300.
121. *The Times*, 31 December, 1942 (quoted in Coupland, II. 304).
122. Menon, 113-4.
123. Ibid, 145.
124. Ibid, 154.
125. See pp. 262-5.
126. *Communism in India*, by Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller (hereafter referred to as '*Communism*'), p. 140.
127. Ibid, 145-6.
128. Masani M. R., *The Communist Party of India*, pp. 51-3.
129. Ibid, 66-71 ; *Communism*, 179.
130. Masani, op. cit., 71-2.
131. *Communism*, 188-9.
132. The split between the CPI and the Forward Bloc was probably due to other causes also. It has been suggested that the former looked upon the latter, like all other leftist parties, as a rival and the split was part of an attempt to reduce the prestige of a rival which had to be prevented from seizing the opportunity to build a mass following based on a radical programme' (*Communism*, pp. 180-81).
133. Ibid, 181.
134. Ibid, 181-4.
135. Ibid, 181-2.
136. Ibid, 192-8 ; Masani, 79-80.
137. *Communism*, 198.
138. Masani, 82-3.
139. Ibid, 83-4.

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140. *Communism*, 219. The authenticity of the letter is denied by the CPI, and there is no positive evidence of its existence. Batlivala challenged the CPI to publish the correspondence, but the challenge was not accepted.
141. Masani, 84.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid, 85.
144. Ibid, 85-6.
145. *Correspondence* (see f.n., 93).
146. Ibid, 9.
147. Mneon, 160.
148. Ibid, 160-61.
149. Cf. ibid, 161, for further details of the speech.
150. For the contradictory views of Gandhi on the subject, see pp. 560-61.
151. See p. 466.
152. Menon, 163. Italics mine.
153. For details, cf. Menon, 162.
154. Ibid, 163.
155. Ibid.
155a. Ibid, 164-5.
156. Ibid, 163.
156a. Ibid, 176-9.
157. Ibid, 182-3.

BOOK IV; CHAPTER X.

This Chapter is based mainly on the following books and articles to which reference is made in the footnotes by the name of the author.

BOOKS

1. Maj.-Gen., Shahnawaz Khan, *I.N.A. and its Netaji* (Delhi, 1946).
2. Hugh Toye, *The Springing Tiger* (Bombay, 1957).
3. A. C. Chatterji, *India's Struggle for Freedom* (Calcutta, 1947).

ARTICLES

1. S. A. Ayer, The Indian Independence Movement in East Asia (*Netaji Research Bureau, Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 1, July, 1961, pp. 2-16).
2. John A. Thivy, *A Short Sketch of the Indian Independence Movement*, Hanoi, 1945 (unpublished). Reference in the footnotes is to a typed copy kindly lent by the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, *Crossroads*, pp. 343-4.
2. Cf. Vol. II, pp. 454 ff.
3. Toye (p. 7) gives the number as 45,000.
4. Shahnawaj, pp. 41-44 ; Toye, p. 9.
5. Chatterji, p. 17.
6. Ibid, 20.
7. Ibid, 20-21.
8. Ibid, 35, 42-3.
9. Ibid, 46, 51 ff.
10. Ibid, 48-9.
11. Ibid, 50.
12. Thivy, p. 5.
13. Toye, 79.

13a. For full details, cf. Chatterji, Chapter VIII (pp. 120-29).

14. Ayer, p. 7.
15. Ibid, 8-9.
16. Toye, 95.
17. Thivy, 9.
18. Shahnawaj, 99-100 ; Toye, 83, 85.
19. Chatterji, 38.
20. Shahnawaj, 102.
21. Ibid.
21. Ibid, 105.
23. Ibid, 106.
24. Ibid, 108, 110.
25. Ibid, 111.
26. Ibid, 112.
27. Ibid, 113 ; Toye, 103.
28. Shahnawaj, 116.
29. Ibid, 118.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid, 134.
32a. Chatterji, 180.
33. Shahnawaj, 151.
34. Ibid, 153-4.
35. Ibid, 154.
36. Ibid, 155.
37. Ibid, 156.
38. Ibid, 160.

38a. Toye, 102, 107. Chatterji (183) gives the date as 4 February, which seems to be wrong. Subhas Bose's Special Order of the Day, dated 1st January, 1945, and Tojo's statement, quoted at the end of the para, support the date 19th March.

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39. Shahnawaj, 159.
39a. Ibid, 124.
40. Ibid, 126.
41. Ibid, 135.
42. Ibid, 137.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid, 138.
45. Ibid, 105, 135.
46. See pp. 595-96.
47. Thivy, 27.
48. Shahnawaj, 125.
49. Ibid, 161.
50. Ayer, p. 11.
51. A committee was appointed by the Government of India "to enquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji-Subhas Chandra Bose from Banngkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as result of an aircraft accident and subsequent developments connected therewith." Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose, who was a member of this Committee, wrote a long dissentient Report and published it separately. The Chairman, Shahnawaz Khan (the Commander of the Subhas Brigade, I.N.A., one of the officers tried in the Red Fort, Dehli, and then a Parliamentary Secretary) and other members of the Committee held that Netaji's death was established.
52. Toye, 170. Toye adds : "The British Prime Minister himself was compelled to recognise the new feelings : 'Today', said Mr. Attlee on March 15th, 1946, 'the national idea has spread...not least perhaps among some of those (Indian) soldiers who have done such wonderful service in the war". According to Toye, this 'political consciousness' or 'national idea' was partly responsible for "the serious naval mutinies and the unrest in the other two Services early in 1946" (ibid, 170-1).
53. I take this opportunity to offer my hearty and grateful thanks to Shri Phanibhusan Chakravarti for eliciting the true grounds for the British Government's decision to leave India.
54. In the Bengali Monthly "*Bharatavarsha*".

BOOK V, CHAPTERS I-II

1. Cf. Churchill's famous dictum of 10 November, 1942 : "I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire".
2. I am indebted to Dr. D. K. Ghosh for this information.

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3. Leonard Mosley, p. 12.
4. Menon, 218-9.
5. Ibid, 219-20.
6. Ibid, 222.
7. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the trials of other men of the I.N.A. and the wisdom of the Govrenment decision to try the I.N.A. prisoners of war. For a critical discussion of this point, cf. Philip Mason's "Foreword" to the *Splinging Tiger* by Hugh Toye ; and also Leonard Mosley, p. 136.
8. Hugh Toye, op. cit., p. ix.
8a. Menon, 223. Toye observes : "There can thus be little doubt that the Indian National Army, not in its unhappy career on the battlefield, but in its thunderous disintegration, hastened the end of British rule in India. The agiation which surrounded the trials turned the issue of independence for India into an instant, burning question once more" (p. 175).
9. Menon, 223-4.
10. Ibid, 227.
11. Ibid, 226.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid, 228-9.
14. Ibid, 234.
15. Ibid, 237-8.
16. Ibid, 239-40.
17. Ibid, 240-41.
18. Gandhi's view (p. 624), based on the fact that the majority of Muslims was descended from the Hindus, is as puerile as that of Nehru, who ignored Hindu-Muslim problem because it is based on religion which can be changed (pp. 466-67).
19. Menon, 246-7.
19a. These figures indicate the number of the paragraph in the Statement by the Cabinet Mission on 16 May, 1946.
20. Ibid, 273.
21. Ibid, 274-76.
22. Gwyer, II. 603.
23. Menon, 276-7.
24. Gwyer, II. 610-11.
25. Menon, 280.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid, 280-1.
28. Ibid, 281.
29. Ibid.
30. Mosley, 27.
31. Azad, 154-5.
32. Ibid 155-6.
33. Ibid, 156.
34. Ibid 157-8.

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35. Gwyer, II. 621. Italics mine.
36. Menon, 289-90.
37. Ibid, 284.
38. Azad, 159.
39. Mosley, 11.
39a. Ibid, 38. Cf. in this connection the speech of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on Non-Confidence motions against the Ministry on 20 September, 1946.
39b. Menon, 296.
40. Azad, 159-60.
41. Gwyer, II. 643.
42. Menon, 302.
43. Mosley, 42-3.
44. Menon, 320-1.
45. Ibid, 319 ; *IAR*, 1946, II. 270.
45a. For the communal relations in Noakhali after Gandhi's tour in Noakhali, cf. Pyarelal, II. Chapter III. A more detailed account is given by N. K. Bose (*My days with Gandhi*, pp. 210-18). Gandhi left Noakhali on 2 March, 1947. On April 2 he received the following message from his chief lieutenant at Noakhali : "There have been five cases of arson between March 23 and yesterday. Yesterday's case happened at Mohammadpur in Ramganj *Thana*. It was an attempt to burn alive three families consisting of twenty-one persons, male, female, children of the house, who for safety slept all in one room. This room was fastened from outside and this thatched hut and other huts of the house simultaneously set on fire. The inmates escaped by breaking through mat wall."

On receiving report of another similar case two days later, Gandhi sent the following reply : "Case seems to be for exodus or perishing in flames of fanaticism. Hope you will not advise my coming to advise on choice. Hold council with workers and act promptly" (Bose, 210-11). Bose has also quoted a confidential official report about the condition of Noakhali in May, 1947 (pp. 293-304). It is clear that Gandhi's strenous efforts failed to make any change in the heart of the Muslims.

46. Gwyer, II. 660-1.
47. Menon, 329-30.
48. Ibid, 332-3.
49. Gwyer, II. 606.
50. Menon, 337.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid, 338.
53. This, if true, is a very significant admission supporting the view mentioned above, in pp. 615-16.
54. Azad, 177-8. Azad's analysis of Attlee's attitude is supported by the speeches of the Government members in the House of Com-

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mons in course of the debate on Attlee's statement of 20 February, 1947 (Menon, 340 ff.).

55. Gwyer, II. 667-9.
56. G. D. Khosla, *Stern Reckning*, p. 100.
56a. K. L. Panjabi, *The Indomitable Sardar*, p. 122.
57. Menon, 347.
58. Azad, 185.
59. Panjabi, op. cit., pp. 122-26. According to some it was not Mountbatten who converted Patel to the idea of Partition, but the fact was just the other way. Thus Mosley writes :

'The idea of Partition originated with Menon (1946) and was agreed to (December, 1946) by Patel who had bitter experience of working with Muslim colleagues in the Interim Government. His first move was to induce the Working Committee to pass, at the beginning of March, 1947, a resolution recomending the partition of the Punjab into two communal States, Muslim and Hindu.

'Patel wrote to a member of the Working Committee : "A strong centre with the whole of India—except E. Bengal and part of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan—enjoying full autonomy under the Centre will be so powerful that the remaining portions will eventually come in."

'This line of reasoning appealed to Nehru. To him Patel's resolution was a stratagem rather than an admittance of the fact of partition. It would merely show the Muslims what must be faced if they insisted upon Pakistan which would be a truncated State so painfully mutilated that it could never be viable. The resolution was deliberately taken up when Gandhi and Azad would be unable to attend the meeting.

'When Mountbatten explained the full implication of the resolution Patel feigned ignorance and allowed himself to be persuaded that by accepting the division of the Punjab he had recognized the principle of Indian partition ; and it was even more slowly and unwillingly that he appeared to accept Mountbatten's contention that this was, perhaps, the way out after all.'

Patel and Menon "had talked of the real meaning of the Resolution long before it was submitted". "In fact while ostensibly walking innocently into Mountbatten's parlour, Patel was busily spinning a web of his own." Mosley, 98 ff.

It is difficult to say how far Mosley's version is correct. For Menon's plan, see later, p. 665.

60. Mosley, 248.
61. Azad, 186-7.
62. Allan Campbell-Johnson, 97 ; Menon, 371.
63. Compbell-Johnson, 110.
64. N. K. Bose, *Studies in Gandhism*, 284, 294.
65. Fischer-II, II. 219-20.
66. See pp. 659-60.

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67. Fischer-II, II. 220. Fischer's explanation receives some support in the following extract from Gandhi's written message to the prayer meeting on 15 June, i.e. the day after Gandhi had supported the resolution about Partition in the meeting of the A.I.C.C.

"One more question has been and is being asked. If you are so sure that India is going the wrong way why do you associate with the wrong-doers ? Why do you not plough your lonely furrow and have faith that if you are right, your erstwhile friends and followers will seek you out ? I regard this as a fair question. I must not attempt to argue against it. All I can say is that my faith is as strong as ever. It is quite possiblt that my technique is faulty" (*Harijan*, 29-6-1947, p. 209).

Somewhat less mystic is the conversation that N. K. Bose had with Gandhi about two months after the A.I.C.C. meeting. Bose writes :

"I had the temerity to ask him why he had refused to give the necessary lead to the country when he felt so strongly on the question of division. As far as I can remember, for there is no record to this effect in my diary, his answer was that if every time the Congress committed a mistake, he had to step in to set it right, then India would never learn the art of democracy" (*Days with Gandhi*, p. 251). Gandhi certainly chose a very wrong moment to leave his spoilt children to learn the art of standing on their own legs without prop or support.

68. See pp. 442-43.
69. See pp. 560-61.
70. See pp. 572-3.
71. See p. 619.
72. See pp. 560-61.
73. See p. 620.
74. See pp. 656-7.
75. Azad, 188.
76. For a detailed account, cf. Pyarelal, II. Chapter VIII. N. K. Bose, *My days with Gandhi*, pp. 227 ff.
77. For the full text of the Statement, cf. Menon, 510-15 ; Gwyer, II. 670-75.
78. Azad, 193.
79. See p. 573.
80. Azad, 193.
81. For the account of the A.I.C.C., including the summary of the speeches, that follows, cf. *IAR*, 1947, Vol. I, pp. 122-137.
82. These are the figures given by Menon (p. 386) and also found in *IAR*, 1947, Vol. II pp. 133, 137. According to Azad, 29 voted for it and 15 against (p. 198). According to Panjabi (p. 126), there were 153 votes for and 29 against with 36 abstentions. Azad's figures are obviously wrong.
83. Menon, 383.
84. Ibid, 382.
85. Azad, 198.
86. Menon, 404.
87. Ibid, 413.
88. Mosley, 244-6.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (1919 to 1947)

1919

February, 24	The *Satyagraha* Pledge signed.
March, 18	The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Acts, based on Rowlatt Bills, passed.
„ 30	*Hartal* at Delhi.
April, 6	All-India *hartal.*
„ 10	Arrest of Gandhi and riots.
„ 13	Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh.
„ 15-20	Martial Law in the Panjab.
„ 18	Gandhi suspends *Satyagraha.*
June, 18	Text of the Reform Bill issued.
July, 21	Gandhi abandons *Satyagraha.*
November, 23-4	All-India Khilafat Conference at Delhi, Presided over by Gandhi, threatens Non-co-operation.
December, 23	The Government of India Act receives the Royal assent.
	Royal Amnesty to Political prisoners announced by a Royal Proclamation.
„ 27	Amritsar Session of the Congress.
„ 30	Moderate Conference in Calcutta.

1920

January, 19	Khilafat Deputation to the Viceroy.
March, 10	Gandhi issues a manifesto suggesting Non-violent Non-co-operation (NCO) to the Khilafatis.
„ 17	Indian Khilafat Deputation to Lloyd George.
„ 19	Day of National mourning observed by the Khilafatists.
April, 17	Khilafat Conference at Madras apporves of Gandhi's idea of NCO.
May, 12	All-India Khilafat Committee Meeting at Bombay. Gandhi urges NCO.
„ 15	Peace Terms to Turkey announced.
„ 18	Central Khilafat Committee adopts NCO.

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„ 28	Report of the Hunter Committee published and Government dicision announced.
„ 30	All-India Congress Committee (A.I.C.C.) meeting at Banaras decides to hold a Special session of the Congress in Calcuuta to consider adoption of NCO.
June, 1-2	Muslim Conference at Allahabād resolves to adopt NCO—Gandhi offers co-operation.
August, 1	All-India strike organized by the Khilafatists by way of inaugurating NCO. Gandhi returns his war-medals to the Viceroy.
August	*Hijrat* or mass-migration of the Muslims to Afghanistan.
September, 4	Adoption of NCO by the Congress at its Special session in Calcutta.
December, 26-31	The Nagpur session of the Congress accepts NCO.

1921

May, 29	The apology of the Ali brothers to the Viceroy.
August	Moplah Outbreak.
November, 1	Ali brothers sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.
„ 17	Prince of Wales landed at Bombay; riots in Bombay and all-India *hartal*.
December	Arrest of C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai and other leaders and about 25,000 Congress workers.
„ 24	Prince of Wales arrives in Calcutta.
„ 27-8	Congress session at Ahmadabad.

1922

February, 1	Gandhi communicated to the Viceroy the decision of Bardoloi to embark on Mass Civil Disobedience.
„ 5	Mob violence at Chauri Chaura.

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„ 11-12	Working Committee (W.C.) of the Congress suspends Mass Ciivil Disobedience.
„ 24-5	A.I.C.C. endorses the decision of the W.C.
March, 18	Gandhi sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment.
August, 2	The "steel frame" speech of Lloyd George.
December, 26-31	Congress session at Gaya rejects the Council entry resolution.

1923

January, 1	Resignation of the Congress President, C. R. Das.
September, 15-19	Special session of the Congress at Delhi approves of the Swarajya Party's programme of Council entry.
December, 16-7	Hindu-Muslim Pact by Swarajya Party in Calcutta.
December, 28	The Congress session at Cocanada begins.

1924

January, 30	The first meeting of the Second Legislative Assembly ; attended by the Swarajya Party.
February, 5	Gandhi released unconditionally on grounds of ill health.
„ 8	Motilal Nehru moves his famous resolution on the constitutional changes in the Central Legislative Assembly.
February, 18	The motion carried in the Assembly.
May, 22	Gandhi's statement re Council entry. Rejoinder of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru.
June, 27	A.I.C.C. meeting at Ahmadabad. Fight between Gandhi and the Swarajists over the new constitution of the Congress.
October, 25	Bengal Ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General.
November, 21-22	All-parties' Conference at Bombay.
„ 23	Pact between Gandhi and the Swarajya Party.

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1925

March, 29 — C. R. Das issues a manifesto condemning violence—pourparlers with the Government.

June, 16 — Death of C. R. Das.

August, 22 — Vithalbhai Patel elected President of the Central Legislative Assembly.

December, 26-28 — Kanpur session of the Congress—the members of the Swarajya Party directed to walk out of the Legislatures (which they did in March, 1926).

1926

April, 3 — Conference of all political parties except the Congress.

September — Split in the Swarajya Party. Secession of the Responsivists and Independent Congressmen who form a Coalition Party.

November, 8 — Appointment of Simmon Commission.

December, 26-28 — Madras session of the Congress declares independence as India's goal and takes steps to summon an All-parties' Conference to draw up a constitution for India.

1928

February, 3 — Arrival of Simon Commission. All-India *hartal*.

February, 16 — The Central Legislative Assembly passes the resolution to boycott the Simon Commission.

August, 28-31 — All-Parties' Conference at Lakhnau accepted the recommendations of the Committee, appointed by it under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru, to draw up the Constitution for India.

December, 22 — All-Parties' Convention in Calcutta.

" 29-31 — Congress session in Calcutta accepts the

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Constitution drafted by the Nehru Committee.
Gandhi promises Swaraj within one year.

1929

January, 1 — All-Parties' Conference of the Muslims at Delhi.
April, 8 — Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta throw bombs in the Assembly Hall at Delhi.
July, 10 — Lahore Conspiracy Case.
„ 12 — The accused under-trial prisoners resort to hunger-strike.
September, 13 — Death of Jatin Das as a result of hunger-strike in Lahore jail.
October, 31 — Viceroy's Declaration on Dominion Status and the summoning of a Round Table Conference (R .T.C.).
December, 23 — Gandhi and others meet the Viceroy and reject the invitation to R.T.C.
„ 29 — Lahore session of the Congress begins. It declares complete independence as the goal, resolves to boycott the Legislatures, and approves of Civil Disobedience.

1930

January, 1 — The session of the Congress ends.
Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Congress, hoists the tri-colour flag of Indian independence on the bank of the Ravi at Lahore.
January, 26 — The Independence Day observed.
March, 12 — Civil Disobedience inaugurated by Gandhi's march to Dandi for making salt.
April, 5 — Gandhi arrives at Dandi with his party.
„ 18 — Chittagong Armoury Raid.
June, 7 — Report of the Simon Commission issued.
November, 12 — Inauguration of the First R.T.C.

1931

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January, 19	The First R.T.C. adjourned.
„ 26	Gandhi and the members of the W.C. released.
February, 6	Death of Pandit Motilal Nehru.
February, 17 to March, 4	Gandhi-Irwin talks.
March, 5	Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
„ 23	Bhagat Singh and his two comrades hanged.
„ 29	Karachi session of the Congress approves of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Hostile demonstration against Gandhi.
April, 1-2	The Congress W.C. elects Gandhi as the sole representative to the R.T.C.
August, 29	Gandhi leaves India to attend R.T.C.
September, 7	Second R.T.C. begins.
„ 12	Gandhi arrives in London.
December, 11	Second R.T.C. closes.
„ 28	Gandhi lands at Bombay.
„ 29	Viceroy turns down Gandhi's request for an interview.

1932

January, 1	The Congress W.C. revives Civil Disobedience.
„ 4	Gandhi arrested. Government issues four new Ordinances.
August, 17	Announcement of the Communal Award made by Ramsay Macdonald.
September, 20	Gandhi begins 'fast unto death' as a protest against Communal Award.
„ 25	Poona Pact.
November, 17	Third R.T.C. begins.
December, 24	Third R.T.C. ends.

1933

May, 8	Gandhi begins his 21 days' purificatory fast.

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		Suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement.
		Gandhi released from prison.
August,	1	Beginning of Individuad Civil Disobedience.
		Gandhi arrested and imprisoned for one year.
,,	17	Gandhi begins fast for not being granted facilities to carry on the Harijan upliftment work.
,,	23	Gandhi released.

1934

May,	20	Civil Disobedience Movement officially terminated by the Congress.
October,	26-8	Congress session at Worli, Bombay, after three and a half years.

1935

August,	4	New Government of India Act receives Royal assent.
December,	28	Golden Jubilee ofi the Congress celebrated all over India.

1936

April,	14	The Congress session at Lakhnau.
December,	27-9	The Congress session at Faizpur.

1937

July,	7	Congressmen permitted to take office and form Ministry.

1938

February,	19	Congress session at Haripura (No session in 1937).

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1939

March, 10-12	Congress session at Tripuri.
April, 29	Subhas Bose resigns the Presidentship of the Congress.
September, 3	Outbreak of the Second World War.
„ 15	Congress W. C. asks Britain to declare her War-aims.
October, 10	A.I.C.C. endorses the above.
„ 17	Viceroy declares War-aims of Britain.
„ 22	W. C. asks Congress Ministries to resign.
„ 26	Secretary of State offers to expand the Governor-General's Executive Council.
Ocober, 27 to November, 15	All the Congress Ministries resign.

1940

March, 19	Congress session at Ramgarh.
„ 22	Muslim League session at Lahore demands Pakistan.
April-May	German Blitzkrieg—Collapse of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium.
May, 10	Churchill replaces Chamberlain as Prime Minister in Britain.
May, 28 to June, 3	The British forces evacuate Dunkirk.
June	Germany overruns France.
June 11	Italy joins the Allies.
„ 17-20	Session of the Congress Working Committee. Gandhi released from his responsibility of guiding the policy of the Congress.
July, 2	Subhas Bose arrested.
August, 8	Viceroy's new offer—Expansion of his Executive Council, setting up War Council and Constituent Assembly.
October, 17	Individual *Satyagraha* started.
November, 17	Representative *Satyagraha.*
December, 17	*Satyagraha* suspended.

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1941

January, 5	Resumption of *Satyagraha*.
„ 17	Subhas Bose escapes from his home detention in Calcutta.
March, 28	Subhas Bose arrives in Berlin.
June, 22	Germany declares war against Russia.
July, 22	Enlarged Executive Council of the Governor-General announced.
September, 9	Churchill's declaration that the Atlantic Charter was not applicable to India.
December, 7	Japan joins the War against the Allies.
„ 23-30	W. C. relieves Gandhi of the responsibility of leading the *Satyagraha* movement. and lays down the future policy and programme of the Congress.

1942

February, 15	Fall of Singapore.
March, 7	Fall of Rangoon.
„ 11	Churchill announces Cripps Mission.
„ 23	Sir Stafford Cripps reaches Delhi.
„ 28-30	Conference of Indians in South-East Asia at Tokyo, organized by Rash Bihari Bose, invites Subhas Bose.
April, 12	Cripps, unsuccessful, leaves India.
„ 29	Evacuation of Burma.
June, 15-23	Conference of Indians at Bangkok.
July, 14	
August, 8	'Quit India' Resolution passed by A.I.C.C. Arrest of Gandhi and other leaders, followed by violent outbreaks all over India.

1943

February, 8	Subhas Bose left Germany in a U. Boat.
May, 16	Subhas Bose arrives at Tokyo. (The date 13 June on p. 586 is wrong).

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July, 2	Subhas Bose arrives at Singapore.
„ 4	Subhas Bose takes over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement from Rash Bihari Bose.
September	No. 1 Regiment of I.N.A. raised in Malay.
October, 21	Provisional Government of Free India established at Singapore.
November, 6	Greater East Asia Conference at Tokyo where Tojo, the Japanese Premier, announced that Andaman and Nicobar Islands would be handed over to the Provisional Government of Subhas Bose.
November, 9	The first batch of I.N.A. leaves for War Front.
December, 31	Subhas Bose visits the Free Indian Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

1944

January, 4	Subhas Bose arrives at Rangoon.
February, 4	I.N.A. commences fight.
March, 19	I.N.A. crosses over to Indian territory.
July, 26	The Japanese army and the I.N.A. retreat.
„ 27	Gandhi offers terms to Viceroy who rejects them.
September, 9-27	Gandhi's unsuccessful negotiations with Jinnah.

1945

March, 23	Wavell reaches London to consult the Cabinet.
June, 4	Wavell returns to India.
„ 25	Simla Conference opens.
July, 14	Simla Conference closes.
August, 24	Wavell goes to London.
September, 15	Surrender of Japan.
„ 16	Wavell returns to India.
„ 19	Wavell announces British Policy.

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December	Election to the Central Legislative Assembly.

1946

January, 5	British Parliamentary Delegation arrives in India.
January, 18	Wavell's announcement of New Executive Council and Constitution-making Body.
February, 18	Mutiny of Naval Ratings.
„ 19	Announcement of Cabinet Mission.
March, 24	Cabinet Mission arrives at Delhi.
May, 16	Cabinet Mission issues a Statement.
June, 16	Cabinet Mission's statement on Interim Government.
„ 29	Cabinet Mission leaves India.
July, 7	Jawaharlal Nehru becomes President of the Congress.
„ 10	Nehru's Press Conference, which finally alienated Jinnah.
„ 22	Viceroy's proposals for Interim Government.
„ 29	Muslim League rejects Cabinet Mission Plan and adopts the policy of 'Direct Action.'
„ 31	Jinnah rejects Viceroy's proposals.
August, 8	Congress accepts Viceroy's invitation to join Interim Government.
„ 16	'Direct Action' of the Muslim League. Calcutta Killing.
September, 2	Interim Government of Nehru sworn in.
October	Severe communal riots in Noakhali and Bihar.
October, 14	Muslim League joins the Interim Government.
December, 2	Congress and League leaders arrive at London.
„ 6	Statement of policy by the British Government.

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„ 9	The Constituent Assembly meets.

1947

January, 5	A.I.C.C. accepts the British statement of 6 December.
„ 31	Muslim League rejects the statement.
February, 20	The historic statement of Attlee, the British Premier, granting freedom to India.
March, 8	The Congress W. C. passes a resolution for dividing the Panjab on communal basis, thereby foreshadowing the Partition of India.
„ 23	Wavell leaves India.
„ 24	The new Viceroy Mountbatten assumes charge.
May, 18	Mountbatten proceeds to London. The Cabinet approves of his plan on the basis of the Partition of India.
June, 2-3	The Indian leaders approve of the Plan.
„ 3	Announcement in India and Britain of the final decision of the British Government regarding the transfer of power.
„ 3	The Congress W.C. approves of the Plan.
„ 4	Mountbatten's announcement that the transfer of power would be effected probably about 15 August.
„ 10	The Council of the Muslim League accepts the Plan.
„ 14-15	The A.I.C.C. session at Delhi accepts the Plan, recommended by all the important leaders, including Gandhi, Azad, Nehru, Patel, Kripalani and Pant.
July, 18	The India Independence Bill receives the Royal Assent.
August, 15	India becomes free as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth.
	Creation of the new State of Pakistan with the same status.

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SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL (1900-47)

Name	Date of the assumption of office.
Lord Curzon	6 January, 1899
Lord Minto	19 November, 1905
Lord Hardinge	23 November. 1910
Lord Chelmsford	5 April, 1916
Lord Reading	2 April, 1921
Lord Irwin	3 April, 1926
Lord Willingdon	17 April, 1931
Lord Linlithgow	18 April, 1936
Lord Wavell	20 October, 1943
Lord Mountbatten	24 March. 1947

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APPENDIX I

Reference has been made above (pp. 18 ff.) to the serious disturbances in the Punjab in April, 1919, and the terrilby coercive measures taken by the Local Government, the maximum brutality being perpetrated by General Dyer and his Lieutenants. As mentioned above, on p. 18, our chief sources of information about the main incidents and activities of Dyer and others are the two reports of the two Committees—one appointed by the Government (with Lord Hunter as Chairman) and the other appointed by the Indian National Congress. The Congress Committee submitted a unanimous Report on 26 March, 1920 ; the Report of the Hunter Committee, consisting of five volumes, was issued on 26 May, 1920, the five European members signing the Majority Report and the three Indian members signing the Minority Report (pp. 33-4). The discussions on the incidents in the Punjab on pp. 18 ff are mainly based on these two Reports.

But after the relevant portions of this book (pp. 18-35) were printed it came to be generally known that in addition to the five volumes of Hunter Committee's Report there were two other volumes which were not published and kept in profound secret. These two volumes have recently been published[1] and they contain many important revelations. The more important information supplied by these two volumes may be stated as follows :

1. The British officials in the Punjab viewed the Communist Revolution in Russia (1917) with great misgivings and were of opinion that India was under the direct threat of Bolshevik invasion. Some officials believed that Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great Indian leader, had contact with the British Independent Labour Party which was in sympathy with the Bolsheviks. The documents in this volume leave no doubt that some British officials believed that the revolution in Russia might serve as an example to the people of India. J. P. Thompson, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, maintained that in addition to the causes of the disorders in the Punjab such as the Rowlatt Act, Muslim discontent at the British policy regarding Turkey etc., there were other causes, too. Asked whether the Bolshevik

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Movement was the first among these causes, Thompson said "yes" without a moment's hesitation. Thompson and other officials held that the Movement of Passive Resistance initiated by Gandhi would be very fruitful for the growth of Bolshevik ideas. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor, held the view that Tolstoy was the precursor of Bolshevism and the doctrine of Gandhi will lead to the same results as in Russia.

2. The mass movement in Russia unnerved the British officials. O'Dwyer, who had visited Russia, was afraid of the mass movements there in which "the masses were the masters of the situation" and told some Russian intelligentsia: "You don't know what forces you are unleashing".

3. The officials were unnerved at the discontent spreading among the Indian soldiers, most of whom were recruited in the Punjab. "We knew" said O'Dwyer, "that attempts have been made and would be made to shake the loyalty of the troops, and we had certain incidents at the very early stages of the outbreak in Amritsar, on the very first day, which made us doubtful to some extent about certain units". The evidence that Thompson and O'Dwyer gave regarding revolutionary propaganda in the army was corroborated by the contents of anti-British leaflets which were distributed among the Indian soldiers. The Government was also afraid that the demobilised Punjabi soldiers, numbering nearly one hundred and fifty thousand, might join the "mob".

4. The Government of the Punjab was mortally afraid of the revolutionary Ghadar Party (of which detailed account has been given above in Volume II of this series, pp. 367-401). According to O'Dwyer "eight to ten thousand Sikhs who had returned from the U.S.A. were under the influence of the Ghadar Party, most of whom had been active members of the revolutionary movement, and the Government was afraid that they might again take part in revolutionary movement."

The above statements would give a fair idea of the mentality of the Punjab officials. They were full of grave apprehensions for the safety of the British—both individuals as well as the organised ruling body. It is also equally clear from the evidence of important officials like O'Dwyer and Thompson that the action of the Punjab Government was dictated more by their general apprehension of an ensuing revolution than the actual disturbances

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in the Punjab. This is clear from the statement of O'Dwyer that "this movement, unless it is promptly checked, will bring about disorder and bloodshed." It is difficult to deny the accusation made by a foreigner that "an analysis of the various statements made by leading figures and certain measures adopted by the British administration make it clear that in early April the British authorities took some major decisions which eventually led to the Amritsar massacre. ... The evidence of O'Dwyer and Thompson makes it clear that the authorities, in order to be able to realise their plans, were bent upon provoking at all costs acts of violence on the part of the population."

This is fully corroborated by the fact that both O'Dwyer and Thompson had to admit, in the course of their evidence before the Hunter Committee, that the situation in Amritsar was not really so grave as to justify the brutal measures taken by General Dyer. The Punjab Government officially maintained in their defence that the situation in Amritsar had gone out of hand and that the Civil authorities had lost control over it." But this is belied by the following questions asked and answers given before the Hunter Committee:

Setalvad, one of the members of the Hunter Committee, asked Thompson:

"Was there any destruction of property after the 10th?"

Thompson replied: "I do not at present recollect."

Setalvad asked O'Dwyer whether there were any acts of violence on 12 April (on the eve of massacre when, according to O'Dwyer, the city was in a state of 'open rebellion'). O'Dwyer admitted that there were no such acts.

In view of such evidences it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the horrible cruelties perpetrated by the British, culminating in the barbarous massacre in cold blood at Jallianwallabagh, were not due to the gravity of the situation, caused by the action of the people, but were really prompted by a desire to prevent any anticipated (without any reasonable grounds) outbreak of the people by causing dread or terror in their minds by an exhibition of the dread of the British might and giving an actual specimen of what the people might expect if they did not behave properly.

Setalvad asked Thompson whether he approved of Dyer's

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action. He replied: "The view that is taken by the Punjab Government is that General Dyer was justified in opening fire, and the result of it was averting of bloodshed and the quelling of the uprising."

O'Dwyer said: "I have no hesitation in saying that General Dyer's action was the decisive factor in crushing the rebellion, the seriousness of which is only now being generally recognised."

The "rebellion" was of such a nature that Thompson forgot all about it"; Comment is needless.

FOOTNOTE

1. The existence of Vol. VI came to be known to the general public by an article in the *Soviet Review* (23 May, 1974) written by L. V. Mitrokhin and A. V. Raikov and reproduced in the *Sikh Review* (April, 1976, pp. 42-50). Vols. VI and VII edited by V. N. Datta have been recently published by the Institute of Advanced Study, Simla. The Hunter Committee submitted a Report and seven volumes of evidence. But Vols. VI and VII were not published. Although these two volumes were produced in a London Court of Justice in the defamation case brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer against Sir Sankaran Nair, they were not available to the public; for "they had been withdrawn from publication by the Secretary of State of India in deference to the wishes of the Government of India" and only a limited number of copies were printed and distributed among the Government Departments.

For a detailed account of the discovery and publication of the volumes VI and VII and a summary of their contents cf. the Introduction by V. N. Datta to Vol. VI, pp. 7 ff.

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APPENDIX II

The Arrival of Netaji Subhas Bose in Japan.

Different accounts are prevalent about Subhas Bose's journey from Germany to Japan and specially the date of his arrival in Tokyo. The following account given by Dr. K. K. Ghosh, who has made a special study of the Japanese sources, perhaps makes the nearest approximation to truth. Dr. Ghosh's book may also be consulted for the most reliable and detailed account of the I.N.A. Campaign.

The following extract from pp. 133-34 of K. K. Ghosh's book, **The Indian National Army,** should be studied along with the statement on pp. 585-86 of this book. "Subhas Chandra Bose reached Saban Island in a Japanese submarine on 6 May 1943. A plane was despatched by the Japanese Imperial Headquarters on 11 May to fly him to Tokyo. The plane reached Tokyo *via* Penang, Saigon and other places on 16 May 1943. For about one month his presence in Tokyo was kept secret. It was not until 18 June that the Tokyo Radio announced that Subhas Chandra Bose, the leader of the Indian Independence League who had been in Germany recently, arrived in Tokyo". "But no date of his arrival was announced. Bose's arrival in Japan was confirmed by the Japanese Press next day". According to a reliable source the news "caused a wave of jubilation among Indians throughout East Asia. Overnight the atmosphere was electrified. The I.N.A. and the Indian Independence movement suddenly assumed far greater importance in the eyes of all". The Axis Press and Radio did not fail to stress the significance of Bose's arrival in East Asia. The *Syonan Shimbun* editorially commented that "The arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose marks another milestone in the progress of India in her fight for freedom. His presence in Tokyo would seem a signal that the war for Indian independence has reached its crucial stage".

Dr. Ghosh comments on this: "This was essentially true".

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